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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE, MAKES HIS BROTHER'S SIN HIS OWN."

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY

ABM. L. PENNOCK, SAMUEL RHOADS, AND GEO. W. TAYLOR.

VOLUME I.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 1846.

[NO. 1.]

PROSPECTUS.

TO OUR EXPECTED READERS AND PATRONS.

Friends of the Oppressed.—We lay before you, without previous notice, except to a few individuals with whom we have consulted, the first number of a Journal intended to be published monthly, and of which this is a specimen, except in the number of pages, which we hope to extend, should the subscription list warrant our doing so. We are opposed to slavery. It is the crying sin of this land and of large portions of this hemisphere, and we seek its overthrow by all just and peaceful means, "in season," and, as some will think, "out of season," but "with all long-suffering and doctrine."

Among the means appropriate to this end is one which seems to us to have been much overlooked, and yet, in our view, elementary. It will be admitted by all observers that a vast amount of anti-slavery effort has been expended, for years past, in the church and out of the church, in associations and by individuals, and yet slavery is more rife than ever! It is true that the African slave-trade has been professedly abolished by laws of most of the civilized nations of the world. It is true that Great Britain has abolished slavery from her dominions. It is true that what of it sparsely existed in the northern of these United States has been also abolished. But does not the African slave trade really continue with greater extension, and with atrocities of a much deeper die, than when it was legalized? Is not the number of slaves actually and largely increased? Is not the disappearance of slavery merely a geographical change? And does it not luxuriate in its newer dominions with unprecedented vigour? Is it not the prominent business in some of the southern states to rear slaves, as cattle are reared for a market, to be transmitted to yet more southern states, there to be worked to death, or, at best, till death, without tasting the free air of liberty? Has not our nation from time to time erected new slave states within its original or purchased boundaries?

Has it not just risen from dedicating to Slavery a new territory, taken by robbery from a people who once consecrated it to Liberty—attaching it to this already guilty Union? Does it not look forward to a still further enlargement of the area of slavery by other annexations? And is it not time for us to pause and inquire why it is that the vast efforts which have been made are so inert against this onward-rolling and accumulating evil?

If we are at fault among ourselves for the appropriate answer, let us go South for it. An enemy has keen eyes for the defects of his opponent, and often tells him very wholesome, though very unpleasant truths. We then ask the slaveholder—why is it that we do not reach you by our energetic appeals in favour of the bondman? Why is it that the more we do for the slave, in love both for him and his master, the more you wrap yourselves up in the ample cloak of your self-complacency, bidding defiance to the blast that we direct against you? His reply is: "Your theory and your life are antagonistical! You use the result of that which you denounce as a crime! You may amuse us with your philanthropy, vex us with your more importunate intrusions, and even convince us of your abstractions, but you fail to convert us to a higher ground than you yourselves occupy! Nay, you repel and disgust us by your insincerity! You use slavery, just as we do, to the extent of your convenience! You don't technically hold the slave, but you give the gold which makes him to be held! We are but your servants! You supply the motive, and are therefore the true slaveholders!"

The much overlooked means we would then apply to the overthrow of slavery, is a consistent life. Let the principle of non-participancy be adopted and carried out by a body of people, not numerically greater than the Religious Society of Friends, and it would make the BELSHAZZAR of slavery tremble on his throne, for he would see written on the wall of his palace, "THY KINGDOM IS DIVIDED." Not only would the five thousand slaves now bleeding and toiling for such a body of people be emancipated from his control, but so

much of his dominions as that body wanted for free cultivation, and so much as others wanted, incited by this high example, and a similar motive, that of being clear of their brother's wrongs, would be irrevocably taken from him, and he would read in the growing increase of this sentiment the further inscription, "GOD HATH NUMBERED THY KINGDOM AND FINISHED IT!"

Not neglecting any of the other just modes for the slave's liberation, the doctrine of abstinence from the productions of his toil will be prominently held up to view. We regard it as necessary to give the proper force to all proper modes for accomplishing that purpose.

Directing our operations mainly against slavery, we shall not be precluded from occasionally diverting to parallel reforms—thus to those which seek the avoidance of war and the abrogation of the death-penalty. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable rights, and scarcely separable.

We shall not hesitate also, when our limited space will allow, to diversify our pages with other matter recommended by its literary excellence.

We feel aware of the importance of the task we have entered upon. We rely much on those we now address for moral, literary, and pecuniary aid. We humbly ask for that higher assistance which imparts the faith that can remove mountains, and, believing in the omnipotency of Truth, we can say, slightly varying the language of Bryant:

"We nerve our spirit to the proof,
And blench not at our chosen lot:
The timid good may stand aloof,
The sage may frown—yet faint we not.

Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,
The blessing, stinging bolt of scorn;
For, with our side shall dwell at last,
The victory, of endurance born.

Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshippers.

Yea, though we lie upon the dust,
When they who helped us seek their life;
We die in hope, and higher trust
Than those who fall in mortal strife.

Another hand our sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is peal'd
The blast of triumph o'er our grave."

The Non-Slaveholder will be issued on the first Fourth day of the week in each month, at the price per annum, payable in advance, of one dollar per copy, or five dollars for six copies to one address. Subscriptions will be received by the publisher, HENRY LONGSTRETH, 347 Market street, Philadel-

phia, to whom payment should be made, and all communications intended for the editors, or relating to the publication, addressed.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK,
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COMMUNICATIONS.

DUTY OF ABSTINENCE.

On the duty of abstinence from the productions of slave labour, especially in reference to the destruction of human life which Slavery occasions.

In addressing the class of persons for whom this essay is intended, we have no need to press upon them the serious truth that we are bound to cast the weight of our influence in favour of virtue and against vice, on all occasions in which, having the power of choice, we are called upon to act. The obligation is imperative, "Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or WHATSOEVER YE DO, do all to the glory of God." As moral and accountable agents we cannot dispense with it. This obligation makes it our duty to do whatever we can against slavery, and in favor of human liberty, if the one be wrong and the other right, and makes the following enquiry not merely a very proper, but also a very necessary one—Do we throw the weight of our influence in the right scale when we unhesitatingly use the productions of the bondman's constrained and unpaid toil, and neglect the opportunities which are in our power of giving our needed countenance and support in favour of the opposite system of voluntary and compensated labour?

If the only wrong inflicted by slavery were to rob its victims of the avails of their life-long exertion, that would be a sufficient reason for pronouncing upon the outrage a just and indignant condemnation, and for separating ourselves as widely from any connection with it, except to oppose it, as possible. We speak in terms of severe reprehension of those who take from others, without their consent, the productions of much shorter periods of labour, and we show our disunity with their act by refusing to partake of the fruits of the trespass: but slavery invades all rights—moral, social, intellectual, natural—and hence there is much additional cause for carrying out the same rule of action respecting it, which we have found safe and right in the simpler and inferior wrong.

Of these invasions, that upon human life is pro-

minent, and yet but little adverted to in discussions which relate to the impropriety of using the productions of slavery. The destruction of life which belongs to the foreign slave trade is especially overlooked; and yet the trade in slaves, and the holding of them in bondage, rest upon the same ultimate basis—the demand for the productions of their labour—this demand first inducing slavery, then the slave trade. So strong, indeed, is their affinity, that it has become an admitted truism, that the slave trade can only be suppressed by the abolition of slavery itself, and why is it not as true that slavery can only be suppressed by the destruction of its cause—the market now allowed to its productions?

The Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in a memorial to Congress on the subject of the African slave trade, dated the 17th of the Fourth month, 1840, makes the following statements:

"We are fully aware that this traffic is prohibited by the laws of nearly all the governments in the civilized world, whose subjects or citizens have ever been engaged in its prosecution; and that the two most active and extensive maritime nations of the globe have denounced it as piratical, and prescribed for those who may be found employed in it the awful punishment of death; yet the information which we have obtained from various sources of unquestionable authenticity, has led to the sorrowful conviction, that this iniquitous commerce has, for several years past, been prosecuted to a greater extent, and in a manner more destructive to its victims, than it ever was before.

"Under all the difficulties attendant upon this inquiry, and with ample allowance for all the questionable cases, an estimate, founded chiefly on official documents, leads to the conclusion that one hundred and fifty thousand African slaves are annually landed on the coasts of Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico. A large number is known to be carried into Texas; and we have reason to apprehend that many are also introduced into the United States.

"It is needless to expatiate upon the scenes of havoc and desolation from which this commerce is supplied; the sanguinary conflicts, the midnight conflagrations, and the toilsome march through inhospitable deserts, and under a burning sun, must be familiar to the mind of every person who is conversant with the history of the slave trade. From the concurrent testimony of numerous witnesses, we are warranted in the conclusion, that the number who perish by fatigue,

famine, and the sword, considerably exceeds the number who reach the coast alive.

"The diseases generated in the holds of slave ships, while the traffic was tolerated, are well known to have given to the march of death more than ten times its usual speed.

"But the circumstances under which it is now prosecuted, have greatly increased the horrors and mortality of the middle passage. The ships engaged in it are constructed for rapid sailing; hence the space allotted to the slaves is more limited now than before the prohibitory laws were enacted. Other causes, sufficiently obvious, augment the suffering and mortality attendant upon the passage across the Atlantic. A comparison founded upon a considerable collection of ascertained cases, appears to support the conclusion that rather more than one-fourth of the number embarked on the African coast perish before they reach the place of their destination in the western world. Connecting this conclusion with the estimate already given of those who perish in procuring the slaves actually disembarked, we are brought to the dreadful conviction that the African continent is annually despoiled, by means of the slave trade, of from four to five hundred thousand of its inhabitants; or considerably upward of a thousand a day."

From these statements, which we may well suppose the Meeting for Sufferings adopted with great caution, we are authorized to conclude, that for every African slave acclimated in this western hemisphere, two of his countrymen have fallen in death!

The condition of the survivor and his kindred in bondage here, is but too frequently the continuation of a death-struggle, in which they too must fall!

The legal principle that "slaves are chattels personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever," leads inevitably to the conclusion that their lives are subject to the absolute disposal of their masters; at least so far as is deemed necessary to make them the most available property. It is a simple fact that on some large estates the estimate has been carefully made, as to the precise period during which slaves may be "worked up" with the greatest pecuniary gain to the capitalists holding them. Such, indeed, is the terrible wickedness of the human heart, when under the influence of sordid motives that we cannot doubt the estimate is more frequently made and acted upon than is avowed to others, or than the persons acting upon them are willing to avow to themselves. The effort to get from the slave the greatest amount of labour

and profit, with the least expense of time and money, issues in a waste of human life to an extent not commonly appreciated. This result will be sufficiently indicated by the following facts and observations.

The annual import of negroes into Brazil, was rated by Dr. Morse, in 1810, at "as many as 40,000." A vast extension soon followed. According to Macqueen, the slave population in 1808, was 600,000; in 1833, 2,100,000; in 1839, 2,500,000. At a period antecedent to 1841, T. Fowell Buxton, supposed the number of slaves "brought annually into the five Brazilian ports" would be "moderately estimated at 100,000."

"Others who have long resided in the Brazils, give it as their opinion that 130,000 are annually introduced into that empire; that is, nearly a million every seven or eight years." The report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society says: "The mortality is ascertained to be in the ratio of five in the hundred beyond the annual births." This percentage on a population of two and a half millions, shews an annual waste of life in the production principally of sugar and coffee, of 125,000 human beings. Merely "to keep up the strength of the gangs," slaves to that amount must be yearly imported, at an expense to Africa of thrice that number of her inhabitants.

Dr. Madden in his appendix to "Cuban Slavery," furnishes a series of important questions addressed by him to a distinguished resident at Havana, with the answers he received to them. From this document we collect the following facts:

The number of African slaves imported into the island of Cuba was,

From A. D. 1523 to 1821	391,776
" " 1821 to 1840	360,000
Making a total of	751,776

By the census of 1827, the whole negro race "in life" in Cuba, was 393,436. Dr. Madden's respondent assumes it to be in 1844,

	500,000
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Shewing during the whole period an excess of deaths over births of

	251,776
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The same individual says that if the slave trade were stopped, the slave population would be extinct "in twenty years or thereabouts," provided the system of management remained unaltered. He adds that "the ordinary mortality is calculated at 5 per cent., although it is certain that on the sugar plantations the mortality is much greater; while in the towns, on coffee properties, and other farms, the deaths are much less." Dr. Madden, in a note, says, he thinks the mortality "is under-

rated; that on sugar estates being about ten per cent., and on coffee estates 5 per cent." At the lowest ratio given, the excess of deaths over births, in a population of half a million, would amount to 25,000 per annum, to be made up by importations, which in Africa will bring death or exile to 75,000 human beings.

The great waste of life occurring in Cuba and Brazil, where slavery is unquestionably strung to its greatest degree of tension, is fully confirmed by the past history of Jamaica, in which, of 890,000 slaves, imported when the slave trade was legal, with their increase by birth, only 350,000 survived in 1835.

One of the causes which make this waste so excessive in Cuba, undoubtedly is the fact that a great majority of the imported slaves are males. The proportion of men to women usually found on the sugar plantations is about 3 to 1; on the coffee plantations 3 to 2.

This cause does not operate in the United States to any great extent. Our tables exhibit a sexual equality, nearly. We have no systematized foreign slave trade, and for the comparatively few slaves thrown illicitly upon the southern, there is a probable equivalent in number and sex, in those escaping from servitude on the northern boundary of slavery. The internal slave trade is moreover too recent to have produced marked developments of its ultimate influence on human life. We may, therefore, consider slavery, as now exhibited in the United States, to be, so far as it regards that influence, in the least unfavourable position in which it could be presented.

By a singular perversity, as if to baffle any attempt at comparison between the blacks and whites, the columns of the census exhibit the enumeration of the blacks, whether free or bond, at ages different from those at which the whites are enumerated. We are compelled, therefore, and probably it is the fairest parallel which could be made, to contrast the slaves with the free coloured inhabitants. The result follows:

By the census of 1820, for every hundred of each class under fourteen years of age, there was a gain of more than 4 slaves between 14 and 26 years; a deficiency of nearly 7 slaves, between 26 and 45 years; and a deficiency of nearly 17 slaves, above 45 years; making an aggregate deficiency in the class of slaves above 14 years of age, of 19½ per cent. on a population of 668,196, equal to 130,298 persons.

By the census of 1830, for every hundred under ten years of age, there was a gain of nearly four slaves between 10 and 24 years; a deficiency of nearly one slave between 24 and 36 years; a de-

ficiency of more than eleven slaves between 36 and 55 years; and a deficiency of more than seven-teen slaves above 55 years; making in the aggregate a loss of 25.6 per cent. on a population of 701,163 slaves above 10 years of age; equal to 179,498 persons.

By the census of 1840, for every similar hundred under 10 years of age, there was a deficiency of nearly 2 slaves between 10 and 24 years; of nearly 4 slaves between 24 and 36 years; of more than 15 slaves between 36 and 55 years and of 16 slaves above 55 years; making an aggregate loss of 37.3 per cent on a population of 844,049 slaves above 10 years of age; equal to 314,830 persons.

On summing these results for the three decennial periods named, we find an aggregate deficiency of 624,626 slaves. There must, however, be some abatement made from this number, on account of the re-appearance in subsequent enumerations of persons included in previous ones, so far as the effect would be to give to the class of greater longevity, numbers not represented in the class of lesser longevity. Making all due allowances on this account, and conceding something for possible errors in the census, though the balance of errors may have been contrariwise, there is to our minds the evidence that at least half a million of persons, during a period of thirty years, have disappeared prematurely within the limits of this republic, in consequence of the existence in it of the upas tree of slavery!

We read that, in ancient time, "David longed and said, Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate! and the three mighty men brake through the hosts of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem that was by the gate, and took it and brought it to David; nevertheless he would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the Lord; and he said, Be it far from me, O Lord, that I should do this: Is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives? Therefore he would not drink it." (2 Samuel 23: 15-17.)

Reader! Dost thou feel no call to make unto the Lord a similar offering of those comforts and luxuries which are brought to thee, not at the peril merely, but at the abundant cost, also, of human life?

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

Regarding the existence of slavery in this land as an evil of vast magnitude, for the removal of which every Christian should earnestly labour by

all the means in his power consistent with his religion, and from which each individual should anxiously seek to disconnect himself as far as practicable; and having long believed a suitable channel was needed through which information on the subject of slavery might be readily diffused amongst our members, I heartily approve of the proposed attempt to establish the Non-Slaveholder.

It is true that many papers devoted to emancipation already exist, but their circulation amongst Friends is small; and however useful each may be in its circle, none of them are entirely adapted to the principles or the position of the Society of Friends. But many of our members will, doubtless, be ready to call in question the necessity of an anti-slavery paper being published amongst us. I am not one of this class.

Those who are properly engaged in the reformation of their own hearts, well know the need of having the pure mind stirred up by way of remembrance; they feel the happy influence of religious association; they acknowledge the strength and benefit experienced from the faithful performance of every act which results from obedience to the dictates of religious duty.

So also in the discharge of those duties which are especially connected with the welfare of our fellow men, we meet with so many hindrances from various causes, that we can scarcely be too vigilant in acquiring the knowledge requisite to judicious action, or too prompt in the practical application of this knowledge under the direction of sound Christian principles.

However faithfully many Friends may have labored to promote the cause of emancipation, and however strong they may think their abhorrence of slavery, it is only by constant watchfulness, by unremitting attention, that any can keep their minds properly alive to the concern, and be prepared to adopt such measures as a "discussion of the matter with that candour and freedom of thought which the case justly calls for," (*Woolman*,) may require at their hands.

The writer of this is fully convinced that our Society has not yet taken the last step in its progress from slave-trading and slaveholding to an entire disconnection from any participation or support of the anti-Christian system. When I speak of this disconnection, I do not forget that we are surrounded by circumstances which render a positive and absolute exemption from every degree of participation in many of the evils which abound in the world, impossible.

We can be only comparatively free from sustaining them, while we are clothed with these bodies

of flesh—while we are not yet taken out of the world.

But this in no degree lessens our obligation to do with our might what our hands find to do, and to seek earnestly and with fervent prayer for the blessed influence and spiritual strength which are graciously extended by our compassionate Redeemer to enable us to "work righteousness."

The *last step* to which I have alluded is abstinence from the use of the productions of slavery. I hope the editors of the Non-Slaveholder will keep this subject steadily in view, and under the Divine blessing their labours may be instrumental in bringing our society to the position which its principles undoubtedly require it to occupy. Endeavour, in love, and with patience, charity and forbearance, to convince your brethren. Many discouragements may beset you; you may even have to encounter much opposition; but this has been the experience of all who have exposed popular errors, or endeavoured to eradicate "deep rooted wrong customs." Remarkable instances of this may be found in the history of the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in our religious Society.

In 1715, Chester (now Concord) Quarterly Meeting laid before the Yearly Meeting its "unanimous sense and judgment that Friends should not be concerned in the importing or bringing of negro slaves for the future," and requested the concurrence of the Yearly Meeting therein.

Isaac Norris, a distinguished Friend, describing this meeting in a letter, speaks thus: "Our meeting was large and comfortable, and our business would have been very well, were it not for the warm pushing by some Friends, of Chester chiefly, in the business of negroes. The aim was to obtain a minute that none should buy them for the future. This was opposed as of dangerous consequence to the peace of the church, for since they could not tell how to dispose of those we have, and that many members must still possess them; and then it might fall to their lot in duty to deal with future offenders, which, as it could not in itself be equitable, such must do it with an ill-grace, and, at best, it would be a foundation for prejudice and evil speaking one of another, so that it was got over."

Thus a practice which is now regarded as a crime demanding the severest punishment known to the laws, was tolerated amongst Friends, lest its removal might endanger the peace of the church! As the light of truth was suffered to shed its influence on the subject, our ancestors found a way to "dispose" of the slaves they had, and,

also, to forbid the purchase of more; and as the same divine light still exists, let us not be discouraged by the prevalence of the same timid policy in the present day, but continue to labour in the ability which may be granted us.

AGRICOLA.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

The subjoined Circulars and Constitution, connected with the establishment of a Free Produce Society within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, are republished for the purpose of placing them in a situation for ready reference, and with the expectation that there will be frequent occasion to notice, on these pages, the onward progress of the body to which they have relation.

TO OUR FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

There is probably no proposition in political economy more indisputable than that the demand for an article which human industry or ingenuity can produce, will infallibly bring it into market. Many of the improvements in science may be traced to the demand created by the wants and refinements of the age.

The mechanical arts advance or recede according as the demand for their products improves or declines. Numerous instances might be given, of manufactures having flourished in one age and disappeared in the next, for no other reason than because there was no longer a demand for their products.

Numerous tracts were issued, proving and exposing the evils of intemperance; yet the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits could not be prevented, so long as a large demand remained. But where the progress of temperance has excluded the demand, the manufacture and sale have ceased of course.

The iniquity of the African slave trade is now generally acknowledged; yet the former is prosecuted in defiance of laws, human and divine, and the latter is maintained in half the states of the Union, and, in many of them, with a tenacity which manifests the hold it has taken on the passions and prejudices of the people. Now this arises from the interests, real or imaginary, which are involved in the system.

Men are seized on the African shore and transported to the western world, because they can be sold here, and held in hereditary slavery; and they are bought here, because a profit is supposed to be deducible from their labour. Slavery confers a mercantile value on the victims of the trade;

and the demand for the products of slave labour sustains this mercantile value in the persons of the slaves and their posterity. Human beings are converted into chattels, and retained in that unnatural condition, simply because the products of their extorted labour find, or are supposed to find, a remunerating value in the market. Thus slavery and the slave trade, like arts and manufactures, are necessarily supported by the demand for their products. If we could close the markets of the world against the productions of slave labour, we should annihilate the value of the property which is supposed to be vested in the persons of men, and leave the moral and religious objections to slavery at liberty to exercise their force without the counteracting influence of interest. If those who are conscientiously opposed to the holding of slaves would agree to apply the same practical rule to this evil as to others—to manifest their disapprobation of slavery, by withholding their aid from its support—there can be no reasonable doubt that a sensible impression might be made, without strife or commotion, on this great opprobrium of the western world.

Many of the articles now generally produced by the labour of slaves, are among the common conveniences of life; but the total abandonment of the use of these articles is not necessary, for they may be produced by the labour of freemen. The productions of tropical climates are among the provisions supplied by the all bountiful hand, for the convenience and comfort of man, and as such ought to be received with thankfulness. But the Most High never made a slave to cultivate them. He created freemen, and man made slaves. Whatever his hand has supplied for our use may be, and ought to be, cultivated and manufactured by the hands of freemen. Whatever slaves can perform, may be accomplished by hands which the Creator made free.

It is well known that neither slaves nor their masters prosecute their business with the energy and skill which appear where the operatives are free. Hence, it is generally found that the products of slave labour are more costly than those of free. If in any case the former come into the market on lower terms than the latter, the difference is only a part of what is deducted from the lives and comforts of the operatives; for a large part of the profits of slave labour is employed in supporting the idleness and negligence of the masters. The expense of keeping the slaves in subjection, of preventing elopements, and recovering fugitives, must also be charged on the system.

Consequently, an effort to supply the market

through the instrumentality of free labour, with those articles which are now mostly extracted from the drudgery of slaves, is an attempt to substitute, for a wasteful and demoralizing species of cultivation, an improved method, to which neither moral nor economical objections can be made.

So far, indeed, is such a course from being a compulsive one, that its primary object is to substitute encouragement for compulsion; to steer clear of connection with a system of force, and to promote voluntary exertions among managers and laborers. It would be a lame objection to the labours of the friends of temperance, that they are *compelling* the distillers and retailers of liquors to abandon their employments. Yet the argument would be as just as in the case before us. If the markets of the world were instantly closed against the products of slave labour, they might be opened immediately by emancipating the slaves.

In order to procure an union of efforts among Friends, it is now proposed to form an association within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, for the special purpose of promoting and encouraging the production, by free labour, of the articles which are generally procured from servile hands.

With this view, a meeting of a number of Friends was convened in Philadelphia, on the 23d of Fourth month, 1845, and a Committee was appointed to prepare a Constitution.

The subscribers, on behalf and by direction of that meeting, now respectfully invite such of their fellow-members of our religious Society as approve of the measure, and are willing to take part in the labour, to meet at Clarkson Hall, north side of Cherry, above Sixth street, in the city of Philadelphia, on Sixth day, the 20th of Sixth month, 1845, at 3 o'clock, P. M., when the Constitution prepared by the Committee will be submitted for consideration, revision and adoption.

ENOCH LEWIS,
SAMUEL HILLES,
WILLIAM KIRKWOOD,
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
WM. J. ALLINSON,
THOMAS WISTAR, JR.,
ARM. L. PENNOCK,
DILLWYN SMITH,
EDWARD GARRETT,
SAMUEL RHODES.

Phila. 5th mo. 24, 1845.

TO OUR FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

A number of the members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, convened in that city in the Fourth month last, to deliberate upon the means of pro-

moting the concern which the Society of Friends in all parts of the world has long professed, in relation to the unrighteous system of slavery, so sorrowfully prevalent in the United States. In pursuance of a conclusion adopted by that meeting, a circular was prepared and disseminated among our fellow members, bringing into view the obvious and undeniable fact, that the slave-trade and the slavery which has grown out of it, owe their existence and vitality to the market for the productions of slave labour; suggesting the formation of an association within the limits of our Yearly Meeting, to consist exclusively of members, for the purpose of supplying the market, as far at least as their own custom was concerned, through the instrumentality of free labour, with those articles which are now chiefly procured by the labour of slaves; and inviting such Friends as approved of the measure, and were willing to take part in the labour, to meet at Clarkson Hall, on the 20th of Sixth month following.

A meeting was accordingly held, and an association formed and partially organized, under the title of "The Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting." The constitution herewith submitted was adopted, subject, however, to such modifications and improvements as experience and farther deliberation may suggest; and Friends who favour the general object contemplated by the association, are respectfully invited to attend the next meeting, to be held at the same place, Clarkson Hall, Cherry street, between Sixth and Seventh streets, on Sixth-day the 19th of the present month, at 7 o'clock, P. M. when this subject in its various relations and ramifications will be open to discussion; and all reasonable objections, if any should be offered, to the plan or procedure thus far attempted, will be respectfully heard.

While presenting this invitation to our fellow members, to those who have not, as well as those who have attended the previous meetings, a few considerations, connected with this deeply interesting subject, may with propriety be subjoined.

In the first place, we may observe, that we are adopting no novel doctrines or principles.

In an article of our book of Discipline copied from a minute of 1755, modified in the revision of 1806, relating to the practice of enslaving mankind, Friends are exhorted "to be no way accessory to this enormous national evil, but to discourage it by all the justifiable means in their power."

Certainly an effort to withdraw our custom from a market which supports both slavery and the slave trade, is an attempt to discourage the system

of slavery in all its parts. And who will assert that the substitution of free for slave labour is not a justifiable mode of effecting it?

In the same book, page 129, the Meeting for Sufferings is admonished to embrace every suitable opportunity for advancing our testimony against the African slave trade, and for calling the attention of the public mind to this awfully interesting subject. And the proceedings of that meeting sufficiently prove, that the advancement of our testimony against slavery itself, and against the internal traffic in slaves, is considered as included in its duties. In the year 1837, an Address to the people of the United States was prepared by that meeting, and widely disseminated under the authority of the Yearly Meeting. In this address we find the following declaration: "The responsibility of contributing as citizens of our common government, to support this unrighteous institution, and thus degrading the afflicted descendants of Africa nearly to a level with the brute creation, is felt by many conscientious Christians to be serious and weighty; hence they cannot but desire that the subject may increasingly engage the solemn deliberation of their fellow citizens, more particularly of those, who, from the possession of power or influence, may be enabled to promote their liberation." Now this association is designed to operate upon the general interests of slavery, as far as it operates at all, by diminishing the demand for slave labour, and substituting the labour of freemen. Hence its effect, if successfully prosecuted, must be to promote the extinction of slavery. It is therefore entirely in unison with the desire above expressed.

In the spring of 1844, the Meeting for Sufferings presented to the Senate of the United States a forcible remonstrance against the annexation of Texas. One of the principal objections assigned was, that such annexation would furnish a new and powerful impetus to the inter-territorial traffic in the persons of men, by opening an extensive tract of fertile land to slave cultivation. But without a market for the products of slave labour, this traffic would not be prosecuted. Consequently, if we have not influence enough to prevent this annexation, the withdrawal of our custom from the market which slave cultivation supplies, would be to withhold our contributions from the violence and oppression which that meeting anticipated as the necessary result of the measure in question.

In the year 1824, the report of the Southern Quarter called the attention of our Yearly Meeting to the subject of Friends hiring slaves to assist them in their business; and the conclusion of the

Yearly Meeting was, that when slaves were thus hired, and the price of their services was intended for the benefit of those who claimed the right of ownership, and not designed or applied to promote the liberation of the slaves, such conduct was a violation of our testimony, and, if persisted in, a cause for disownment. If a Friend violates the testimonies of the Society, by employing a slave hired of his master, upon his own farm, where he may be treated with all reasonable kindness, it is not easily perceived that the case is much improved by employing the slave on the plantation of his master, subject to the cruelty of a hired overseer, and then paying the master both for the labour of the slave, and the oversight of the driver. We may at least, admit that the Friend who declines purchasing the products of slave labour, and thus avoids paying the master for the toil of the slave, and superintendence of the overseer, carries out the principle inculcated by the minute of 1824.

A minute of our Yearly Meeting of 1839, which was printed and circulated among our members, contains the following clause. "The close connexion, and intimate intercourse which is maintained between the different sections of our common country, through the diversified and widely spread channels of commerce and business, may, unless we are very watchful, blunt our sensibilities to the cruelties of slavery, and diminish our abhorrence of its injustice. We wish tenderly to invite our dear Friends to an individual inquiry, with a single eye to the pointings of Truth, how far they are clear in these respects; and should such an examination awaken serious apprehensions as to any part of their traffic, that they may be willing to forego every prospect of gain, arising from the prosecution of business, which is incompatible with the purity of our religious profession." This advice certainly recognizes not only the right, but the duty, of seriously examining whether we are supporting, in our commerce or business, the unrighteous system of slavery. The principle of the admonition, if not the letter, applies with similar, if not equal force, to our consumption of its products, and if it related to any thing but slavery would doubtless be so understood. The consumer supports the traffic as well as encourages the production. Individuals, who, from religious or moral considerations, are induced to question the propriety of using the products of slave labour, are therefore indirectly, if not directly encouraged to regard their scruples and carry them into practice. But in the present complicated state of commerce, and in consequence of the mixture of free with slave labour in the production of many

of the usual conveniences of life, the separation can hardly be effectually secured except by a systematic union of efforts. The consumer, without some assistance, can seldom ascertain, with satisfactory clearness, whether the articles which he purchases are actually the produce of free labour or not. Besides, a demand for the products of free to the exclusion of slave labour, which an association might create, but a few unconnected individuals cannot, would infallibly produce a supply.

In the next place, we observe, it is proposed to confine the association to members of our own religious Society, and thus prevent the danger of subjecting our proceedings to influences unfavourable to our profession and principles.

Lastly. As our association involves no principles to which we apprehend any moral objections can be raised—as our object is, not to cast a censure on those Friends or others who do not unite with us, but simply to carry out our own convictions of duty, and pursue such peaceable and rational means as appear calculated to wear away the system of slavery by turning the stream of commerce into a more righteous channel, we may hope that when our views are properly understood, we shall obtain the concurrence and approbation of all who desire to see the galling yoke of negro slavery speedily broken without violence or commotion.

ENOCH LEWIS,
SAMUEL ALSOP,
ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK,
EDWARD GARRETT,

Phila., Ninth mo. 3d, 1845.

Committee.

CONSTITUTION OF THE

FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.

We believe that slaveholding is diametrically opposed to the whole spirit and tenor of the Christian religion, and that while it sustains the traffic in slaves, it is mainly supported by the traffic in and the consumption of the productions of slave labour. In order, therefore, to promote the use and facilitate the acquirement of goods supplied by free labour, we unite in an association under the title of the "FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING," and adopt for its government the following constitution.

ART. 1st. The Association shall consist of such members of the Religious Society of Friends as concur in the above views and purposes, and sign the constitution, or request their names to be entered on the list of members.

ART. 2nd. The Association shall meet annually in the city of Philadelphia, at such time and place

as it may prescribe, or the managers, in the absence of such direction, shall appoint. It shall meet at other times by adjournment, or on the special call of the Board of Managers, or of any ten members.

ART. 3rd. The officers of the Association shall be a Secretary, Treasurer, and Managers, to be appointed at the annual meetings.

ART. 4th. The Secretary shall keep regular records of the proceedings of the Association.

ART. 5th. The Treasurer shall receive all moneys which may be contributed for promoting the objects of the Association, and pay them over to the order of the Association or of the Board of Managers; keeping regular accounts thereof, to be laid before the Association at its annual meetings.

ART. 6th. The Board of Managers shall consist of eight members, beside the Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be *ex-officio* members; any five of whom shall form a quorum for the transaction of business. They shall have power to fill all vacancies that may occur in their body. They shall attend, under the instruction of the Association, to the promotion of the objects of the institution, and may adopt such rules, regulating their meetings and proceedings, as they shall deem expedient.

ART. 7th. The Association shall aim to procure correct information of the condition of the countries with which we have commercial intercourse, in respect to free and slave labour, and the means of discriminating between their productions when they exist together; and shall endeavour to ascertain and disseminate facts which show the injustice and destructiveness of human life connected with slave labour; the impolicy of it; and the duty of disconnecting ourselves from its support. It shall adopt means for obtaining a supply of such articles, the productions of free labour, as are not readily to be procured by individuals through the ordinary channels of commerce or manufactures.

ART. 8th. The Association shall correspond, by itself, or its Board of Managers, as occasion shall require, with such similar associations as may be established elsewhere; or with persons interested in promoting the objects of the institution.

ART. 9th. The Association shall encourage the formation of a fund by absolute contributions, or loans without interest, for the purpose of purchasing free cotton, and manufacturing it into fabrics, and for procuring other free goods, for which there may be occasion for making provision. Such fund shall be kept detached from all other moneys of the Association; and so much of it as may be received on loan, shall be subject to a distributive proportion of any loss upon the whole amount, should such loss occur.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH 7, 1846.

MORTALITY OF SLAVERY.—We commend to the attentive perusal of our readers an article which appears in this number chiefly relating to this subject. It was prepared by a Committee of the Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and is published at its request. We take this occasion to say, that we expect our columns to be enriched by much valuable matter coming to us from various departments of that association; at the same time we wish it to be understood that we do not officially represent it. This journal is put forth independent of that or any other association, and its editors are accountable for the course they shall pursue to but one Society—the religious one of which they are members.

The abridgement of human life incident to the slave system, is not to be overlooked by humane men and women—much less by those who profess to be subjects of the peaceable kingdom of Messiah.

Dr. Franklin once said to a Friend, who happened to sit with him at the same table, and who was liberally helping himself to sugar—then wholly the production of slavery:—"Young man! do you know that every ounce of sugar contains a drop of human blood?" The lesson inculcated reached the witness in the Friend's mind, and he became an abstinent—we trust through after life.

BRITISH ABSTINENCE.—We hope, ere long, to be furnished with an interesting account of that general abstinence in Great Britain, which preceded, and we doubt not, essentially promoted the abolition of the British slave trade. The following extract of a letter dated 4th mo. 17, 1792, from John Hoyland, of Sheffield, England, to Rebecca Jones, of Philadelphia, is characteristic of the feeling then existing amongst Friends in that country, and which some people can well remember extended into this.

"I enclose a newspaper [account] of the debates on W. Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave trade—also a late publication respecting sugar, supposed to be written by a Friend. I desire thy sentiments upon it.

"I don't know whether I acknowledged the receipt of the dried peaches sent us, via Undercliffe. We have had some tarts lately made of them, and find they retain their acid better than our apples; but as Friends generally disuse sugar, fruit pies seldom make their appearance, and are little in demand."

We shall take another opportunity for showing the fatal error which the abolitionists committed in leaving the simple ground of avoiding the productions of slave labor. True, they thought the *whole work* was accomplished when they abolished the slave trade by law; but alas! that law never touched the motive for holding slaves.

MEXICAN SUGAR.—In reference to this cultivation, the editor of "The Friend," under date of 12th mo. 12th, 1829, makes the following judicious observation:

"The Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter of London, for August, 1829, contains an article which it seems to us opens an exhilarating prospect to the christian philanthropist in respect to the great subject of slavery and the slave trade. Once establish the practicability of an adequate supply for the demand of sugar and coffee free of slave labour, and it appears to us the downfall of the whole slave system must inevitably follow, for we cannot doubt the general disposition to give to the product of free labour the preference."

It was for the purpose of establishing this practicability, and of extending it to the important article of cotton, that the "Free Produce Association of Friends" was established. Are Friends prepared to encourage the attempt, and thus contribute to the downfall of the whole slave system? We hope their answer will be affirmative.

POETRY.—The beautiful lines describing "the Quaker of the olden time," which give much value to our initial number, we need scarcely say are from the pen of our friend John Greenleaf Whittier. We bid him a cordial welcome to our columns, and hope to number him among our frequent correspondents. The reader will perceive our indebtedness to his present contribution for the motto which indicates so happily the moral of our title.

The work of reformation to be rightly fulfilled begins at home. The influence of this sentiment may give to the Non-Slaveholder something of a sectarian aspect. We mean, however, that it shall not be sectarian, nor have this appearance in any repulsive sense, but that its subjects shall be of such comprehensive importance as will make them interesting to the general reader.

TEXAS.—The resolutions for the admission of the State of Texas into the Union were adopted by the House of Representatives, Ayes 141 Nays 56, and by the Senate, Ayes 31 Nays 13. They received the signature of the President on the 29th ultimo.

CULTURE OF COTTON IN BRITISH INDIA.—A large part of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, dated "October 1st, 1845," is devoted to the interesting and important question, of substituting the produce of free labour for that of slave labour. It contains a document relating to the culture of cotton in British India, which was a short time since addressed as a memorial to Sir Robert Peel, as the Prime Minister, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It sets forth many important facts and statements, and proves that so far from the attempt to cultivate cotton in India having failed, as has been so often asserted in this country, there has been a large annual increase. The quantity imported into England last year from India amounted to 239,718 bales, being more than a fifth part of that imported from the United States, and almost equal to the amount imported from this country twenty years ago. It is also more than six times the amount imported from India in 1825, while the import from this country during the last year was but little more than three times that of 1825, thus showing the comparative increase of cultivation to be much greater in India than in the United States. The annual export of cotton from India to China exceeds that to England.

The quality of India cotton has not hitherto been equal to the best American, owing principally to bad culture and cleaning.

The experiments which have been tried under the direction of the East India Company to improve the quality of the cotton, have, upon the whole, been very satisfactory, especially at Dharwar; and, from the facts collected, it is believed it may be so improved as to rival in every respect the produce of the United States.

The memorial concludes thus: "If India can supply cotton of equal quality and similar price with that from America, she will confer a vast boon on this country; and should she be able to supply it at a less cost, which it is believed with proper attention she may, she will be a mighty instrument in the hand of Divine Providence of breaking down one of the most execrable tyrannies that exists on the face of the earth. These considerations should secure for this object the warm sympathy and hearty cooperation of every British patriot and of every Christian philanthropist."

"Another document," says the Editor of the A. S. Reporter, "highly worthy of attention in our columns to-day, expounds the duty of using articles produced by free labour in preference to

articles produced by slave labour. This is extracted from the Minutes of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends for the present year, and may justly be commended to an attentive perusal. Much in this respect was done by British abolitionists in an earlier stage of the controversy, by the preference given to East India sugar; and we have no doubt but the same effort would be repeated, if articles manufactured with East India cotton, could, in a trustworthy manner, be brought into the market. *It is known to us that attention is directed to this subject*, and it will afford us the sincerest gratification if a plan for effecting the very important object in view can be matured."

We are informed by a letter recently received from England that arrangements are now in progress for the manufacture of cotton fabrics from free cotton. This cannot but afford strong encouragement in various points of view, to the humble efforts of the Free Produce Association of Friends. In England, however, no difficulty exists in procuring free cotton; for in addition to that received from East India, considerable quantities are imported from the British possessions, altogether amounting to one-sixth of the whole import.

SELECTIONS.

From the London Friend.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS.

We cannot meditate but with interest and advantage on the present condition of the Society of Friends, as contrasted with its early character; nor ought we to consider with indifference the causes which have led to this condition, or which have in any way modified that character. It is an inquiry intimately connected with the spiritual interests of each of us as an individual member; and should it result in the conviction that as a body of Christian professors, we are less devoted, less earnest, less distinguished by spiritual fruits than we formerly were, ought it not to lead us to look into the cause of this degeneracy, and into the nature of our individual responsibility in connexion with it? We profess to believe the same religious doctrines, and to be regulated by the same spiritual influences as our forefathers were, and yet practically, in many important respects, we are a different people.

Much has been said of the darkness of the age in which the early Friends appeared, and it has been asserted, that their light shone more brightly

from contrast with the gloom by which they were surrounded. It was, however, a time by no means distinguished for religious darkness; it was, on the contrary, an era which must ever be marked in the history of religion in this country. It was the era of Baxter, of Bunyan, of the Puritans, and of the Non-conformists. The consciences of the people had indeed been previously kept in bondage by an unhallowed exercise of the civil power, and under its influence they had almost ceased to think with freedom on religious subjects. But the antiquated systems of belief which had grown up for generations, the bequests of dark and corrupt ages, were shaken to their base. They had been sustained by the wealth of the state for state purposes, and being invigorated by nothing but lifeless forms and ceremonies, they contained the elements of their own dissolution; overgrown, but feeble, they were ready to die of decrepitude, or to burst of their own plentitude. Out of the dust into which they crumbled, there sprang, with irrepressible fertility, a harvest of motley and incongruous sects and principles; truth grew side by side with error, heavenly doctrines were blended with human inventions, and the religious elements were altogether thrown into such a chaos as has rarely been witnessed in this or any other country. But the result was for good; there was a searching investigation into the foundations of religious belief, and it issued in the ascendancy of right principle.

It was in this period of excitement, arising from religious and political change and uncertainty, that our early Friends appeared, and their devoted labours and deep sufferings, on behalf of the doctrines they had espoused, testified how sincerely they believed, and how highly they estimated them. They were men of deep religious experience; they had tasted of the power of the corruptions of their own hearts, and had felt how hard is the bondage of sin. They had sought in outward systems, a deliverance from this bondage, and, in the heartfelt experience how powerless they were, they had come to Christ. Having thus found Him whom their souls loved, they unreservedly submitted to his government, and their desires were earnest that he would work in them "both to will and to do of his good pleasure." They sold all they had to buy the pearl, and it is no marvel that they would not part with it for trifles. Hence arose that singleness of purpose which so strikingly marks the history of the early Friends. They had seen of the travail of their souls, and they were satisfied; the world had lost its power to dazzle them. They met together frequently, they prayed fervently, they preached boldly, they ran hither and thither at the bidding of Him whom

only they acknowledged as head over all things to his Church; and what marvel that He blessed their labours? They were full of the spirit and of power, they were earnest, devoted, and single-minded; how could the result be otherwise?

Such were the characteristics, not of a few members, but of the body. The influence was felt from the centre to the circumference. They were distinguished by spiritual liveliness; in them the Spirit operated, and though they were prompt and ready in the performance of the service to which they were called, they laid no unhallowed hands on the ark of the Lord's testimony. Some irregularities might mark their progress; they might partake of the enthusiasm of the times; their zeal might, in some instances, exceed the limits of discretion, for they had their "treasure in earthen vessels," but after making every deduction, there still remains enough to fix theirs as a bright example of the victory of simple, Christian Truth, when preached with power, over prejudice, error, and opposition, over the efforts of the rulers of the darkness of this world, and over "spiritual wickedness in high places." The early Friends believed themselves but strangers and pilgrims on the earth, and, as a body, they gave its concerns but small share in their affections. The great end of their religious arrangements, and of their social and domestic usages, had reference to the preservation of the spiritual life; for this they "endured with all patience," and underwent "long suffering with joyfulness." Thus they were edified, and walking in the fear of God, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, they were multiplied.

The ministers and the members of a religious community, are but one body in Christ; hence when the body is in a state of sound spiritual health, the effect is seen in the ministry. These act and re-act upon each other. When the body is alive, and its members mind their calling, there is ever a free exercise of spiritual gifts to edification. So it was with the early Christians, and so also it was in the experience of the early Friends. The ministry sympathized with the spiritual condition of the body, and, in mystical union with it, was maintained in healthy and powerful action, and here we have another marked and deeply important feature of the period. There was a larger number in proportion to the whole, who forsook all and followed Christ, and who were qualified for public service in his church, than is now the case; and of those who were so called, there was a larger proportion than at present, who travelled in various directions to make known the truth to others.

This circumstance is of deep interest, as show-

ing the state of the body; but there is yet another point of contrast, that indicates disease in its present condition, and in some degree points out the extent and direction of it. In the early period of the Society, there was a large preponderance of male over female ministers. Of those who were immediately associated with George Fox in the work of the ministry, the proportion was about twelve males to one female. At present it does not widely differ from two females to one male. Now, in adverting to this circumstance, it is far from my desire to call in question the prerogative of the Great Head of the Church, to whom only it pertains, in the distribution of spiritual gifts, "to divide unto every man severally as He will," still less to limit the free and full exercise of that blessed privilege of this gospel day, wherein the Spirit is poured upon all flesh, and under the influence of which, both sons and daughters shall prophesy. May we all more and more prize these privileges and walk worthy of our high vocation. There is, however, in the economy of the divine purposes, the evidence of harmony and proportion. In the spiritual building, each member fills his allotted position. Thus does the Church "grow up into him in all things who is the Head, even Christ, from whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love." May we all deeply ponder this evidence of the healthy condition of the church, and our own solemn responsibility in connexion with it. May the number increase amongst us, who "walk by faith, and not by sight," and may the word of the Lord have free course and be glorified. In the early ages of the Christian church, and in the rise of the Society of Friends, it was the men chiefly who girt on the Christian armour, and under the direction of the great Captain of their salvation, advanced to the combat; the reason why this does not continue to be more largely our case, may well excite our apprehensions.

It may be difficult, nay impossible, to estimate the causes which operate so powerfully in alienating us from the life of Christ, and which indispose us for the walk by faith and for intercourse with God. The world in all its transformations, has unquestionably had a mighty influence, "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." May we watch against covetousness: it is the more dangerous, because it is respectable, but it is a deep and deadening sin. Its approaches are so silent, that we are often unconscious of its motions; it removes very gently,

but very certainly, the bloom and freshness of our spiritual sensibilities; it takes away our relish for heavenly enjoyment, and it fills us with the bright and dazzling visions of earthly things. We are lulled by the song of the syren, and we go on from year to year, in false and fearful security, unmindful of the voice of Him that speaketh from heaven and in unconscious ignorance of our spiritual condition.

The review is a discouraging one, but it is at times profitable for us "to hang our harps on the willows," and to "weep when we remember Zion." But the "Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save, neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear;" and may we not take comfort from the language addressed to the desponding prophet, when bewailing the condition of the children of his people: "I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." Even so may the hidden remnant amongst us take courage and come forth, and clothed in that power in which a little one can chase a thousand, put to flight "the armies of the aliens."

"O ye that make mention of the name of the Lord, keep not silence, and give him no rest, till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth."

10th mo., 1844.

W.

From "The Friend," Vol. 2, No. 37.

NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

This gigantic iniquity really seems to be less and less regarded, as time and circumstances render it more and more formidable. Some day, however, its true character must be seen, for its tremendous consequences will affect this whole nation. It would be a great mercy if we could be brought to a consideration of the subject by the persuasions of righteousness, rather than by the terrors of wrath. *We are all more or less guilty of the long continued wrong.* It is in vain that we attempt to escape, by pleading our positions on this, or the other side of certain geographical lines. These distinctions have been obliterated by the actual modes of industry, and the policy which connects the north with the south. The all-conquering power of gain has made their interests one, and the consequences indissoluble. The inhabitants of the slaveholding states deserve our commiseration, and are entitled to our aid in doing whatever can now be done toward the abatement or removal of this high transgression.

Let us fearlessly look the evil in the face. If the climate of Rhode Island had been as favour-

able to the culture of cotton as the Carolinas, the capitalists of that state might have found a market for their hundreds of cargoes of human flesh, without sending them as they did to the south. Had the seasons been propitious in Massachusetts, the early settlers there would, in all probability, have pursued the Virginia system, and directed their attention to tobacco and to slaves.

New York and New Jersey, until recently, and Pennsylvania formerly, for several years tolerated negro bondage. In truth, we all, at this moment, partake, in some degree, of the labour of slaves; *THEY TOIL AND BLEED FOR OUR CONVENIENCE AND OUR GAIN.* But without pressing this tender point too far, let these considerations teach us lenity toward those who happen to have possession of the bodies, and who direct the physical energies of those victims of oppression, assured that it is high time for us to begin in earnest to assist in wiping the foul stain from our land, *NO MATTER WHAT THE COST MAY BE.* Such efforts are enjoined by Christianity. May many able advocates in this great cause speedily appear, and endowed with pure and devoted spirits, like Woolman and Benezet, enlighten the path of our duty, and lead us to the fulfilment of deeds of mercy and of justice.

V.

FAITHFULNESS OF MOTHERS.

In this life we can never know how many spirits of just men made perfect now reign in heaven, in consequence of the faithfulness of their mothers. Those now on earth, living by faith, and who "keep the sayings of this book," the most devoted men living, are those who have been led to Christ by a mother's love and faithfulness. You can hardly be aware how deep may be the impression which you may make on the mind of your child, even in a very few moments of time. For one I can truly say, I have never met with any loss so great as that of losing the care and instruction of my mother during my childhood, in consequence of her having lost her reason. But I can recollect that when a very little child, I was standing at the open window, at the close of a lovely summer's day. The large red sun was just sinking away behind the western hills; the sky was gold and purple commingled; the winds were sleeping, and a soft, solemn stillness seemed to hang over the earth. I was watching the sun as he sent his yellow rays through the trees, and felt a kind of awe, though I knew not wherefore. Just then my mother came to me. She was raging with phrensy,—for reason had long

POETRY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

The Quaker of the olden time!—
How calm and firm and true,
Unspotted by its wrong and crime
He walked the dark earth through!
The lust of power, the love of gain,
The thousand lures of sin
Around him, had no power to stain
The purity within.

With that deep insight, which detects
All great things in the small,
And knows how each man's life affects
The spiritual life of all,
He walked by faith and not by sight,
By love and not by law;
The presence of the wrong or right,
He rather felt than saw.

He felt that wrong with wrong partakes,
That nothing stands alone,
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own.
And, pausing not for doubtful choice
Of evils great or small,
He listened to that inward voice
Which called away from all.

Oh! Spirit of that early day,
So pure and strong and true,
Be with us in the narrow way
Our faithful fathers knew.
Give strength the evil to forsake,
The cross of Truth to bear,
And love and reverent fear to make
Our daily lives a prayer!

INTELLIGENCE.

BIRMINGHAM, (ENGLAND,) Nov. 4.—A meeting of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was held in Ebenezer Chapel, Mr. R. T. Cadbury in the chair. The report was read by the Rev. T. H. Morgan, in the absence of the Secretary. Mr. Sturge, in moving the second resolution, said he himself was strongly impressed with the conviction, though he spoke only as an individual, and not on behalf of any society, that while the slave-trader could turn round on the slaveholder, and say, "You are equally guilty with me," the slaveholder could say to those knowingly and willingly taking the produce of slave labour, "You are a participator in the crime." He (Mr. Sturge) held in his hand a statistical account, which he wished to be made more generally known. About fifty years ago, slavery in America appeared likely to become extinct. Soon

since left its throne,—and her, a victim of madness. She came up to me, wild with insanity. I pointed to the glorious sun in the west—and in a moment she was calm! She took my little hands within hers, and told me that "the great God made the sun, and the stars, and the world, every thing—that He it was who made her little boy, and gave him an immortal spirit; that yonder sun, and the green fields, and the world itself, will one day be burned up; but that the spirit of her child will then be alive, for *he* must live when heaven and earth are gone; that he must pray to the great God, and love and serve him for ever."

She let go my hands; madness returned; she hurried away. I stood with my eyes filled with tears, and my little bosom heaving with emotions which I could not have described; but I can never forget the impression which that conversation of my poor mother made upon me. Oh! what a blessing would it have been, had the inscrutable Providence of God given me a mother who could have repeated these instructions, accompanied by her prayers, through all the days of my childhood! But, "even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."

Mothers, if, when the sorrows of life shall be over, when the fashions of this life shall have passed away, you stand on Mount Zion above, with your children around you, able to say, "Here, Father, am I, and here are the children whom thou hast given me, of those whom thou gavest me have I lost none," and shall hear him say: "Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful,"—would you exchange that honour for all that ever entered into the heart of man? Take these children, then, and train them up for God, and all this, and a thousand fold more, shall be yours forever.—*Todd.*

"Seed sown with the tears of a confined, oppressed people, harvests cut down by an overborne, discontented reaper, make bread less sweet to the taste of an honest man, than that which is the produce, or just reward of such voluntary action, as is a proper part of the business of human creatures."—*Woolman.*

"Whence is it that men, who believe in a righteous Omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related, and are equally accountable, remain so easy in it; but because the ideas of negroes and slaves are so interwoven in the mind, that they do not discuss this matter with that candour and freedom of thought, which the case justly calls for."—*Woolman.*

after that, however, improvements in machinery commenced in this country, and the demand for cotton from America by England was increased also, as the following facts strikingly prove:—

Exports of Cotton from the United States.		Slave Population in America.	
Year.	lbs.	Year.	Pop.
1790,	189,316	1790,	657,437
1800,	29,911,201	1800,	896,582
1810,	62,186,081	1810,	1,299,872
1820,	124,893,405	1820,	1,733,162
1830,	270,979,784	1830,	2,310,882
1840,	540,959,568	1840,	2,485,683
1843,	1,081,919,136	1843,	2,847,810

No person, then, looking at these facts, could doubt that the consumption of cotton in this country had very much increased the amount of slavery in the United States; and a consideration of this had led to some attempts which had lately been made to supply cotton, exclusively the produce of free labour, from the East Indies; and he hoped Christians would see it their duty to use those articles, the produce of free labour, rather than those stained with blood.—*A. S. Reporter.*

BANBURY, (ENGLAND).—A meeting was held by special invitation, in the Friends' Meeting House, on Monday evening last, to hear a statement from Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham. There are few persons, we believe we might say none, who have evinced a more determined and consistent opposition to negro slavery in all its phases than has Joseph Sturge. His visit to the western hemisphere must be fresh in the recollection of all our readers who have taken an interest in the condition of the coloured population. By that visit he has added much to our previous knowledge of that condition, particularly in the United States, and enlarged his own ability to speak practically on a system which has long occupied the attention of the religious community with which he is more immediately connected, as well as that of the Christian philanthropist of every creed. Joseph Ashbey Gillett, Esq., presided; and we were agreeably surprised to find that George William Alexander was also present. Both Mr. Sturge and Mr. Alexander addressed the meeting at some length, and invited observations and questions. Several gentlemen availed themselves of the invitation, and obtained what we judged to be satisfactory replies. Much that was narrated was familiar; we were glad to hear that there is a probability of the professedly Christian churches in America, hitherto holding slaves as common or church property, abandoning the abominable practice.

Mr. Sturge announced an attempt that is being made in Manchester to establish a manufactory of cotton goods from the free grown cotton of the East Indies. He anticipates that the object will be carried out; and impressed upon the meeting the important effect which the success of the attempt must have upon the slavery question in North America. It was likely the article might not at first be so good at the price, as that produced from the slave-grown cotton, but he hoped the satisfaction that must be felt by those purchasing it, that they were not participating in the wrongs done to the slave, would be considered more than an equivalent for any little extra cost. The addresses of both Mr. Sturge and Mr. Alexander were listened to with much attention, and seemed to excite considerable interest; the feeling of the meeting was evidently with the speakers.

A meeting of a similar character to the foregoing was held a few days previously, at which Messrs. J. Sturge and W. Alexander were present, with similar results.—*Banbury Guardian.*

CASE OF JOSEPH LOUPRE, FOR CRUELTY TO HIS NEGRO, MOUSTACHE ALIAS CHAROTTE.

Loupre appeared before Recorder Genois on Saturday, charged with causing the death of his slave by excessive whipping. Mr. Beaufeu, testified that they had often heard the cries of the deceased—who had been whipped unmercifully for months past; that he had run away, was put in the police jail; and on his return to Loupre's bakery, was again severely punished, when he died. Dr. Barbe deposed that negroes had occasionally died of *tetanus* after the infliction of thirty lashes, but not immediately. Several journeymen bakers in the employ of Loupre, testified that Moustache was idle and refractory, and had on one occasion struck his master. Mr. and Made. Beaufeu stated that the negro had received some hundreds of lashes, while the bakers admitted only six or seven, on the night of Sunday, and on Monday morning, when the slave died. Mr. Preaux, who appeared for Loupre, said that the most that could be made of it was manslaughter, in which the District Attorney, Mr. Dufour, concurred. Recorder Genois, after animadverting on the *ex parte* evidence of the witnesses for the defence, admitted Loupre to bail in \$5,000, to appear before the Criminal Court.—*N. O. Tropic.*

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 1846.

[NO. 2.]

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

At the YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS, HELD IN NEW YORK by adjournments from the 26th of the 5th month, to the 30th of the same, inclusive, 1845,

The Essay contained in the Records of the Meeting for Sufferings, on the subject of trafficking in, and the free use of, articles produced by the labor of slaves, was fully approved by this Meeting, and directed to be transmitted to the subordinate meetings. It is as follows:

The subject of freely using and trading in articles produced by the labor of slaves, has claimed the very serious consideration of this meeting, and under the impressions attending, we are induced to invite our beloved friends to unite with us in a careful examination of it.

That the system of slavery involves in itself a great departure from those principles of moral rectitude which the Christian Religion not only inculcates, but enjoins, is a truth readily admitted. And this being conceded, the deeply interesting inquiry is suggested, whether by freely purchasing the produce of slave labor, we are not strengthening the hands of the oppressor, and lending our aid in riveting the fetters upon the galled limbs of the slave?

In the early settlement of America, when there was little known of the manner in which slaves were procured in Africa, and the purchase of them here was deemed favorable to both master and slave, Friends not only purchased and held slaves, but even engaged, to a limited extent, in the foreign slave trade. At an early period in the history of this trade, a few Friends were enlightened to see the sinfulness of it, and after long and arduous labor with their brethren, the conviction of its sinfulness so prevailed, that this traffic was relinquished. The next step in the progress of reform, was to refrain from the purchase and sale of those slaves already in the country. Our worthy forefathers, however, continued to hold their fellow men in bondage, because they had not sufficiently examined the subject in the light of

Truth; for when in the lapse of time, through an increase of light, they became convinced that this practice also was wrong, they united in abolishing it.

But before this was entirely effected, there were enlightened and faithful members of our religious society, who, in consideration of the great injustice inseparably connected with the system of slavery, and also the intimate relation subsisting between slaveholders and the purchasers and consumers of the products of slave labor, were induced to believe that, as faithful and consistent advocates in the cause of universal righteousness, it was required of them to abstain from the use of articles produced by the labor of slaves. Among these, it is well known, that that deeply instructed and devoted servant of Christ, JOHN WOOLMAN, occupied a prominent place. And from his day, down to the present, the same testimony has been upheld by many of our most worthy and enlightened members. But is it not an inquiry demanding our most serious thoughtfulness, whether the advancement of this testimony, within the limits of our Society, has fully kept pace with the increase of light and knowledge; and whether our sympathy with the slave, in the long continuance of that weight of affliction, under which he is bowed down, has been so lively, and our eyes so singly directed to the pointings of duty in this matter, as to prepare us to perceive and faithfully to follow the manifestations of the Divine Will?

"The trading in," says John Woolman, "or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to me to be a subject which may yet require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ the Prince of Peace. After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires, that if it please the Lord further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such manifestation."

The determined manner in which the slaveholder still continues to grasp his victim, and the horrors inseparably connected with the foreign and the domestic slave trade, are circumstances which press this subject upon our attention, and in the most forcible manner urge us to "discuss the matter with candor and freedom."

"Customs generally approved, and opinions received by youth from their superiors, become like the natural produce of the soil, especially when they are suited to favorite inclinations; but as the judgments of God, by which the state of the soul must be tried, are without partiality, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and try the treasure of the soul by the infallible standard, *Truth*. Christ, our holy leader, graciously continueth to open the understandings of his people, and as circumstances alter from age to age, some who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the state of things, are led by His Holy Spirit into exercises in some respects different from those which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and from a clear conviction, they may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding upon them to desist from some parts of conduct, which some good men have been in."—*Woolman*.

Thus it was with members of our Religious Society in regard to a participation in the foreign slave trade; and again, in relation to the domestic traffic in slaves. It was thus with them, also, in regard to the holding of slaves, and why should it not be so, as relates to the disuse of the products of slave labor? If we examine the connection existing between the slaveholder and the consumer of the produce of the slave labor, must we not admit, that it is of a very intimate nature, and that its tendency is to support the system of slavery?

To hire a slave, and pay the wages of his labor to his master would be deemed nearly equivalent to slave holding.

If this slave toils for his master, and we purchase freely the produce of his labor, do we not contribute as effectually to the gain of the slaveholder, as in the preceding case? If another person purchases this produce for the purpose of traffic, and we buy of him for the purpose of consuming it, is not another link added to the chain, and is not the connection with the slaveholder as complete as in the first instance? It is true, that we are further removed from the scene of oppression—and it may be that this increased distance has tended to pacify the conscience, in a course

that is not consistent with sound reasoning; and thus may we not have contributed too long, to encourage, by our conduct, a system of oppression, the existence of which we have so sincerely lamented?

When we reflect that the precepts of the Christian religion require us to cherish a feeling of sympathy with our fellow men, in the varied difficulties and sufferings which attend them—"to weep with those who weep"—"to remember those who are in bonds, as bound with them; and those who suffer afflictions, as being ourselves also in the body"—and think of the long series of years, during which the slave has been chained and tasked, and his sweat exacted—and how entirely those rights, which are the gifts of a beneficent Creator, bestowed alike upon all men, as blessings to sweeten life, are torn from him—is there not a pressing and solemn obligation resting upon us, carefully to examine whether we do in any way contribute to the continuance of this system of oppression?

It may be urged in favor of using the proceeds of slave labor, that if we do not use it, others will, and that our abstinence will not arrest or mitigate the evil, and therefore we may innocently derive from it a good to ourselves. But might not an argument like this have been urged with equal fitness, by our Friends formerly, in favor of their participation in slavery and the slave trade?

It may be said, that in refusing to use the produce of slave labor we adopt a compulsory measure, and undertake to coerce the slaveholder to liberate his slaves—that the principle of abstinence, if carried out, would compel many persons to leave their accustomed employments—that trade itself would be subjected to a convulsion, the extent of which cannot be foreseen—that the slaveholder, deprived of his income by our abstinence, would be unable to provide for the maintenance of his slaves, and that increased sufferings and perhaps starvation would be the consequence.

When arguments like these are balanced against the positive and monstrous evils of slavery, to which they tend to serve as props, and we for a moment suppose ourselves in the condition of the enslaved, and then bring those arguments to that moral test of right in our own bosoms, which is always in perfect agreement with the precept enjoined by our holy Redeemer, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," does not the conviction fasten upon us, that such arguments are too light to sustain a system by which millions of our fel-

low men are deprived of those inalienable rights, which are the gifts of God, bestowed alike upon all?

Let us trace out the probable consequences of declining the use of the products of slave labor. A considerable number of persons refusing the use of such produce, would at once create a demand for similar articles produced by free labor. In the commencement, the supply of such produce would not be fully equal to the demand, and some advance in the price might be expected. This would stimulate to increased production, and the quantity of such goods would increase. While the supply was thus enlarging, may we not hope that the example of those who conscientiously declined to participate in the fruits of slave labor, would work conviction in the minds of others, and that the number would increase? The slaveholders, seeing the progress of a more elevated public sentiment, might be induced to meet the change—not by starving their miserable slaves, but by changing their condition from "chattels to men." This change would be commenced, doubtless, by a few of the most enlightened slaveholders, who perceiving that there was really an honest testimony abroad against slavery, which refused all participation in its fruits, might enter themselves into the spirit of the reform, and meet the sentiment in its fulness.

Thus the impression at first would be made on the outskirts of slavery. And while the demand for the produce of free labor was gradually increasing, and preparation for supplying the demand was constantly enlarging, a decided impression would be made on the market for slave goods. Under a decaying demand for such goods, no prudent slaveholder would add to the number of his slaves. The slave merchant would be less disposed to prosecute his illegal and hazardous enterprise. The inducement to rear slaves to supply the internal traffic would be diminished, and the whole system of slavery would be weakened.

In this view, nothing presents itself having the appearance of an attempt to coerce, nothing to compel persons to leave their accustomed employments, nothing to produce embarrassments, much less convulsions in trade, and nothing that threatens the slave with the suffering of famine in addition to his bonds, in consequence of the inability of his master to provide for his wants. He pursues his own course, until either the convictions of duty, or the prospect of advancing his interest, induce him to change. The movement, indeed, speaks to the slaveholder in intelligible and forcible language. It tells him he is inflicting upon

his fellow man an injury which every free man, in his own case, would deem insupportable, and calling loudly for retributive justice. It tells him that the "hire of the laborers which have reaped down his fields, which is by him kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath," and that there is an elevated tone of moral feeling abroad in the land, that cannot participate in the fruits of labor so unjustly exacted—that dare not contribute to that gain, which is the inducement to such grievous oppression, lest it should also partake in its sins. Can it be doubted that a moral influence would attend such a movement, that would be extensively felt by the slaveholders themselves?

Nor should the difficulties which are anticipated deter us! There is a force in united efforts, especially when enlisted in the cause of virtue, which, if they are discreetly and perseveringly conducted, can achieve wonders. It is true, that at the present time, the products of slavery are so intertwined with our varied occupations and wants, that we scarce can see how to disengage ourselves from them, yet if our attention be singly fixed upon the pointings of Truth, in reference to this subject, we may reasonably trust, that it will guide us rightly, and prepare our way before us. In ancient days, when the progress of a people, who were journeying by divine direction, was obstructed by a river which spread its breadth in their way, they were required to advance until the soles of their feet pressed the margin of the stream—and thus standing, the retreating waters gave way before them, and they passed over dry shod. If, following this example, we proceed as far as we can, and there stand, willing to advance if a way can be discovered, all past experience unites in bearing its testimony in favor of the belief, that little by little, the difficulties will yield, until the whole are surmounted.

Some sacrifice of interest would be required, and some personal indulgence, for a time, must be dispensed with. But it is by no means a new thing, that sacrifice should be required for the promotion of the cause of Truth and Righteousness in the earth. Indeed, if we look back on the past, will it not appear that sacrifice has been the price at which reformation in the world has been carried forward? It has been the lot of our religious society to participate largely in trials of this kind, nor is it easy to conceive on what ground we can expect to be excused from them, until Righteousness be established in the earth, unless, indeed, it should be for the mournful reason, that we have

departed from our proper position in the militant Church. In the consideration of this matter, our minds have been seriously affected. We wish not to promote a feverish excitement in relation to this great subject, but we desire that all may unite in calmly and carefully considering it. If we admit the correctness of the position that "*it is the market for slave produce which makes slavery*," we must feel that it is a serious matter to be customers in this market. The circumstance of long usage may be presented as a plea in favor of the continuance of the use. But the subject of inquiry is, whether a system of injustice and oppression, has not been strengthened by this long usage? May we consider the matter with that seriousness and candor which the case justly calls for? "If our hearts are softened and expanded by the love of God, we shall be prepared to view these oppressed people, as children of the same Almighty Father, equally with ourselves the objects of His divine regard, and of that salvation which comes by Jesus Christ; and thus be enabled to enter into a lively feeling of the miseries and hardships they endure; to put our souls in their souls' stead, and in singleness of heart to follow every opening of duty in their behalf, whatever sacrifice it may cost us, either of worldly treasure or personal comfort."

Taken from the Minutes,

RICHARD MOTT, Clerk.

SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.

The Executive Committee of the American Free Produce Association, at the close of its seventh year, find little to record, excepting the statements which properly belong to the report of the Manufacturing Committee. These will show that the society has not existed in vain, although it may have done less in other departments than in former years. The difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of free cotton manufactures, has, doubtless discouraged many abolitionists from attempting to abstain from the use of the products of slave labour, therefore every facility for procuring such, which our Association has been able to furnish, is an advantage gained over the robber system of slavery.

The address which was issued by you at your last annual meeting, to British abolitionists, urging upon them the duty of abstinence from the use of slave-grown cotton, has been circulated in Great Britain, and we trust not without effect.

Your committee notice with pleasure, indications of increasing interest in this department of the anti-slavery enterprise. The formation of a

Free Produce Association, among the Friends of this city, we hail as a cheering token that the slave is not forgotten by them, and as an evidence that the influence of our own Association has been felt by the community around us. We wish our coadjutors abundant success.

The adoption, by various anti-slavery societies, of resolutions expressing our principles, we also regard as manifestations of improving public sentiment, at least, among the friends of freedom. If those who have given their votes in favor of these resolutions, will faithfully conform their practice to them, they may hasten the day of the slave's emancipation.

Your committee feel undiminished confidence in the principles on which our association is based, and earnestly wish that the hearty adoption of them by every Anti-Slavery Society in the land, might render unnecessary a distinct organization for their promotion. They are but plain and simple deductions from the fundamental anti-slavery principle, and it is a cause of surprise and deep regret that many abolitionists whose eagle eyes are continually discovering new and rugged paths of duty, and whose all-conquering zeal enables them, bravely and cheerfully, to tread those paths, should not yet have seen, amid all the light which is burning round them, that true consistency requires of them abstinence from the purchase of the ill-gotten fruits of slavery. Would they cleanse their hands from participation in these, would they but *annul this union with the slaveholders*, the consistency of their course would render far more effective their eloquent rebukes of his sin. That they may be convinced of this, and that all who love the slave may be induced to bear a faithful testimony against oppression, by refusing to be fed and clothed by stolen labor, we earnestly exhort the members of this association to be untiring in their efforts to disseminate its principles, and to impress them on the hearts of abolitionists. By a pure example, accompanying cogent argument and urgent expostulation, should this be done. The lamentable fact that so few have rallied around our standard should not weaken our adherence to truth or discourage us in our attempt to propagate it. The interval between sowing and reaping may be long, but the harvest will come. Truth perseveringly spoken, duty patiently performed, and sacrifices to the right, cheerfully made, will produce results which shall ultimately bless the world. We have cast bread upon the waters, which to us may seem to be utterly lost, but assuredly it shall be found after many days.

JAMES MOTT,

Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Philadelphia, 10th mo. 3d, 1845.

COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder:

In conversing with my friends on the use of the productions of slave-labour, I have often heard them admit that this custom supports slavery, and that a general disuse of those productions would certainly destroy the system; and yet each concludes with saying, "but I have not felt it my duty to abstain from them." An esteemed friend, who has most sincerely and earnestly laboured on behalf of the slave, writing to me lately, said: "Though — — — and myself are not yet constrained to practice upon the sound arguments we have seen and heard on the subject [of disusing slave produce,] we would encourage the diffusion of them for the sake of the cause of human freedom."

In what way the cause of human freedom can be promoted by the diffusion of sound arguments, except through a consistent practice of them, my valued friend did not explain. There is to me a discordancy between profession and practice in all these cases, which I cannot reconcile with sound Quaker doctrine. I can readily conceive the possibility of the most conscientious persons ignorantly committing acts or adopting customs which in their nature are sinful, and far is it from me to presume to determine the degree of guilt which these incur in the sight of the Judge of the whole earth, or whether He regards them as guilty in such cases of any degree of sin. But I can have no hesitation in adopting the language of James iv: 17, "To him, that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin." When our understandings, through the moral and intellectual faculties which are given us by our beneficent Creator for use, are clearly convinced that certain acts or customs are not accordant with the acknowledged principles of Christianity, but are directly opposed to the divine law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," can we justify ourselves in doing them; or in asking for a further extension, or a special revelation of the divine will? If we think ourselves justifiable in doing that which we acknowledge to be wrong under the plea, that we are not constrained by the spirit to abandon it, surely we are not far from that downright ranterism, which attempts to sanction the commission of crime by claiming the authority of special, divine inspiration.

If "to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin," can we doubt that to him who knoweth what is evil and doeth it, to him it is sin? But, "to abstain from doing wrong is always safe, and what is morally wrong can never be religiously right."

I cannot but fear they are standing on very dangerous ground, who acknowledge that their daily practice directly supports a system fraught with evil, and yet attempt to satisfy their conscience with the persuasion that it is not their religious duty to abandon this practice. May all these enter into a close self-examination, that they may not deceive themselves in a matter of such high importance, involving not only their religious prosperity, but the temporal and spiritual condition of millions of their oppressed fellow-beings.

A Friend once told me that he knew some young people who did not make much religious profession, and yet declined the use of slave produce. The ground he took was, that none should presume to do this unless they could plead a special act of grace—an immediate revelation of duty—calling them to it. He did not regard the use of slave produce as wrong in itself, and therefore to be avoided, but thought one might be specially required to take up his cross in refusing to use it, either as a trial of his obedience or for some extraordinary purpose, and afterward be permitted to partake freely. Now I do not deny that we may be required to pursue this course, in matters which are lawful in themselves; thus I have heard of a Friend, who being under close exercise of mind, felt it his duty to decline the reading of newspapers—not because the practice was unlawful in itself, but in consequence of its distracting effects upon his feelings—and yet, after he had gained strength and experience, he resumed such reading, and I doubt not, very properly. But I cannot conceive of a dispensation to man, from the Just and Holy One, to work unrighteousness.

"While I fully believe, that the true disciple of Christ will be favoured with the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, wherever it is needful to direct his steps, it appears to me especially important, that in matters conflicting with our worldly interest and reputation, where the path of duty is obvious and clearly understood, and testimonies are concerned, which we have long considered it our duty on all occasions to support, we should guard against being deluded into a neglect of duty, under a plea of waiting for this direct, divine intimation."

L. S.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

WHO ARE THE SLAVEHOLDERS?

A review which I have recently seen of a pamphlet on the Dissolution of the American Union, has suggested some reflections that I wish to throw before your readers.

There is much said by many of those who are opposed to slavery, of the impropriety of "church fellowship" with slaveholders; of receiving money from them for missionary and other religious purposes, and of political union with them. So far as regards "church fellowship," the Society of Friends long ago declared it to be inconsistent with Christian principles, and hence "withdrew themselves from such as walked disorderly," in refusing to liberate their slaves. I have not seen the pamphlet alluded to, nor have I any disposition to meddle with the question upon which it treats: I am, however, fully satisfied that, as an individual, it is my duty to avoid as far as possible "protecting or countenancing the iniquity" of slaveholding—both in refusing "political and ecclesiastical participation," and in withdrawing my support in a commercial point of view.

Can the slaveholders who now, as a body, so earnestly cleave to their dreadful system, and so anxiously guard it against assault, be induced to abandon it for the sake of political union or ecclesiastical communion with the people of the North? I believe not.

In the case of the Methodists, we see the Southern churches choosing to dissolve their connection with the Northern, rather than submit to the suspension of a slaveholding Bishop. It is to be feared that the simple withholding of the "moral and religious sentiment of Christendom" from the iniquity, will not reach the motive on which it rests. I know of no instance in the history of the abolition of the British slave-trade and of British slavery, in which slave-traders or slaveholders were led to adopt any legislative or associated action for the abandonment of their vocations, through the influence or the fear of such a withholding. Nor do the slave-traders of the present day cease their abominable traffic, although the "moral and religious sentiment" of the whole civilized world is against them. While, therefore, I can unite with the sentiment that "very exalting is the idea that the virtual slaveholder of the North, not merely reproaching the planter, the overseer, and the driver, has begun the work of self-sacrificing reform with his own heart by refusing all political and ecclesiastical participation in their deed," I must go further, and include in my refusal all commercial and personal participation.

I believe "the market for slave produce makes slavery," just as the market for slaves makes the slave trade. He, who gives the motive, holds the slave. The customer, then, in the market for slave produce, is the virtual slaveholder. Those whom we are accustomed to call slaveholders,

but who may more properly be styled slave-owners or, rather, slave-daimers, appreciate this truth, and do not fail to enforce it upon those inconsistent abolitionists, whether Friends or others, who take no pains to avoid the use of the productions of slavery. "Stop, sir," said a slave-owner in a steamboat on the Delaware river to a Friend who was condemning slavery, "I wish to ask you a question: do you use the products of the slaves' labour?" The Friend was able to answer, "I do not." "Then I will listen to you," was the reply, "for your practice accords with your profession." But what reply can inconsistent abolitionists make to the slaveholder who addresses them thus: "You profess to believe that slavery is sinful in the sight of God; yet, as you do not, in your present position, refuse, as far as possible, to participate in its gains, you give no evidence that you believe the doctrine which you proclaim to me; nor do you exhibit any proof whatever that you would not connect yourselves still more intimately with the system if you were placed in circumstances where you might imagine that your comforts, your luxuries, or your interests would be promoted by your doing so."

I am well aware of the many arguments and difficulties which are urged against the non-use of slave products by those, who, while they are sincerely desirous that slavery with all its abominations should cease to exist, are not willing to begin the "work of self-sacrificing reform in their own hearts." They do not hesitate to ask the slaveholder to liberate his slaves, and to disregard the many mountains of difficulty which seem to rise up before him in attempting to perform this Christian duty, but they are not ready to take up the cross themselves; they are not willing to "wash in Jordan"—the despised stream—but like Naaman of old, would rather do "some great thing;" they neglect individual duty, and look to some grand effort or extraordinary means to bring about the deliverance of the slave.

I rejoice in the belief, that the attention of many friends of the slave in England and in this country, is becoming effectually awakened to the importance of disconnecting themselves from the evil which they wish to eradicate; and I am firmly persuaded that the days of slavery will be "numbered and finished," when those who oppose it bring to their aid the invincible power of a "consistent life."

A.

No two things are more opposed than the Christian and warlike spirit.—*Paley*.

War is as contrary to the spirit of Christianity as murder.—*Adam Clark*.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH 4, 1846.

NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.—In our first number reference was made to an essay extracted from the minutes of the New York Yearly Meeting, which we now give to our readers. It was prepared by the meeting for sufferings, (the subject having been referred to that body in 1844,) and adopted by the Yearly Meeting with general approbation, and without any expression of dissent. It is a highly important document, not only as an unanswerable exposition of the duty of avoiding the use of the productions of slavery, but also as the first clear and full recognition of this testimony by a Yearly Meeting of Friends. We trust it will not be the last.

John Scoble, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in a letter to one of us, says:—"Many of our friends on this side of the Atlantic are again beginning to direct their attention to the non-use of the products of slave labour, as one means, in the ordering of Divine Providence, for assailing the slave system. The production which of all others I have seen and found to be the most convincing, is that which has been issued by the New York Yearly Meeting. Its extensive circulation out of the limits of the Society of Friends, would, I am persuaded, do much good."

It has since been widely spread in the pages of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

The Editor of the London Friend also refers to this minute or Address, and to the Free Produce Associations of Friends of Philadelphia and New York, in the number of that valuable periodical for Eighth month, 1845, and makes the following remarks:

"We believe there are many individuals in this country who would not hesitate for a moment to abandon the use of SLAVE PRODUCE, if they could only see the means by which this excellent object might be effected. These, we feel assured, will not have to wait long, for the voice is daily becoming louder, which calls upon us to refuse all participation in the gains and productions of a slave labour system. Amongst our Philadelphia Friends, as will be seen by a letter in our columns this month, an association has been formed to secure to those who value it, the means of living as all free and Christian men ought to live, only on the fruits of that labor which is voluntary and remunerated. Allusion is made in the letter to the exertions of our friends in New York, on behalf of the same object. In its address that Yearly Meeting places the sub-

ject in its just and proper light, and invites its members to consider whether they do in any way contribute to the continuance of this grievous system of oppression, and to follow every opening of duty, whatever sacrifice it may cost, either of worldly treasures or personal comfort. Upon the generation now passing away devolved the great task of removing the stain of slavery from the British Constitution; it behoves those who are rapidly occupying the vacant place to maintain the struggle against oppression and cruelty; and in no way as it seems to us, can we so effectually do this, as by wiping off the disgrace of being fed, clothed, profited and pampered by the unrequited toil of negro slaves. If we hand down to posterity no more than we have received, we prove ourselves unworthy of our predecessors, and rob the world of a generation of men. Let us go forward steadily but in good earnest; the work was begun at the first upon individual conviction of Christian duty, and this same ground must still be kept in view, if we would make sure progress, and cherish the joyful anticipation of seeing the fruit of our labours."

AMERICAN FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.—We present in this number the Seventh Annual Report of this pioneer society. Our space does not permit the insertion of the valuable report of its manufacturing committee, but the following list will exhibit the amount of goods, the production of free labour, which it has had manufactured during the last year:

15264½	yards of Muslin, 7-8, 4-4 and 5-4 wide,
21477½	" Printing Cloth,
2813	" Gingham,
1580½	" Bed Ticking,
1431½	" Drilling,
1159	" Canton Flannel,
13082½	" Calico Printed,
3684½	" Muslin Coloured,
1692½	" Check, Apron and Furniture,
1397½	lbs. Cotton Yarn,
135	doz. Wadding,
82	" Cotton Laps or Batts.

These goods are sold wholesale by J. Miller McKim, No. 31 north Fifth street, and retail by Joel Fisher, N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, Philadelphia.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.—We desire the close attention of all our readers to the essay which sets forth, clearly and incontrovertibly, the duty of immediate emancipation. We have reason to know that many who are opposed to slavery, and not a few Friends, look upon this

doctrine as "unsafe and unmerciful"—a wild scheme of "violent abolitionists"—and have embraced the fallacious opinion that the slaves should be "educated and prepared for freedom," before their masters can properly cease from the sin of slaveholding. Friends who take this view of the subject, quote George Fox as their authority. Now, in regard to Christian doctrines and principles, we receive his exposition without cavil or dispute. Doctrines and principles are unchangeable; but their application to the customs and pursuits of mankind will vary from generation to generation, and from age to age. Increase of knowledge and change of circumstances may lead us to see, as John Woolman remarks, the relation of one thing to another and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on us to desist from some parts of conduct, which some good men have been in. "The great truth that evil is evil, no matter at whose door it lies, and that men acting from conscience and religion may yet do nefarious deeds, needs to be better understood, that we may not shelter ourselves or our institutions under the names of the great or the good who have passed away." In an article published in *The Friend*, vol. 17, p. 386, bearing the well known initials, E. L., the writer says: "I confidently believe, that if the evils of slavery and the slave trade had been as fully developed and as clearly understood two hundred years ago, as they are now, they never would have been tolerated in our religious Society."

It is true that George Fox advised Friends to "deal so with their servants, the negroes and blacks whom they have bought with their money as to let them go free, after they have served faithfully a considerable term of years, be it thirty years after, more or less, and when they go and are made free, let them not go away empty handed." But let us remember our fathers were at length enlightened to adopt and to practice the only true Christian doctrine of emancipation. "Truth requires that all should be set free from a state of slavery, that we do no more claim property in the human race as we do in the brutes that perish."

In explanation of the views of George Fox and other Friends of his day, we may remark that long after the introduction of negro slaves into America, a belief universally prevailed that they were prisoners of war whose lives had been spared in Africa, in consideration of their being sold into slavery; that it was an act of humanity and Christian kindness on the part of the slave-traders to bring them into a country where they might receive a knowledge of the Gospel, and hence,

that the purchasers of them were justly entitled to their "faithful services." These sentiments were extensively held more than a century after George Fox issued his advice, as quoted above, when the first Parliamentary enquiry was made into the character of the slave-trade. Nor were Africans the only persons who were sold as servants in America. Thousands of Germans have been brought here and sold under the name of "redemptioners" for certain periods to remunerate the owners and captains of vessels for the charges and expenses of bringing them. John Woolman speaks in his Journal of his employer having purchased several *Scotchmen* in Philadelphia to sell in Mount Holly.

Can there be a doubt that George Fox looked upon the Africans as a class of redemptioners, who, saved from a cruel death and brought into a Christian land, might be justly required to "serve faithfully a considerable term of years" to repay their masters the money expended in their purchase and risked in a cause of Christian benevolence? It is clear, he did not contemplate hereditary slavery, and if he were living at this day, he would doubtless raise his voice as loudly and as fearlessly against American slavery as he did against what he believed the errors and wicked customs of his age; nor would he who braved death in various forms in an unflinching and uncompromising contest for the establishment of true Christian principles, now consent, through fear of some inconvenience from its immediate abandonment, to the continuance, however limited, of a system which "abrogates every command of the Decalogue, and extends and perpetuates Heathenism of the most appalling description."

OUR POWER AND DUTY.—A common objection to the adoption of the principle of abstinence from the products of slavery is, that the things themselves are necessities of life, and that such are the existing facts of our dependent, social condition, that these products cannot now be furnished us by free labour. People thus arguing, instance the case of a person thrown upon an island wholly occupied by pirates, whose daily food and shelter of every kind are the productions of robbery, and they ask—Must this innocent person perish for lack of food or clothing, because that which he can only get has been procured by violence? Or, may he not temporarily use such things as he can find on the island necessary to his immediate support, without moral objection? Whatever force there may be in the extreme case here presented for justifying a depar-

ture from the ordinary principles of rectitude, tending as it does to make truth contingent upon expediency, every one must see that the excuse fails the instant the individual, having the power to escape, remains of choice in his insular condition. He then consents with the robber, and thus becomes a robber himself, according to all legal and just principles. This power of escape is in the reach of all who desire to withdraw their voluntary support from slavery. Divine goodness has afforded us in this respect, at least, if not in all cases, very ample means for carrying out his laws of righteousness, if we are but willing to embrace them. We believe that the language is ever true in reference to modes of accomplishing our duty, "Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you."

We have before us very gratifying documents, going conclusively to show that there is now raised by free labour within the slaveholding states an amount of cotton, certainly not known to us, and probably not to many persons this side of Mason and Dixon's line, previous to the inquiries connected with the establishment of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. If, to obtain the information already elicited by that association, was the whole object of its organization, that object was a sufficient motive for all the trouble, and no few difficulties, incident to its establishment. The journey of discovery, however, has but just commenced. New openings for the relief of oppressed consciences and oppressed men will be explored, and the facility of relief demonstrated so clearly, that those who have eyes to see, and HEARTS to understand, cannot fail to perceive the path of duty.

We give below extracts of letters which exhibit a large amount of cotton accessible to persons who would prefer the products of compensated labour. Will those persons, according to their several ability, afford their pecuniary aid towards procuring this attainable quantity, for the purpose of its separate manufacture? The association has a fund, founded on loans without interest, for this purpose, and to its extent the managers are engaged in procuring such cotton, but it needs a great enlargement to meet the opportunity.

Let each Friend, in view of the stewardship of worldly treasure committed to him, ask of himself, "How much," in this respect, "owest thou unto my Lord?" And let him "sit down quickly, and write" even the half of it, and we believe a gladdening impulse would be given to the cause of humanity, in the incentive it would furnish to a large additional free cultivation.

In giving the extracts we omit the names of the writers, and sometimes the places where the letters were written, but, we hope, it is unnecessary to say that the several correspondents are of respectable standing, and undoubted veracity:

No. 1.

"Pittsburgh, 4th mo. 1st, 1845.

"The facilities for obtaining free cotton are much greater than many are aware of. I believe an ample supply could be obtained in the South, through channels that could be relied upon, to furnish a factory with as much of the raw material as would be wanted for a large operation. I have taken some pains, the past year, to make inquiry, and ascertain where, and what quantity of free cotton could be obtained in several of the slave states. In North Carolina, where I was brought up, I think a large quantity could be got. N. T., a neighbor of mine, with his wife, paid a visit to their relations in the state of Mississippi, some time last year. He informed me that in several different neighborhoods, where they were among their relations, free cotton could be got. He told me that —, near W., Mississippi, who had a cotton gin, generally raised from 40 to 50 bales of cotton annually; owned no slaves, hired no slaves, and was willing to keep his cotton entirely separate from other cotton; also, that — and —, in the same neighbourhood, would also keep their cotton separate. He also mentioned an uncle of his, —, in another part of that state, that would be an efficient agent; he was a pretty large farmer, had no slaves, and was opposed to slavery. N. also mentioned some others in the neighbourhood of Holly Springs, Marshall County, Miss. I have formed an acquaintance, since leaving home, with —, of M. H., Alabama. He said that he thought, by taking a little trouble, there could be a hundred bales of cotton got in his neighbourhood, that could be relied upon as free labour cotton. He proffered to render me all the service he could, if I would come there to establish an agency. —, of M., Ala., proffered the same service. I have been travelling with a merchant, since I left Philadelphia, from Huntingdon, Carroll County, West Tennessee; he says that he thinks a hundred bales or more of free cotton could be collected in that county, within the circle of his acquaintance,—is acquainted with one farmer that has a cotton gin, and works no slaves, with whom this cotton could be ginned, baled, &c., without the labour of slaves. I believe by establishing agencies in slave states, and paying small premiums for free cotton, the operation could be made to tell upon slavery. One object I had in making

these inquiries was, to endeavour to procure a small quantity of free cotton to get spun into yarn, to supply my customers, and another was to ascertain the quantity of cotton that could be obtained, and the facilities for procuring it, to aid the general concern."

No. 2.

"New York, 6th mo. 7th, 1845.

"The statement made at a meeting of Friends, in this city, during the week of our Yearly Meeting, as to the facilities of obtaining free cotton in the Southern states, are confirmed by information which I have subsequently obtained from a resident of Macon, Georgia, with whom I have had an acquaintance for some years past, and who has furnished the article for this market to a limited extent. He informs me that he could readily procure from 300 to 400 bales that could be *relied on as free*, which would cost the same as that raised by slave labor—except the additional expense of collecting it together, and which would not probably exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent per pound."

No. 3.

"17 Nov., '45.

"Your favour of 11th Nov. has just come to hand, and contents carefully noticed. I have no objection to fill your order, if, in your reply, you wish me to do so. I approve of your course to do away the evil of slavery, and think it a *better one* than others pursue. I have engaged for — such cotton as is made by those of my personal acquaintances entirely by free labor. I also employ a friend of mine, and one on whom I can depend, to get it from those whom he knows have no slaves. It is mostly made by poor men living back 40 or 50 miles, and who only make from 5 to 15 bales each. It is possible I may get the cotton made by the persons you name, as we have an agent near —, Miss. I will write to ascertain if I can. You had better engage it yearly —. When travelling in the country, next summer, I shall try to form acquaintances with those planters owning no slaves, and engage their cotton yearly —."

No. 4.

"Dec. 6, 1845.

"As regards free labor cotton, we have no sort of difficulty in buying it in almost any reasonable quantity. About ONE-FIFTH of the cotton brought to this market, from North Mississippi, is of that kind, and *always of good quality*. White people who plant, seldom make more than from 5 to 20 bales [annually,] and handle it with more care than the large planters, who trust to their slaves, and generally get it out of the fields earlier; and it is a fact, perhaps not known by

you, that the bulk of the cotton shipped from here to New Orleans fetches a higher price in the average than from any other point in the cotton region. We pay no more for free labour cotton than any other, and should your friends be induced to favour me with an order for a constant supply, they may rely upon my *honor* that every bale shall be strictly "free labour," and each invoice shall be sworn to before a magistrate, and the name and residence of each grower given. If you think well of such cotton I would be happy to send you a few hundred bales during the season."

NOTICE TO READERS AND AGENTS.—This number of the Non-Slaveholder, like the first, will be widely circulated, as there has not been sufficient time since the latter was issued for those who wish to subscribe to forward their names. Our readers will also, by this means, have a further opportunity of knowing its character. Those who wish to become subscribers will please send their names with as little delay as possible; and our friends who have consented to act as agents, and others who may be willing to act, will confer a favour by forwarding their list of subscribers early. Bank notes, which are current at the respective places where subscribers reside, will be received in payment at *par*.

SELECTIONS.

ON THE DUTY OF PROMOTING THE IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

THE absolute right of every human being to personal liberty has been too clearly ascertained, and is too generally acknowledged, to require either argument or illustration in its support. God has created all men equal, and endowed them with life, that they might enjoy it in subordination to his will; and liberty, that they might use it for promoting the great ends of their existence as rational and accountable creatures. Human laws may declare these natural rights to be inviolable, but they need not this aid to be more effectually vested in every man than they are. "On the contrary," as remarks the great jurist, Blackstone, "no human legislature has the power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some criminal act that amounts to a forfeiture." To maintain the opposite doctrine would be to confound competency with force, and to allow that might were right. In contemplating the end for which civil government was instituted, Edmund Burke eloquently observes, "If civil society be made for

the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and the law itself is only beneficence acting by rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice, as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in politic function or in ordinary occupation; they have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of making their industry fruitful; they have a right to the acquisitions of their parents, to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring, to instruction in life, and to consolation in death. Whatever each man can do without trespassing on others, he has a right to do for himself, and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favour. In this partnership all men have equal rights, though not to equal things." Such are the principles, and such the language of enlightened men, and they find an echo in the common sense and conscience of mankind. But slavery negatives a fundamental right; it deprives men of their liberty; it reduces them to the condition of chattels; it robs them of all property in themselves, in the labours of their hands, and the resources of their intellect, by constituting them the property of other men; it makes them merchantable commodities, things to be used or abused at the discretion or caprice of their masters; it is an atrocious exemplification of the law of force and fraud, in opposition to that of equity and justice.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the incidents of slavery—its oppressive cruelties—the awful degradation it inflicts on the slave, and the revolting character it impresses on his master—but it should ever be remembered that its victims are INNOCENT human beings, who have never forfeited their freedom by crime; and that their slavery is not only perpetual, but is perpetuated in their equally innocent offspring. The original injustice is continued from generation to generation, and its guilt consequently heightened by its continuance. It should also be remembered, that in those countries where slavery does not require the importation of new victims to repair the wastes of mortality, it sanctions a slave trade in some of its features more revolting than that which has so long desolated Africa, which all men indignantly condemn, and the nations of Europe and America have agreed to punish.

As slavery violates a fundamental law of man's nature, so it expressly contravenes the revealed will of God. That will requires that every man should love his neighbour as himself. Now "love worketh no ill to his neighbour," neither

to his person, his property, nor his life. It respects them all. It does more: it endeavours as opportunity presents, to advance the interests and enlarge the happiness of all mankind, without distinction of race, or clime, or colour. Its office and its delight is to instruct the ignorant—to relieve the oppressed—to bind up the broken hearted—to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound. It is in every respect the opposite of slavery.

But it may be said that the Divine law sanctions the principle of slavery, and only wars with its abuses. We simply deny the statement, and observe that whatever form of servitude it admitted under the Jewish dispensation, whether as the punishment of crime, or as the result of voluntary contract, it allowed no property in man, and uttered forth its most awful denunciations against the traders in the persons of men. That law, moreover, surrounded the bondsman with every possible safeguard against the tyranny and cruelty of the master, by limiting the period of his engagements, and securing instant release whenever injury was inflicted. In the lowest relation which that law permitted man to sustain towards his fellow-man, it always distinguished him from "the brutes that perish," and required that in all things he should be treated as a free, a rational, and an accountable creature. We observe further, that the servitude referred to had not its origin in a slave trade, such as that which has now existed for nearly four centuries, between Africa and the Continent and Islands of America. The slavery which now exists had its root in a crime which incurred the Divine displeasure, and drew upon it the severest penalty of His law; and the atrocious system is still fed and sustained by the same crime in one or another of its worst forms. The slave vessels of Brazil and the Spanish Colonies infest the shores of Africa for their prey, and the traffickers in men of the United States ply their unhallowed trade to procure a supply of slaves for the far south. If the horrors of the middle passage do not characterize this traffic, other horrors mark the transit of the victims from one state to another. In every slave coffer, how many husbands have been torn from their *reputed* wives, and wives from their husbands?—for, alas! the sanctity of the marriage tie is legally unknown, and practically disregarded by the masters of slaves. How many parents from their children, and children from their parents? The fetters which bind their limbs are light, compared with the sorrows that break their hearts. All of these slaves, men,

women, and children, are innocent of crime. Contrary to justice, humanity, and religion, they have been subjected to a merciless despotism, despoiled of their rights, and deprived of hope. Some of these, it may be, have had their hearts melted by the grace of the gospel, and have become the disciples of Him who came to redeem men "from all iniquity," and these, too, have been put up for sale in the common market-place, and their price enhanced by their being Christians. What man with the feelings of a man, what Christian with the principles becoming a Christian, but must shudder at the daring impiety which can expose for sale, to the highest bidder, beings created "in the image of God," and redeemed by the precious blood of the Saviour; and what man, what Christian will fail to use his most earnest and untiring exertions to terminate a system which outrages all that is sacred in man's nature, and all that is righteous in God's law.

Under this criminal system multitudes of the African race have been murdered and enslaved, and millions of that race and its descendants are yet retained within its iron grasp, and the important question arises, "How is it to be dealt with?" Our reply is brief and plain; if you have the power, "abolish it immediately and completely;" if you have not the power, "seek its immediate and entire abolition." Accept no excuse for delay. Allow of no apology for its continuance. SLAVERY IS A SIN AGAINST GOD, AND OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE INSTANTLY ABANDONED AND ABOLISHED. To maintain any other doctrine were treason against the Most High, and an outrage on every principle of sound morals, for no modification of slavery can alter or destroy its original and essential iniquity, and no amelioration of its character can justify its existence.

But it may be said that slavery is the creature of law, and what the law makes property is property. This is the plea of the slaveholder; but we utterly repudiate and deny the impious assumption. The laws of nature and of God are paramount and universal, and we assert, that no legislative body, however constituted, possess the moral competency to condemn by law the innocent to punishment, to convert robbery into justice, or to make men property. On this plea also the slaveholder rests his right to compensation in the event of emancipation, and unhappily not a few think him entitled to it. In the mouth of the poor slave, who has become the victim of this unrighteous law, the plea were just, for who shall compensate him for the years he has toiled under the coercion of the whip, for his children sold away to strangers, and for the debasement

and cruelty to which he has been subjected. But however the question of compensation may be disposed of, it is clear that the freedom of the slave ought not to depend on its payment. His claim to be considered in this great matter is "prior in time, paramount in title, and superior in equity" to that of the slaveholder. Liberty, immediate, absolute, unconditional liberty, is his right, and to deny him this is sovereign injustice.

It may be further alleged, that the slaves for whose rights we so earnestly contend, are unfit for freedom, and that therefore means must be taken to prepare them for it. But how can the preparation here contended for take place under the system of slavery. It is slavery which has debased them, and yet it is in slavery they are to be prepared for the enjoyment of liberty! No; the best, the only preparation for freedom is freedom. But in point of fact the slaves are fit for freedom; and the best proof is this that, whether as agriculturists or artisans, they have not only sustained themselves but have enriched their masters. They want neither the skill nor the ability to care for themselves. All they want is the unfettered use of their limbs; the free use of their minds; unrestrained access to the fountains of knowledge, in common with their fellow-men; and the protection of equal and just laws, to become an honourable and useful part of the body politic. And to this they are entitled, without stint and without delay.

We touch not the question, what would be the effect of emancipation on the production of this or that particular article of commerce, for we dare not place in the balance the liberty of the slave and the products of his coerced labour, which were, to use the forcible language of Burke, "to weigh in scales hung up in a shop of horrors, so much actual crime against so much contingent profit, and after putting in and out weights, declaring that the balance was on the side of the profits." No! whatever becomes of the profits, the balance must ever be on the side of justice.

The slave, whether lashed to his toil on the sugar estates of Cuba and Brazil, or in the cotton fields of the United States; whether forcibly wrenched from his native soil by the hand of violence, or bred to the sad inheritance of slavery in the land of his birth, is entitled to the sympathy and aid of every freeman; and whether we consider the horrible effects of slavery on its victims or on their oppressors, or the obstacles it opposes to the progress of civilization and religion in the world, we have the most powerful motives presented to us for promoting in every legitimate way, its IMMEDIATE AND ENTIRE ABOLITION.

From the London Friend.

ELIZABETH FRY.

We have to record the decease, on the 13th of 10th month, 1845, of Elizabeth Fry, aged nearly 66.

This beloved and honoured friend had passed several weeks at Ramsgate, where her husband and some of her family had expected to spend with her the ensuing winter. She had appeared to be gradually recovering from the effects of a lengthened and severe illness, and for about twelve months past has been frequently able to attend meetings; in which, as well as on many less public occasions, she was led with much sweetness and gospel authority, to speak of the things that relate to the kingdom of God, and to testify to the unchanging goodness and faithfulness of that gracious Redeemer, whom she had long loved and served. She was, in a very solemn and impressive manner, engaged in this weighty service during the last week of her earthly sojourn. On the evening of Seventh day, the 11th, she became affected with slight symptoms of paralysis. During that night she had some sleep, yet at intervals appeared to be very ill, and early in the morning of First-day, she alluded to the conflict which nature then endured, adding, "but I am safe." Sometime afterwards she uttered the petition, "Oh, dear Lord, keep and help thy servant," after which all mental consciousness appeared to subside, and about four o'clock on the following morning her spirit ascended, as we reverently believe, to its mansion of glory. Her remains were interred at Barking on the 20th, on which occasion a large and solemn meeting was held. Of her it may be truly said, that whilst her "witness is in heaven," and her "record upon high," it is also inscribed in living characters of veneration and love, on the hearts of thousands of varied station, name and country, to whom through submission to the effectual operation of the grace of God, she was made a ministering spirit; comforting the mourners, warning the careless, instructing the ignorant, and, in strains of heavenly invitation, beseeching all to come and partake of the waters of life. Being led by the power and love of Him, "who came to seek and to save that which was lost," she yielded her spirit to commiserate the multiplied forms of human woe; not shrinking even from willing sympathy with that awful gloom that envelopes the soul of the desponding sinner, trembling on the verge of the fathomless gulf; and she was made the blessed instrument of directing many of these to that Almighty Saviour, whose hand of mercy was still extended to pluck these brands from the burning.

May the influence of that divine compassion which was so eminently infused into the heart of this devoted servant of Christ, animate many who survive, to "go and do likewise."

TRUTH.

It is melancholy to consider the impediments which truth encounters on its first appearance. A large portion of mankind, poisoning themselves on the flagitious fallacy, that *whatever is, is right*, avert their countenances from all that is inconsistent with established usage. I have already, in another part of this address, set forth the superiority of principle to any human example; I would here repeat that the practice of nations can be no apology for a system [war] which is condemned by such principles as I have now considered. Truth enters the world like a humble child, with few to receive her; it is only when she is grown in years and stature, and the purple flush of youthful strength beams from her face, that she is sought and wooed. It has been thus in all ages. Nay, more; there is often an irritation excited by her presence; and men who are kind and charitable, forget their kindness and lose their charity towards the unaccustomed stranger. It was this feeling which awarded a dungeon to Galileo when he declared that the earth moved round the sun; which neglected the great discovery of the circulation of the blood by Harvey; and which bitterly opposed the divine philanthropy of Clarkson when he first denounced the wickedness of the slave trade. But the rejected truths of to-day shall become the chief corner-stones to the next generation.—*Sumner's Oration.*

LAFAYETTE.

Extract of a letter from Thomas Clarkson, to H. G. Chapman, dated, "Playford Hall near Ipswich, Oct. 3, 1845."

"One of the dearest friends I ever had was General Lafayette—I was with the General often, and corresponded with him after his coming out of his dungeon at Olmutz; but the first time I knew him was when I was in Paris, the year after the French revolution, on the subject of the slave trade, and I assisted him materially. He was decidedly as uncompromising an enemy to the slave trade and slavery, as any man I ever knew. He freed all his slaves in French Cayenne, who had come to him by inheritance in 1786, and showed me all his rules and regulations for his estates when they were emancipated. I was with him no less than four different times in Paris. He was a real gentleman of soft and gentle manners. I have seen him put out of temper,

but never at any time except when slavery was the subject. He has said frequently, "I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America, if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery."

WAYLAND'S VIEWS ON WAR.

"Let us suppose a nation to abandon all means, both of offence and of defence, to lay aside all power of inflicting injury, and to rely for self-preservation solely upon the justice of its own conduct, and the moral effect which such a course of conduct would produce upon the consciences of men. How would such a nation procure redress of grievances? and how would it be protected from foreign aggression?"

"I. Of redress of grievances. Under this head would be comprehended violation of treaties, spoliation of property, and ill-treatment of its citizens. I reply,

"1. The very fact that a nation relied solely upon the justice of its measures, and the benevolence of its conduct, would do more than any thing else to prevent the occurrence of injury. The moral sentiment of every human community would rise in opposition to injury inflicted upon the just, the kind, and the merciful. Thus, by this course, the probabilities of aggression are rendered as few as the nature of man will permit.

"2. But suppose injury to be done. I reply, the proper appeal for moral beings upon moral questions, is not to physical force, but to the consciences of men. Let the wrong be set forth, but be set forth in the spirit of love; and in this manner, if in any, will the consciences of men be aroused to justice.

"3. But suppose this method to fail. Why, then, let us suffer the injury. This is the preferable evil of the two. Because they have injured us a little, it does not follow that we should injure ourselves much. But it will be said, what is then to become of our national honour? I answer, first, if we have acted justly, we surely are not dishonoured. The dishonour rests upon those who have done wickedly. I answer again, national honour is displayed in forbearance, in forgiveness, in requiting faithlessness with fidelity, and grievances with kindness and good-will. These virtues are surely as delightful and as honourable in nations as in individuals.

"But it may be asked, what is to prevent repeated and continued aggression? I answer, first, not instruments of destruction, but the moral principle which God has placed in the bosom of every man. I think that obedience to the law of God, on the part of the injured, is the surest pre-

ventive against the repetition of injury. I answer, secondly, suppose that acting in obedience to the law of benevolence will not prevent the repetition of injury, will acting upon the principle of retaliation prevent it? This is really the true question. The evil tempers of the human heart are allowed to exist, and we are inquiring in what manner shall we suffer the least injury from them; whether by obeying the law of benevolence, or that of retaliation? It is not necessary, therefore, to show, that by adopting the law of benevolence we shall not suffer at all, but that, by adopting it, we shall suffer less than by the opposite course; and that a nation would actually thus suffer less upon the whole, than by any other course, cannot, I think, be doubted by any one who will calmly reflect upon the subject.

"II. How would such a nation be protected from external attack and entire subjugation? I answer, by adopting the law of benevolence, a nation would render such an event in the highest degree improbable. The causes of national war are, most commonly, the love of plunder, and the love of glory. The first of these is rarely, if ever, sufficient to stimulate men to the ferocity necessary to war, unless when assisted by the second. And by adopting as the rule of our conduct the law of benevolence, all motive arising from the second cause is taken away. There is not a nation in Europe that could be led on to war against a harmless, just, forgiving and defenceless people.

"But suppose such a case really should occur, what are we then to do? I answer, suffer injury with forgiveness and love, looking up to God, who, in his holy habitation, is the Judge of the whole earth. And if it be said, we shall then all be subjected and enslaved? I answer again, have wars prevented men from being subjected and enslaved? Is there a nation on the continent of Europe that has not been overrun by foreign troops several times, even within the present century? And still more, is it not most commonly the case, that the very means by which we repel a despotism from abroad, only establishes over us a military despotism at home? Since, then, the principle of retaliation will not, with any certainty, save a country from conquest, the real question, as before, is, by obedience to which law will a nation be most likely to escape it, by the law of retaliation, or that of benevolence? It seems to me that a man who will calmly reflect, can have but little doubt on this matter.

"But I go still farther. The Scriptures teach us that God has created men, both as individuals and as societies, under the law of benevolence; and that he intends this law to be obeyed. Societies

have never yet thought of obeying it in their dealings with each other; and statesmen would generally consider the allusion to it as puerile. But this alters not the law of God, nor the punishment which he inflicts upon nations for the violation of it. This punishment I suppose to be war. I believe aggression from a foreign nation to be the intimation from God that we are disobeying the law of benevolence, and that this is his mode of teaching nations their duty, in this respect, to each other. So that aggression seems to me to be in no manner a call to retaliation and injury, but rather a call to special kindness and good will. And still farther, the requiting evil with good tends just as strongly to the cessation of all injury, in nations as in individuals. Let any man reflect upon the amount of pecuniary expenditure, and the awful waste of human life, which the wars of the last hundred years have occasioned, and then I will ask him whether it be not self-evident, that the one-hundredth part of this expense and suffering, if employed in the honest effort to render mankind wiser and better, would, long before this time, have banished wars from the earth, and rendered the civilized world like the garden of Eden?

"If this be true, it will follow that the cultivation of a military spirit is the cultivation of a great curse to a community; and that all means, both of offence and defence, are worse than useless, inasmuch as they aggravate the very source of the evil, the corrupt passions of the human heart, by the manner in which they ineffectually attempt to check the evil itself.

"I am aware that all this may be called visionary, romantic, and chimerical. This, however, neither makes it so, nor shows it to be so. The time to apply these epithets will be, when the justness of their application has been proved. And if it be said, these principles may all be very true, but you can never induce nations to act upon them; I answer, this concession admits that such is the law of God. If this be the case, that nation will be the happiest and the wisest which is the first to obey it. And if it be said, it would be wisest and best to obey the law of benevolence, but men will never obey it, I answer, here is manifestly the end of the argument. If we show men what is wisest and best, and according to the will of their Creator, we can do no more. If they disobey it, this is a matter to be settled between them and their God. It remains, however, to be seen, whether God will or will not cause his laws to be obeyed; and whether Omniscience and Omnipotence have not the means of teaching his creatures submission to his will."—*Elements of Moral Science.*

The following beautiful anecdote from the second series of Lydia Maria Child's *Letters from New York*, furnishes an instructive illustration of the views above expressed:

"I have somewhere read of a regiment ordered to march into a small town and take it. I think it was in the Tyrol; but wherever it was, it chanced that the place was settled by a colony who believed the Gospel of Christ, and proved their faith by works. A courier from a neighbouring village informed them that troops were advancing to take the town. They quietly answered, 'If they will take it, they must.' Soldiers soon came riding in, with colours flying, and fifes piping their shrill defiance. They looked round for an enemy, and saw the farmer at his plough, the blacksmith at his anvil, and the women at their churns and spinning-wheels. Babies crowded to hear the music, and boys ran out to see the pretty trainers, with feathers and bright buttons, 'the harlequins of the nineteenth century.' Of course none of these were in proper position to be shot at. 'Where are your soldiers?' they asked. 'We have none,' was the brief reply. 'But we have come to take the town.' 'Well, friends, it lies before you.' 'But is there nobody here to fight?' 'No; we are all Christians.'

"Here was an emergency altogether unprovided for; a sort of resistance which no bullet could hit; a fortress perfectly bomb-proof. The commander was perplexed. 'If there is nobody to fight with, of course we cannot fight,' said he. 'It is impossible to take such a town as this.' So he ordered the horses' heads to be turned about, and they carried the human animals out of the village as guiltless as they entered, and perchance somewhat wiser.

"This experiment on a small scale indicates how easy it would be to dispense with armies and navies, if men only had faith in the religion they profess to believe. When France lately reduced her army, England immediately did the same; for the existence of one army creates the necessity for another, unless men are safely ensconced in the bomb-proof fortress above mentioned."

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

Bills for the abolition of Capital Punishment have been introduced into the Legislatures of Tennessee and Ohio.

The House of Representatives in Indiana has, by a large majority, passed a bill authorizing juries to direct, at their discretion, imprisonment for life or, capital punishment; and little doubt was felt that it would pass the Senate also.

POETRY.

For the Non-Slaverholder.

KEEP TO THE RIGHT!

Fond seeker after Truth!
Keep steadily to the right—
From the day dawn of thy youth
To the closing in of Night!

Turn not aside for Folly,
List not to Pleasure's call,
Lest Self-Indulgence slowly
With evil links inthral.

Instant in Truth's reception
Trace Error to its source,
With Childhood's pure perception,
And Manhood's moral force.

Still keep thy vision single,
To Duty's pointings true,
Nor false expedients mingle,
Which but perplex the view.

There's nought, aside from Duty
And Truth, has power to bless,
There's no intrinsic beauty,
Apart from holiness.

Though desolate and lonely,
Briar-torn, way-worn and weary,
Though Truth's own beams seem only
To show the path how dreary,

Keep firm! those Truth-beams given
In momentary glancings
Are messengers from Heaven
To aid thy safe advancements.

Ever toll on! though sadness
Oppress thy soul to see
The multitude, in madness,
To falsehood bend the knee,

Though myriads round thee trample
On purity and love,
Guard well thy one example—
To God thy faith approve!

What though no sympathizer
Join thee at Duty's shrine,
Though cherished friends and wiser
Thy fellowship decline,

To their own master leaving
Those whom thou canst not win,
Doubt not the undeceiving,
The Mentor voice within.

Swiftly thy years glide o'er thee,
Nor will thy moments stay—
Thy task is set before thee,
Thy term is Manhood's day!

To meet the ills besetting
Thy day shall ample be,
If but thy moments fleeting
Escape not uselessly.

Keep to the right unfaltering,
With upturned eye and heart—
Keep to the right unaltering
Though valiant saints depart.

Though life's meridian glory
May seem to pass in vain,
Though Evening's shades come o'er thee
Ere thou thy end attain,

Toll on—"the work's the wages;"—
Thou canst not miss reward!
Who earnestly engages
Finds not the service hard.

Wrestle to win the blessing,
Unwearied in well doing,
With faith each sinew bracing,
Though faint, yet still pursuing.

Death shall not come with sadness
And disappointments sting,—
But thy last days, with gladness,
Thy heart's desire may bring.

W. J. A.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

INVITATION.

Friends desiring to become members of the "Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," are invited to send their names to

GEO. W. TAYLOR, Sec'y.
No. 50 North 4th St.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Those who feel disposed to assist the Free Produce Association in procuring and manufacturing free cotton, and in opening a store for the sale of free goods, will please contribute either in the way of a loan without interest, or donations to their fund for those objects. Such contributions will be received by either of the undersigned.

ELIHU PICKERING,
SAMUEL ALLINSON, JR.,
THOMAS WISTAR, JR.,
SAMUEL RHOADS,
GEO. W. TAYLOR, } Committee
on Finance.

HENRY LONGSTRETH, Bookseller, Publisher and Stationer, No. 347 Market St. Philadelphia, has constantly on hand a large assortment of School, Juvenile, and Miscellaneous Books, and all kinds of Stationery, which he will furnish wholesale and retail at very low prices. He has published a number of very valuable works, which would be very suitable for gratuitous distribution by Tract Associations and private benevolent individuals; among them are brief account of William Bush, brief account of the late Elizabeth Fry; the Love Conquest, Sumner's Oration on Peace, Porteus on Christian Revelation; also Thoughts on Habit and Discipline, Life in the Insect World, Geographical, Historical, and other Lessons for memory.

For sale as above, Portrait of the late William Allen, and Jonathan Dymond.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER is published on the first Fourth day of the week in each month, at One Dollar per annum, payable in advance, or six copies to one address for five dollars. It may be proper here to remark that pecuniary profit forms no part of our object, and that the whole amount of subscriptions which may be received after paying the expense of publication, will be devoted to the cause of emancipation.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, SAMUEL RHOADS and GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Editors.

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THE
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"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 1843.

[NO. 3.]

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

From the British and Foreign A. S. Reporter.

We direct attention to a paper in our present number, entitled *Manufacture of Articles from Free-Grown Cotton*. It consists of an address, signed by several of the most distinguished friends of the anti-slavery cause, on the importance of discouraging the culture of cotton by the labour of slaves, and contains the very gratifying announcement that "an attempt is being made in the country to obtain a supply of articles manufactured exclusively from cotton the produce of free labour." Some highly respectable manufacturers, the address further states, have shewn themselves willing to aid in carrying out this design, and, from our knowledge of the parties referred to, we declare our full conviction that they will do it in perfect good faith, so that the genuineness of the article may be entirely depended on. We anticipate that this will be a highly gratifying announcement to the British public at large, and we warmly congratulate upon it all friends to the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. This blow at the atrocious slave-system of the United States will be eminently acceptable to them, and will not fail to secure their prompt and active concurrence. It will be but a repetition of the effort so vigorously and so successfully made in former years to diminish the use of slave-grown sugar, and it will be free from some of the difficulties by which that effort was attended. Cotton goods for which the slave has not toiled will be to multitudes, not only a new, but a most attractive luxury, and the extensive use of them will be a most serious and impressive warning to the slaveholders of the United States.

MANUFACTURE OF ARTICLES FROM FREE-GROWN COTTON.

To the friends of the abolition of the Slave-Trade and Slavery.

It is cause for devout thankfulness to the Almighty, that, by his blessings on the efforts of those who laboured for the abolition of the Anglo-

African slave-trade and of British colonial slavery, those dreadful evils have both been abolished by law. We can and do rejoice, that the shores of Africa can no longer be infested with impunity, by the man-stealer from our country; that nearly 800,000 of our fellow subjects, once held as slaves in the British colonies, have been emancipated; and that millions who were lately bondmen in British India are now legally free.

These gratifying and cheering results of past labours should lead us to pursue with increased energy what remains to be done in the great work of emancipation, beyond the limits of the British empire. Let none hastily, and without due consideration of the subject, conclude that British abolitionists can do little or nothing to hasten the termination of slavery, in countries subject to foreign rule. We believe there are many ways in which this may be done. Among these, we may refer to the practicability of calling the attention of persons in foreign lands to the crime of slavery, and to those dreadful evils which are inseparable from its existence. We may also point out to them the duty, the safety, and the advantages of emancipation. But we desire, at present, to direct attention to one painful fact, connected with the establishment and increase of foreign slavery, and to state the course which we think should be adopted, both in order to avoid a continued implication in the crime, and to discourage a system which we so strongly reprobate.

It can, we believe, be clearly shown, that American slavery is principally supported by the demand of Great Britain for the cotton of the United States. Allow us, then, briefly to state the extent and some of the revolting circumstances of the slave system in America, and to adduce proof of the assertion, that the people of England are largely implicated in its encouragement.

The slave population of the United States of America may be estimated at 2,800,000. This large number of our fellow-men, whose right to liberty is no less sacred than our own, are cruelly coerced to toil for the benefit of others. With worse than savage barbarity, the marriage relation

among these victims of oppression is not recognized by law; hence those who morally sustain the relation of husbands and wives are often separated for life, by the sale of one or both, at the will of their "owner," to places distant from each other. The ties of parent and child are equally disregarded, as might be expected from those who scruple not to sever the conjugal relation. In addition to this disregard of the social rights and of the common feelings of humanity, slaves are debarred from an acquaintance with even the rudiments of knowledge, lest they should thereby become acquainted with their wrongs, and learn how to escape from them. To teach a slave to read is punishable with severe penalties, and in one slave state, (Louisiana,) death is the legal penalty for a second offence. For attempting to escape from bondage, the laws of all the slave states allow the life of the slave to be taken by the pursuers, if he cannot otherwise be secured; and imprisonment or death is the penalty inflicted on those who aid a slave in his escape from bondage.

The American domestic slave-trade, which is carried on between the various slave states, is in some of its features too revolting for detail. By this trade it has been estimated that no less than 70,000 persons are annually sold, the greater portion taken from the place of their birth to more fertile regions, and to severer toil, and in a multitude of instances, subjected to those cruel separations of the nearest domestic ties to which we have before alluded. To all who recognize the principle that to hold an innocent fellow-being in slavery is criminal in the sight of God, we need scarcely say, that it is a Christian duty to avoid, as far as possible, all participation in, or encouragement of, the crime.

In stating our belief that the consumers of articles produced by slave labour are accessories to the maintenance of the whole system of which some features have been described, we advance no new doctrine. During the early struggle for the abolition of the slave-trade, in the latter part of the last century, the friends of that cause, as we have been informed, published and circulated tens of thousands of copies of a small tract recommending the disuse of sugar, at that time exclusively produced by slave-labour. In this tract we think it was satisfactorily shown, that a small number of families, by their ordinary consumption of sugar, afforded the motive for the removal of one slave from Africa, and that, consequently, by abstinence from sugar on the part of a considerable number of families, the ravages of the slave-trade might be expected to be materially lessened. Thomas Clarkson, in his "History of the Abolition of the

Slave-trade," estimates the number of persons in Great Britain who voluntarily abandoned the use of sugar at the period to which we refer, at 300,000. In addition to the reasons that have been already named for substituting, as much as possible, free-grown for slave-grown produce, it is manifest that in so doing, the subject of slavery would be much more frequently brought under the notice of our countrymen, and a standing protest be held up against it.

We have already stated, in concurrence with the testimony of some of the most eminent friends of the slave in the United States, and undeniable facts, that the demand for cotton of that country in Great Britain has been a means of perpetuating and extending slavery in America. Shortly after the declaration of American independence, there was much ground to hope that slavery would not long exist in the Union. The tide of public opinion, which had already led to acts for the abolition of slavery in several of the northern states, was directed with considerable force against it; there were at that time few articles of export produced by slaves in the states of great pecuniary value. In 1790, the number of slaves was 657,000, and the cotton exported, 189,000 lbs. In 1843, the number of slaves was estimated at 2,847,810; the cotton exported was 1,081,919,000 lbs.; and unless the most vigorous means be used to stay this mighty evil, it is impossible to calculate what may be its future extension. Shall we then continue to uphold and furnish an inducement for the maintenance of this vast system of crime and misery which we profess to deplore and abhor? Humanity, justice, and religion, forbid us so to do; and we therefore confidently cherish the hope that, as one means of discountenancing slavery, many of our countrymen and countrywomen will now be found willing and determined, as far as in them lies, to relinquish the use of American slave-grown cotton. Nor will they, we trust, be less resolute in reference to other articles, the produce of slave-labour, among which we may specially reckon Carolina rice and tobacco in all its forms.

By such a course as the above, (which we strongly recommend,) they will not only individually perform that which appears to be a manifest duty, but will encourage the efforts of those friends of the slave in America who deem it right thus to act. The number of these is, we learn, decidedly on the increase. We are glad to be able to inform those into whose hands this may fall, that an attempt is being made in this country to obtain a supply of articles manufactured exclusively from cotton the produce of free labour. It

has been ascertained that some highly respectable manufacturers are willing to aid in carrying out the wishes of some friends of the anti-slavery cause in this country, in making such an article, which will be distinguished by a mark, to show its genuineness. In the first instance, the number of articles produced, will be small; but, if encouragement be given to the attempt, a greater variety will hereafter be manufactured and offered for sale.

It has been already ascertained that the members of several anti-slavery societies to whom this subject has been submitted, cordially sympathise in the object it recommends.

We respectfully commend the subject to the consideration of the friends of the cause generally. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add, that those who promote the object have no intention of deriving a profit themselves from the sale of free labour articles. They may be exposed to some loss, and will be glad if any of their friends incline to share with them the risk of the experiment.

Before we close this appeal, we deem it proper to state, that whilst we consider it a duty to abstain as far as possible from the use of articles produced by the labour of slaves, as one means of discouraging a wicked system, we deem it no less incumbent upon us to persevere in the use of those other moral means, which, in our opinion, should be unceasingly employed until slavery shall be every where utterly abolished.

JOSEPH J. GURNEY, Norwich.

GEORGE THOMAS, } Bristol.

JOSEPH EATON, }

JOSEPH STURGE, Birmingham.

G. W. ALEXANDER, London.

First Month (January) 1st, 1846.

COMMUNICATIONS.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM JAY.

BEDFORD, 9th Oct. 1845.

Absence from home has prevented me from returning an earlier reply to your letter asking information respecting the state of slavery in Egypt, and how far Egyptian cotton can be regarded as free produce.

A traveller should be cautious how he draws general conclusions from his own cursory observations. I was not more than three weeks in Egypt, and did not ascend the Nile higher than Cairo. As far as I could judge, there are but few slaves in Egypt. I visited the slave market in Alexandria and also in Cairo. In the former

there were, I think, five, and in the latter, fifteen, for sale. I was told, however, that there are generally more in summer. The great mass of the population are Arabs, and they are too poor to own slaves. My impression is, that the slaves are usually domestics, and confined chiefly to the families of the Turkish residents. *The agricultural labourers appeared to me to be universally Arabs.*

I became acquainted with Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, long a resident in Egypt, and celebrated as an Egyptian Antiquarian. He denies that slavery, in its usual acceptation, exists in the country, but his denial is founded rather on the *treatment* of the slaves, than upon the tenure by which they are held. Chattel slavery undoubtedly exists in Egypt, and there is reason to believe that great cruelty is perpetrated in the seizure of natives of Nubia, and in their transportation into Egypt; but once there, they are on the whole treated kindly. A clergyman of high character, whom I met in Cairo, and who had spent many years in Egypt, assured me that *Jeus* and *Christians* were bad masters compared with Musselmén!

It appeared to me that colour was not a bar to social intercourse among either the European residents, or the natives of Egypt. I saw Turks and negroes eating out of the same dish, and negro and Arab soldiers marching in the same ranks. I met coloured gentlemen and ladies at the table d'hôte, and in the drawing room of the hotel, and a coloured young lady visiting in the first English families.

A French physician of the name of Clot, high in favour with the Pasha, and raised by him to the rank of Bey, has recently published a work on Egypt. I enclose a translation of his remarks on oriental slavery, which may interest you.

On the whole, I incline to the opinion that Egyptian cotton may more justly be regarded as free produce than otherwise.

Should your Free Produce Association publish reports, &c., I will be much obliged to you, if you will favour me with copies.

Yours very respectfully,

WILLIAM JAY.

Translation.

"There is a prodigious difference between American slavery and servitude among the Orientals. With these the institution is neither cruel nor disgraceful. *It does not regard the slave as a thing—a material object—as did the Roman law.* It does not make him a mere article of import and export—a matter for speculation—a simple machine, in fact, whose efficiency is estimated by horse power. The West Indian [or American] sees in the negro only his corporeal value, and

forgets in him the intellectual man. The Musselman, on the contrary, always beholds a man in his slave, and treats him in such a manner that we may say of oriental slavery that it is often a real adoption, and always an admission into an extended family circle.

Oriental servitude honorably contrasts with American slavery, and above all by its respect for the dignity of human nature. The slave in Turkey is not humiliated by his condition, he often proudly boasts that he is of the family of such a Bey or such a Pasha, and gives his master the title of father. He knows, moreover, that he is not permanently chained to his place by links of iron; he has before him examples in sufficient number to raise his ambition, and to swell his soul with the hope of more brilliant destinies. The celebrated militia of Mamalukes, which so long governed Egypt, was recruited only from slaves. Ali Bey, Mourad Bey, Ibrahim Bey, were purchased in the Bazaars. Halid Pasha and Said Pasha, both sons-in-law of Sultan Mahmoud, brothers-in-law of Padischah Abd-ul-Medjed, and Ministers of the Porte, had been slaves. In Egypt the superior officers are, for the most part, manumitted slaves."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BRITISH INTERFERENCE.

One of the reasons adduced in vindication of slavery in the United States is, that it was forced upon the people of this country while they yet stood in a colonial relation to Great Britain; another, that so long as England shall continue to interfere with slavery, out of her own limits, the effect will be to rally all our feelings of national pride and independence against her, and prevent us from the exercise of the more benevolent affections, by which, if an attempt to compel us was not made, we would be led voluntarily to do justice to the enslaved; and a third, that, after all, slavery is a very happy condition compared with that deep oppression, under the withering influence of which a large part of the British artisans and laborers groan, languish, and die!

The first of these reasons is wholly insufficient to account for the existence of slavery among a people opposed to it: much less does it excuse the subsequent continuance of the evil. The second is the argument of a man who purposely gets into a passion that he may fortify himself in the determination to persevere in wrong-doing. The third is but affirming that, two wrongs existing, the lesser of them becomes right! A fourth reason might have been added, not confessed, but yet more powerful than all the above. The

people of this country, some directly and some indirectly, derive, or think they derive an advantage from the wrong, and therefore they love and cherish it. A degree of cupidity is at the bottom of every apology for this mighty evil.

When the American people chose to relinquish the luxury of tea-drinking, there was no forcing them to receive the tea sent to them by England. Had they been as disinclined to have purchased slaves, no second cargo of human chattels would have come after a refusal to buy the first. Did the people of this country really desire the abolition of slavery, they would cheerfully welcome the efforts of the British people to undo the wrongs of their former policy, and would joyously unite with them in a common effort for its general overthrow.—And did we see in the condition of the British operatives privations distressing as those connected with American slavery, would it not be an additional inducement to us to put down slavery at any cost, that our nation might present to the imitation of that, and of the world, the example of a free and happy community, governed by just, equal, and beneficent laws?

That the operatives of England, and the poor of that country generally, suffer many privations, and more there than do the same class of persons here, is unquestionable. So far as this suffering results out of an overgrown population, and the great fluctuations incident to the extended commerce and manufactures of the country, under a varying foreign demand, it is difficult to perceive a remedy, other than in the paternal care of the nation, sedulously watching against this consequence, and the individual and associated philanthropy of the wealthier portions of the community. So far as such suffering is the result of political regulations there are not wanting men of clear intellect and ardent minds ready to trace the connection of cause and effect, and to seek energetically the removal of the one and thus of the other. The same beneficence which prompts them to this labour of love, calls them to the duty of seeking to remove the misery and wrongs which are connected with chattel slavery.

The principle of benevolence is but little acquainted with geographical distinctions. The world is to it as but one country, and mankind, irrespective of caste and colour, one brotherhood.

But is slavery the happy condition it has been represented to be, either for master or slave? Thomas Jefferson said of it: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. The parent

storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances."

The Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky said of it: "This system licenses and produces great cruelties. Mangling, imprisonment, starvation, every species of torture may be inflicted on the slave, and he has no redress. There are now in our whole land two millions of human beings, exposed defenceless to every insult and every injury, short of maiming or death, which their fellow men may choose to inflict. They suffer all that can be imposed by wanton caprice, by grasping avarice, by brutal lust, by malignant spite, and by insane anger. Their happiness is the sport of every whim and the prey of every passion that may occasionally, or habitually, infest the master's bosom. If we could calculate the amount of woe endured by ill-treated slaves, it would overwhelm every compassionate heart—it would move even the obdurate to sympathy."

Almost endless is the Southern testimony which could be offered, showing the degradations and cruelties to which the miserable victims of slavery are reduced. Who can doubt them, that reflects on the inevitable tendency of irresponsible power? Who does not feel that with that power he would himself be a tyrant? Is there then to be found an Englishman under the broad canopy of Magna Charta, suffering the torture of the American slave? Is there to be found an Englishman, borne down by whatever poverty and distress can overcome a freeman, who would for a moment seek to be relieved from his burden by becoming that slave?—Where is the Anglo-American who can believe of his kindred that there is one so base?

LOGAN.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WHY HAS THE DESIRE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVE DIMINISHED IN VIRGINIA?

It will be recollected, that in the year 1832, a spirited debate took place in the House of Delegates of Virginia, on the question of their slave population. Emancipation was then boldly advocated as the only remedy for the evils under which the State groaned, and as a measure necessary for its prosperity. The death-like sleep in which the wise men of Virginia have reposed, during the fourteen long years of toil and degradation which the poor slave has still had to suffer,

has been a matter of astonishment to many reflecting minds, and has given rise to various speculations as to the cause of such remarkable retrocession, in this day of spreading light and diffusion of knowledge among mankind.

That the minds of many of her ablest statesmen were at that time enlightened far beyond what has since been apparent, few, perhaps, will question. Must we attribute this blindness, this darkness, to the neglect and rejection of the rays of truth and righteousness which then shone conspicuously on her sons? "If the light which is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness?"

It is now an interesting inquiry, by what means that noble zeal for her own good, which broke forth on the memorable occasion alluded to, has become congealed to icy indifference. What has silenced the tongue that could declare openly, "I believe the people of Norfolk county would rejoice, could they even in the vista of time see some scheme for the gradual removal of this curse from our land." And again, "Were Africa erected into a sovereign and independent state, and recognized as a nation by the potentates of the world, to make a demand upon [our] government for her long lost and enslaved children, accompanied with a recital of all the circumstances of fraud by which they were taken from their native country, it would present a claim too strong not to be discussed—a demand too just to be denied by the free-born sons of Virginia."* Where is the noble Marshall, who gave utterance to the following: "Wherefore, then, object to slavery? Because it is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out an industrious population—banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. . . Labour of every species is disreputable, because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost every where declining, and the general aspect of the country, marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished. Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little. If cultivated by FREE LABOUR, the soil of Virginia is capable of sustaining a dense population, among whom labour would be honorable, and where the 'busy hum of men' would tell that all were happy, and that all were free."

* Speech of John A. Chandler, in the House of Delegates of Virginia, 1st mo. 17th, 1832.

It has become quite customary of late years to ascribe the stationary or rather retrograde condition of Virginia, in relation to any efforts to free herself from the burden and sin of slavery, to the agitation of the subject in the free states. Whatever may be said of the discussion of this question by northern abolitionists, it would be difficult to show, that this has in any wise checked the advance of correct views and action in Virginia, or in any of the slaveholding states.

The immediate cause of the discussion of slavery in the Virginia Legislature, may be traced to the Southampton insurrection. The question having been once opened, the delegates from the western portion of the state, whose interests were not so completely identified with the existence of slavery as those of the eastern were conceived to be, embraced the opportunity to make an effort to get rid of an intolerable burden, the fruitful source of danger to the white population personally, and destructive of the wealth and energies of the state. After a long and ardent debate, however, they were out-voted, and stigmatised as "abolitionists"—enemies to the welfare of their State—and thus the matter was put to rest. At this time, slave-labour in Virginia was manifestly unproductive; the price of slaves was low. But immediately, laws were passed in some of the planting states further South, prohibiting, after a fixed time, the introduction of slaves from other states. Dealers in slaves, under the supposition that the people of Virginia would part with their slaves at almost any sacrifice, and apprehensive, too, that the southern market would soon be closed against them, flocked into Virginia in great numbers, in search of human chattels; and such was the demand for slaves, that according to Professor Dew, in his advocacy of slavery, the price of slaves was greatly enhanced. The increased stimulus given to the growth of cotton by the demand for the raw material to supply the rapidly increasing manufactures of the northern states and of Europe, created a still increased demand for slaves, and thus an extensive internal slave-trade was carried on between the more northern of the slave states, which have thus become *slave-producing* states, and those further south, which are adapted to the growth of cotton. Large profits are thus realized upon the business of raising slaves, making it the interest of the slaveholders, or rather slave-breeders, of Maryland and Virginia, to keep a stock on hand for the purpose. The redundant black population thus disposed of, the apparent danger from the presence of too great numbers removed, and a profitable business created out of the circumstances of the case, we presently hear

no more of the abolition of slavery in Virginia. As to the danger from insurrections, we suppose they have quieted their fears from such reflections as the following, which we take from Professor Dew's pamphlet. "No insurrection of this kind can ever occur where the blacks are so much civilized as they are in the United States. Savages and Koromantyn slaves can commit such deeds, because their whole life and education have prepared them, and they glory in the achievement; but the negro of the United States has imbibed the principles, the sentiments and feelings of the whites; in one word, he is civilized—at least comparatively; his whole education and course of life are at war with such fell deeds, &c.," pp. 113, 114. And yet this defender and advocate of slavery asserts in another place, where it seems to suit his purpose best, "The great ground upon which we shall rest our argument on this subject is, *that the slaves, in both an economical and (moral &c.) point of view, are entirely unfit for a state of freedom among the whites*," p. 87. Again, "But one limited massacre is recorded in Virginia history; let her liberate her slaves, and every year you would hear of insurrections and plots, and every day would perhaps record a murder," p. 101. What these "civilized" people, who "have imbibed the principles, the sentiments, and feelings of the whites," could have in view and expect to obtain from their former masters, by cutting their throats after they had given them their freedom, we shall leave for the learned Professor to explain.

To return to our main subject; the whole explanation of the continued attachment of Virginia to the slave system, may be summed up in a few words—*her supposed interest*. And here let me quote Professor Dew again. "If that intelligent gentleman, from the storehouse of his knowledge, would but call up the history of the past, he would see that *mere philanthropy*, with all her splendid boastings, has never yet accomplished one great scheme; he would find the remark of that great judge of human nature, the illustrious author of the *Wealth of Nations*, that *no people had the generosity to liberate their slaves until it became their interest to do so*, but too true; and the philosophic page of Hume, Robertson, Stuart, and Sismondi, would inform him that the serfs of Europe have been only gradually emancipated through the operation of *self interest* and not *philanthropy*," p. 62.

Thus we have the admission of this champion of slavery, who thinks the time may never arrive for the emancipation of the slave; [see p. 130,] that the system is mainly sustained by "*self interest*." Do we not hence deduce an argument

in favour of withdrawing our support in every practicable way from this unrighteous "institution;" including, of course, the main prop of the edifice—the consumption of the products—to obtain which alone the slave is held. Reader, refuse to give thy money for the cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco raised by slave labour, and encourage the production of those articles by freemen, and thou wilt do much to prepare the way for emancipation. Diminish materially the demand for cotton, sugar, and rice raised by slaves, and create a special demand for those articles produced by the paid labour of freemen; and soon we shall see the internal slave-trade "hide its diminished head"—slave-rearing become unprofitable, and may we not hope to enjoy the privilege even in our day, of reading again the eloquent speeches of Virginia's gifted sons, successful, we trust, in favour of the entire overthrow of this withering, blasting sin of the land.

W—N.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WM. PENN AND SLAVERY.

Although Friends, as a body, did not see for several generations, "the result to which their own principles would fairly conduct them on the subject of slavery," so far as to induce them to cease from holding slaves, and are, even now, aiding by the most effectual means—the use of its productions—to support the iniquitous system, yet it is highly important that full justice should be awarded to those ancient worthies who, at a very early period, had their eyes opened, partially at least, on its evil and sinfulness. Wm. Penn may, undoubtedly, be classed with these; yet in Bancroft's History of the United States, a statement appeared charging him with holding slaves at the time of his death. This was made on the authority of an old resident of Pennsylvania, who erroneously stated that a slave held by Thomas Penn, had been in Wm. Penn's possession. Clear evidence of the error was published nearly two years ago, but Albert Barnes, not being aware of this fact, recently reiterated the charge in his public discourse "On the virtues and services of William Penn," referring to Bancroft as his authority. This has led to a further investigation, and a will dated 1701, made by William Penn on his leaving this country for the last time, and now in the possession of Thomas Gilpin, of Philadelphia, has been published in "Friends' Weekly Intelligencer." From this, it appears that he had previously given his blacks their freedom, as an extract will show: "I give my servants John and Mary Sacher, three hundred acres between them, to James Logan,

one thousand acres, and my blacks their freedom, as is under my hand already, and to old Sam 100 acres, &c."

In his last will, dated 1712, a copy of which is in the possession of George M. Justice, of this city, and by which his property descended to his family, no mention is made of any slaves, thus affording strong negative proof that he was not then a slaveholder, and it would be preposterous to suppose that he purchased any during the six subsequent years of his life. GRANVILLE.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH 4, 1846.

ADDRESS TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY.—When we contemplate the extent of slavery in this land—how the slaveholders have succeeded from time to time in drawing around them the fostering and sustaining power of the Federal Government, and how intimately and strongly the interests of the people of the North have become connected with the iniquity, feelings of discouragement are apt to be awakened. There are other circumstances, too, which are even more painful, and bring anguish to our souls, when we feel impelled to exercise our individual rights and duties in reference to the mighty evil. We will not, however, dwell upon these, we turn rather to the less gloomy view of the subject—and here we are cheered by many encouragements, by many indications of an increasing consciousness on the part of non-slaveholders of the responsibility which rests upon them. Let this feeling spread amongst a comparatively small minority of those who profess to be opposed to slavery, and, we believe, its profits—the "price of blood and souls of men"—will be taken away, and the system itself must perish.

It is with great satisfaction that we invite the attention of our readers to the address, under "Associated Action." Our friends in England, are "putting their shoulders to the wheel," and we anticipate important results; for our faith is strong that Divine Providence will bless His appointed means of regenerating the world—individual faithfulness to the principles of christianity.

Although the quality of East India cotton is in course of improvement, yet it is not suitable for the finer description of goods; this deficiency, however, may soon be supplied. Some of the West India cotton is good, and its cultivation has been rapidly increased. In 1842, 38,200 bales

were imported into Great Britain, and in 1845, the import was 89,400 bales. From information recently received from the South, we have no doubt that arrangements may readily be made to furnish our English friends annually with thousands of bales of free labor cotton, of the best quality, from Alabama and Mississippi, known in the market as Mobile and New Orleans cotton. It will be seen that they are disposed to make the best of what they have; and a late letter from one of them says—"We have two articles in the course of preparation of cotton manufacture, and hope to have more shortly. Indeed, if you should want a supply, I hope to be able to send you two or three patterns by the next packet."

SLAVERY IN EGYPT.—We present in our present number an interesting letter from Judge Jay, written in reply to some inquiries addressed to him, for the purpose of ascertaining whether Egyptian cotton is the produce of free-labor, goods manufactured of such cotton having been offered for sale in Philadelphia.

From other sources we are informed that the British government has endeavored to prevail upon the Pacha of Egypt to prohibit the "slave-hunts," and also to abolish slavery in that country, but with little prospect of success. He professes to desire the "abolition of this inhuman usage," but states it to have "been in existence 1200 years, and hence the difficulty of destroying it at once." He says, moreover, that "the people of these countries, (Africa) are savage, that they can only be drawn from their brutish state by the application of material force; that it is a good and humane work to bring them within the pale of civilization; that in future he will not recruit his army by means of slavehunts, but in a manner accordant with the rules observed in flourishing countries, and that no soldier shall be received into it until they have been made free; and one proof of their liberty will be, that no difficulty will be placed in the way of their marrying, if they choose."

The British consul in Egypt, in a communication to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated August 1st, 1843, says, "I again reverted to the general question of slavery, and pressed the Pacha to fix some time, after which the importation of slaves into Egypt should be forbidden."

"His Highness repeated the declaration he made to Colonel Campbell, in 1837, and to myself last year, that he was personally favorable to the abolition of slavery, but that the prejudices of the higher classes were too strong on that question for him at present, to venture upon such a measure. He said, 'I once spoke to my daugh-

ter on the subject; you know that women have a great influence over men, in all countries, and I asked her why she did not employ native female servants in her Harem? she turned away her head and made me no answer. I tell you this anecdote to show you how difficult it would be to break through the habits of the higher orders, and to do away with slaves."

"I must, however, be permitted to doubt the sincerity of the Pacha's declaration that he is desirous of abolishing slavery."

"Meheemet Ali has shown on many occasions that where he has the will, he has the power to make himself obeyed; and had he been sincere in his professions, he would, in the course of six years, have taken some steps to prevent the further importation of slaves into Egypt."

A letter from Judge Jay, subsequent to that we now publish, contains the following interesting observation: "The more I learn of slavery, and the more I reflect on its character and consequences, the more thoroughly am I convinced of its utter inconsistency with the religion of Jesus Christ, and of the duty of his disciples to labor for its immediate and total abolition."

OUR COURSE.—We had hoped that our Prospectus and the Numbers of our paper already issued, would sufficiently indicate our object and intended course; but, from inquiries which have been made, we are induced to state, clearly and decidedly, that our columns will be closed against every thing of a controversial character relative to difficulties existing in our religious Society; and further, that we will exclude invidious allusions to other religious Societies, so that ALL who are opposed to slavery, may read the Non-Slaveholder without offence on these grounds.

FREE GROCERIES.—To meet the inquiries of numerous friends, in relation to sugar and other groceries produced by free labor, we would refer them to the advertisement, in the present number, of Joel Fisher, who keeps a Store at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, exclusively for the sale of free goods.

POSTAGE.—Our subscribers and others who may receive our paper, are desired to call the attention of Postmasters to the fact, that it is subject to newspaper postage *only*—consequently, it will be sent *free* to all post offices not more than thirty miles from Philadelphia; beyond that distance in Pennsylvania, the postage will be one cent, and out of this State, and over 100 miles, one and a half cents.

BRITISH ABOLITION AND ABOLITIONISTS.—The last remnant of legalized slavery within the British dominions existed in the Island of Ceylon, where about four hundred persons were held in subjection. The British government has recently announced the emancipation of these by an act of the Legislative Council of Ceylon, in the Twelfth month of 1844, since confirmed and allowed by the Queen. The British people may now say in reference to their entire empire, that slaves cannot breathe within it—

"If their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free,
They touch our country and their shackles fall."

Practically, however, the effects of long continued slavery on the injured subjects of it, are yet to be abolished, as is also the spirit which would rechain the freeman; and these objects can only be fully effected by the universal abolition of the slaveholding system. British abolitionists are aware of this, and whilst vigilant in the performance of what they regard to be their home duties—seeking to elevate morally, socially and religiously, their recently liberated fellow subjects, and striving to restrain the cupidity of their former proprietors—they look throughout the world for place and opportunity to bring the full weight and influence of British sentiment in favor of the total abolition of slavery.

In performing these duties, they have felt the importance of keeping alive, and increasing, where they could do so, the anti-slavery feeling of the nation. Deputations of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have, in this view, been recently holding public meetings in various parts of the kingdom, addressing large audiences and receiving a hearty acceptance from the people composing them. Meetings originating in the action of local associations have also been held. At one of these, convened at the City Hall, Glasgow, in the First month last, an important part was performed by Frederick Douglass, the eloquent fugitive from American slavery. His speech, occupying nearly four of the capacious columns of the Glasgow Argus, was received, with great applause, by a large and respectable assemblage of people capable of appreciating worth and talent under any complexion of the external covering. The freedom with which the addresses delivered and resolutions adopted at such meetings, are published in England, is in remarkable contrast with the rejection of all such intelligence by the American newspapers.

A new series of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, conducted under the sanction of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and now issued

monthly, was commenced with the present year. We place under our head of Selections a "retrospect of the anti-slavery cause," taken from the first number of that Journal. Our readers will unquestionably regard it as an important and interesting document. We consider it, however, as defective in this respect, that it overlooks a highly important struggle, in the result of which humanity had much occasion to rejoice; that which issued in the establishment of duties, making a broad distinction between free and slave grown sugars, and nearly inhibitory of the latter. Had the policy of admitting those sugars without this discrimination, and at low rates of duty, prevailed, the increased demand for sugar by a population of twenty-five millions, consequent on a reduction of price, would have carried to Africa immeasurable calamity. We were about to enquire—do our English friends despair of the ability or inclination of their government to sustain this great moral distinction, and therefore think it best to say nothing on the subject?—when, with the other important intelligence brought by the steam ship Cambria, came the announcement of the British Premier's financial scheme, based on the general principle of free trade, but excluding slave grown sugar, "still regarded as an abomination," from the benefit of this principle. Recent events have given to that minister an amount of popularity which it has been the lot of few statesmen to acquire, so that the continuance of this discrimination may be considered as certain.

This and other points of great interest to the anti-slavery cause, are adverted to in the following valuable letter; for giving publicity to which, we trust, no apology will be necessary, either to the writer or reader.

27 New Broad Street, }
LONDON, 3d Feb., 1846. }

MY DEAR SIR,—By an accident for which I cannot account, I have mislaid the letter you favored me with by the last packet, and am therefore unable to reply to it in detail. Should I be fortunate enough to recover it, which I hope may be the case, I shall not fail to address you on those points I may omit in the present communication.

On the subject of free labor produce, I am happy to inform you, that several of our valued friends in this country have issued an Address, which appeared in our January number, [British and Foreign A. S. Reporter,] in which they indicate the probability that very soon free-labor cotton goods will be manufactured and on sale, for the use of those who would not help the slaveholder by dealing in his produce. As you are

probably aware, the excellent friends who have commenced this movement are Quakers; and my earnest hope is that the desire of their hearts may be fully realized. There is an excellent feeling upon the subject in this country, so far as I am acquainted; my only fear is that the supply will not be equal to the demand. Your statistics are extremely interesting, and will gratify many.

In reference to books, pamphlets and papers, bearing on the subject in which you take so deep an interest, I shall keep you supplied. The information we have recently received from India, is of the most gratifying character. There can be no doubt that cotton, equal or nearly so to your bowed Georgia, can be grown in the Province of Dharwar, for one penny per pound. The chief difficulty experienced is in bringing it to market. I have lately had in my hands a letter from one of the American cultivators there, who speaks in the highest terms of the soil, and the cotton, when properly cultivated, picked and packed. I have some reason to think that our government is by no means indifferent to the facts which have been laid before them on this subject.

Late advices from Port Natal, a British settlement on the eastern coast of Africa, brings the cheering information that the cultivation of cotton by free hands, is making rapid progress, and will soon become the staple of the colony. You will understand, dear friend, that the interest I take in these facts is not national but philanthropic; for to me it would not be a question of interest at all, whence we derived our supplies, were they produced by the compensated toil of the laborers.

Our news from the British colonies is cheering—they are rapidly recovering their prosperity; not only is there a large internal consumption of the produce grown, but an increasing quantity for exportation. This year's crop of sugar is expected to be very large.

You will see by the papers which go by this packet that our government is still determined to keep out the slave grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil, while they have determined that those produced by free labor shall come in on a lower duty than they paid last year. This is extremely satisfactory.

We have a great work before us, may we be strengthened to fulfil it. The divine blessing will rest on those who, in the spirit of the Gospel, seek to diffuse its blessings among their fellow men. It grieves many of us here that the war spirit should be so much developed in the United States. Certainly nothing exists in this country answerable to it. We have need of much prayer

that this scourge and crime of our race may be averted.

Your's very truly,
JOHN SCOBLE.

SELECTIONS.

RETROSPECT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

It is impossible to recur to the history of the anti-slavery cause, during the last few years, without being deeply grateful for the important triumphs which, under the divine blessing, it has achieved.

In the early part of the year 1831, it is probable that not a single leading abolitionist anticipated the overthrow of slavery in the colonial or territorial possessions of this country, during the life-time of the existing generation of slaves; and that they would have hailed with satisfaction a measure which secured to the children of such slaves the blessings of freedom on their attaining the age of twenty-one years. At that time, the colonists, confiding in their strength and political importance, were in full opposition to the British legislature and the government, in relation to the regulations for the mitigation of the system of slavery, which had been voted by the legislature, and had received the sanction of the King, as far back as 1823; and then, too, the government were indisposed to punish their contumacy, or to secure, by an appeal to the Imperial Parliament, what they had failed to obtain by concession and conciliation. Nor were the abolitionists themselves either bold or pressing in their demands; they asked simply for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population, and the gradual extinction of slavery. But in that memorable year, one portion of the body advanced the great doctrine of immediate and entire abolition, and with a decision which nothing could alter, a courage which faced all difficulties, and a zeal which knew no intermission, they sent forth their agents through the length and breadth of the land; and in a period of time which scarcely sufficed for a thorough organization, they carried the question with the public. It was universally felt, that "SLAVERY WAS A CRIME BEFORE GOD," which admitted of no delay in its extinction: and that freedom should be given to the slave, without stint or restriction. Having thus convinced the public mind, and secured the public conscience, there was but little difficulty in moving the constituencies throughout the kingdom, to exact from their representatives the advocacy of sound opinions in the House of Commons. The result was, the return of a large body of members to Parliament

pledged to sustain the abolition cause. Events, in the meanwhile, had transpired in the colonies, of such a character as to arrest the attention of the government, and to compel them to action. In May, 1833, Mr., now Lord Stanley, submitted to the House of Commons his celebrated scheme of abolition, which, after undergoing a lengthened discussion, and various important modifications, went into effect on the 1st of August, 1834. It admitted the justice and expediency of abolition, but placed the whole of the slave population, above six years of age, under a system of coercion for a period of six years. It created an intermediate state of bondage, falsely called "apprenticeship," which allowed the existence of the worst features of the system of slavery, without the corresponding advantages of the promised state of freedom. It soon became obvious to those who watched the progress of the measure, that "apprenticeship" was but another name for slavery; and the facts having been laid before the public, and forced on the attention of Parliament, with the accustomed ability and energy of the leaders of the anti-slavery cause, that fruitful source of irritation, cruelty and oppression, was altogether removed.

The memorable 1st of August, 1838, witnessed the complete triumph of abolition principles, throughout the British West Indies, South America, Southern Africa, and the Indian Ocean, under circumstances as honorable to the emancipated slaves, as it was satisfactory to every true philanthropist. No crime stained the advent of freedom. No man was injured in his person or property. In his gratitude for the benefit he enjoyed, the liberated negro forgot the injuries he had received, and was prepared to return good for evil. Seven years have now passed away since the enslaved population of these dependencies of the Crown were made free; and whether we estimate the blessings of liberty by the amount of physical happiness it has bestowed, or measure it by the moral advantages it has conferred on one of the most degraded portions of mankind, we must admit that it has more than realized the most sanguine expectations of its friends. Formerly, the slave population melted away under a system of toil, privation, and punishment, too dreadful to be endured; now they increase rapidly in numbers, in property, and in influence; formerly, they were denied the blessings of education and religion; now they enjoy both, and their improvement in character is as remarkable as their increase in number.

This great work having been so happily achieved, the abolitionists directed their attention to the

evil of slavery, as it had developed itself in other parts of the British empire. Year after year they brought the subject under the attention of government and of Parliament, and were gratified by the intelligence that, on the 5th of January, 1842, the Supreme Council of India had promulgated a law, that "in no part of the Straits' settlement, (including Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley,) shall the status of slavery be recognized as existing by law." And "all courts and officers of law" were "prohibited from enforcing any claims founded on any supposed right of masters, in regard to slaves within the settlements aforesaid," and were "enjoined to afford protection to all persons against whom any supposed rights of slavery were attempted to be enforced. By this act, many thousands of slaves were liberated, and an atrocious slave-trade, chiefly carried on by Chinamen or Malay pirates, for the most iniquitous purposes, was suppressed.

The British Government having had the defective state of the law for the suppression of the slave-trade, so far as it related to British India, pointed out, submitted a measure to Parliament to cure the same. This remedial act having passed the legislature, received the sanction of the Crown, on the 10th of August, 1842. It provides that "all the powers vested in the governors, lieutenant-governors, and other persons exercising the authority of governors in Her Majesty's colonies and plantations, and in Her Majesty's offices there, civil and military, for the more effectual suppression of the importation of slaves into such colonies and plantations, by sea, and for the punishment of all persons guilty of the crime of introducing, or attempting to introduce, slaves to any such colonies or plantations," shall be "extended to, and vested in the respective governors, civil and military, of the several presidencies or places within the territories under the government of the East India Company." It was notorious, that slaves were every year introduced into British India from Africa; and that, owing to the different opinions entertained by the law officers of the company on the existing Acts of Parliament against the slave-trade, no proper cognizance was, or could be, taken of those criminal acts. But this law has removed all difficulties on that head; and we may hope it will be found sufficient to secure the object at which it aims.

The principle of abolition having been once recognized by the government, it became easy to apply it. We find, therefore, the Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough, among the instructions he gave to the conqueror of Scinde, the following, which is both interesting and im-

portant:—"The Governor-General is pleased to direct, that all Acts of Parliament for the abolition of slavery, and for the suppression of the slave-trade, shall have full force and effect in every part of Sciende, which is now, or may hereafter be, occupied by the British army." This instruction was issued on the 13th of March, 1843. How many slaves it emancipated we have no returns to show; but we are led to infer that, under the dominion of the Ameers, their condition was deplorable. The instruction embraced the abolition of the slave-trade, as well as slavery. That nefarious traffic had been carried on chiefly by the subjects of the Imam of Muscat and the Scindians, and was, at times, very considerable.

The next and greatest event took place on the 7th of April, 1843. On that memorable day an act received the sanction of the acting Governor-General in India, the Honorable William Wilberforce Bird, and the Supreme Council, by which all the slaves in the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, and their dependencies, were declared free, and brought under the protection of the civil and criminal courts, and declared to be entitled to all the privileges of the Queen's subjects. This great act, which liberated millions of slaves, will be celebrated in all coming time, as one of the most noble which has characterized British rule in India. Those only who are fully acquainted with the system of slavery which prevailed in that country, with the diabolical acts and atrocious murders to which it gave rise, and with the deep and awful degradation to which it led, can duly appreciate the value and importance of its abolition. It must produce, in time, the most blessed results. A host of evils, as disgusting for their impurity as they are hateful for their impiety, will rapidly disappear. The Christian missionary can now be brought in contact with the most miserable, debased, and helpless of our race, and the holy and benign religion which he teaches win for itself new triumphs among the heathen.

Notwithstanding the stringent and comprehensive measures of the British legislature against slave-trading by British subjects, no inconsiderable number were found, both in this and in foreign countries, either directly or indirectly engaged in it. In Brazil, the Spanish and Dutch colonies, and other portions of the globe, where slavery prevailed, they were discovered holding, buying, and selling slaves. At home, there were joint-stock companies, whose capital was employed in mining operations, the labourers connected with which were slaves. These slaves had been purchased by agents representing these compa-

nies, who were continually supplying the wastes of mortality, or the exigencies of the companies, arising from extended operations, by new purchases. It having been considered doubtful whether the consolidated Slave-trade Act of 1824 reached these cases, a measure was enacted in 1843, which extended its provisions to British subjects, "whosoever residing or being, and whether within the dominions of the British Crown, or of any foreign country." This act went into operation on the first day of November, 1843, since when it has been made unlawful for British subjects to purchase a slave, or in any way to aid or abet the slave-trade in any part of the world, under the penalty of transportation, when convicted in any court within British jurisdiction.

The same act contained an important provision, relating to a species of slavery which existed at the British settlements, on the Gold Coast, Western Africa,—the "pawn system," as it was termed. In the second clause, it is enacted, "that persons holden in servitude as pledges for debt, and commonly called 'pawns,' or by whatever other name they may be called or known, shall, for the purposes of the said Consolidated Slave-trade Act, and of an act passed in the third and fourth years of the reign of King William IV., (the Slavery Abolition Act,) and of this present act, be deemed and construed to be slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves." This is an important enactment. It is now unlawful for persons residing in the British settlements or elsewhere, to take persons in pledge, or rather in payment for debts, and to deal with them as slaves.

On the 4th day of May, 1843, the Legislative Council at the Cape of Good Hope, issued an important minute in relation to Port Natal, indicating to emigrants the conditions on which alone they would be permitted to settle on that territory. "First: that there shall not be, in the eye of the law, any distinction or disqualification whatever founded on mere distinctions of colour, origin, language, or creed; but that the protection of the law, in letter and in substance, shall be extended impartially to all alike. Secondly: that no aggression shall be sanctioned upon the natives residing beyond the limits of the colony, under any plea whatever, by any private person or body of men, unless acting under the immediate authority and orders of the government. Thirdly; that slavery, in any shape or under any modification, is absolutely unlawful as in every other part of Her Majesty's dominions." This minute was rendered necessary by the Dutch Boers having commenced a system of slavery at

Port Natal, which if they could have had their way, would have given rise to a new branch of the slave-trade.

On taking possession of the Chinese island of Hong-Kong, slavery was found to prevail there. It became necessary, therefore, to abolish it, in order to bring the institutions of the new colony into harmony with British law. For this purpose, an ordinance was passed by the governor in council, Sir Henry Pottinger, on the 28th of February, 1844, to define the law relative to slavery in Hong Kong. By this ordinance, "the laws of England prohibitory of slavery, together with the punishments and penalties provided therein, shall be in full virtue and operation, and shall be duly enforced and inflicted in the said colony." Of course the importation of slaves is equally forbidden, and subject to appropriate punishments. The enactments of such a law as this cannot fail to have the most salutary influence in China, and may, and we trust will, lead to important results.

There yet remained one spot within the limits of the British dominions, where slavery existed—the island of Ceylon. It was important that government should abolish it there also. In 1842, the great bulk of the slave population became free, by forfeiture to the Crown. The registration law had not been complied with. By this forfeiture about 37,000 slaves were put in possession of their liberty. There still remained to be emancipated in the Kandyan provinces, 379 slaves; and in reference to them, Lord Stanley, in reply to a recent communication from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, states, "that an ordinance was enacted by the Legislative Council of Ceylon, in the month of December (1844), last, and that the ordinance has been allowed and confirmed by the Queen."

Thus has a final blow been struck at the system of slavery, in all its forms, whether existing in the colonies and settlements of Great Britain in the West Indies, South America, Western and Southern Africa, the Indian and Chinese Oceans, the Straits of Malacca, the coast of Siam, the vast territories of Hindostan, Seinde, the Tenasserin provinces, contiguous to Burmah, and Ceylon. In no part of the British Empire can a slave be legally held—in no part of the British Empire can the slave-trade be carried on—in no part of the world can a British subject now engage in this horrible traffic with impunity; and these glorious triumphs for humanity and for God, have been secured, not by the sword, but by moral, religious and pacific means only. It is now the duty of British abolitionists to watch over the victories which have been obtained, lest in any part of the

British dominions their fruits be lost or unenjoyed. To them the emancipated millions look for counsel and support, in securing the practical working of the laws which have bestowed on them the precious gift of freedom.

We must not measure the great fact of the abolition of slavery throughout the entire British Empire, merely by the good, whether present or prospective, which it has, or may confer; but by the evil and crime which it has prevented. Had slavery remained undisturbed in the British colonies, what an amount of suffering, degradation, and death would have afflicted its victims! Driven to desperation by oppression, they might have filled the islands with conflagration and blood. Instead of beholding them a contented peasantry, increasing in numbers, and proving how worthy they are of the blessings they enjoy, we might have beheld them, in the sullenness of despair, bending under the yoke of the oppressor; or, conscious of their rights, in open revolt, subject to all the murderous atrocities of military law. If we turn to British India, who can calculate the value of the Act of Emancipation there? Not only does it afford a bright example to the native states, by which our territories are surrounded; but the wandering Brinjarrie and the ruffian Thug can no longer perpetrate their evil deeds for supplying the cities and temples with female children. The market is closed to them; the demand for kidnapped children must cease; to infringe the law will entail a heavy punishment; and however much some may lament that they can no longer hold their fellow-creatures as property, millions will rejoice in the protection which the law now gives to them and to their children, and exult in their new and happy condition.

In this brief retrospect of the anti-slavery cause, we have not mentioned the names, either living or dead, of those distinguished men, who, under God, have been the chief instruments in effecting this great work. The living, with the venerable Thomas Clarkson at their head, with ripened experience, still pursue the noble object to which they have devoted themselves. Their field of operation is the world; they labour for the universal overthrow of slavery and the slave-trade; and they seek not as their reward, the praise of men. It would, however, be unjust to the memory of the departed leaders of the cause, if their names were not mentioned with honour. Death has been busy, and has taken from us the most eminent of its advocates: Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Andrew Thompson, James Stephen, Zachary Macaulay, Sir John Jeremie, James Cropper, William Allen, and Sir Fowell Buxton, are de-

parted. As the benefactors of their race their works follow them, and are their best eulogy. Nor amongst women must we forget the honoured names of Elizabeth Heyrick, Sophia Sturge, and Elizabeth Fry. All these gave the strength of their youth, and the vigour of riper years, to the cause of the suffering and the oppressed, and have left us an example, that we should follow their steps. May the rising youth of the land catch a double portion of their spirit, and devote themselves to the completion of the great work they so nobly began!

EXCLUSION OF SLAVE GROWN PRODUCE.

Extract of a letter from Thomas Clarkson to Joseph Sturge.

"There is another topic, on which I mean to say a few words. Our committee (of British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,) have been censured because they have opposed the introduction of slave grown sugar into our market, on the same terms as sugar from our colonies, where slavery has been abolished. I do most conscientiously approve of their conduct in this respect. For what was the object which they pledged themselves to the public to promote, when they were called together as a Committee? Was it not to secure, as far as they could, the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade? Now, wherever plantations are worked by slaves, they owe their existence to the slave-trade. To allow, therefore, the importation of slave grown sugar into our market, would be to give a powerful encouragement to the slave-trade, and to spread desolation and bloodshed wider and wider in Africa—in Africa, already bleeding at every pore. Well has Lord Brougham observed, that 'by admitting the Cuba and Brazil sugar into this country, we should immediately and directly commission some scores of slave trading vessels to assail and haunt the African coast; and that, if an act of Parliament were passed for this purpose, it would be as inevitably an act for the more effectual encouragement of the African slave-trade, as if it honestly and shamelessly bore that name! Can our committee, then, after the language of such a faithful and indefatigable friend to our cause as Lord Brougham, and having at their formation pledged themselves to every legitimate practical means to suppress the trade in slaves, give such a large bonus, such a golden premium, as the diminution of duty would amount to, to continue it? But I have now the pleasure of informing you, that there is one thing which our committee can do consistently with their honor, and the original intention of the in-

stitution. They can and will, give their sanction to the opening of our market to sugar coming from any part of the world on equal terms with sugar from our own colonies, provided it be the produce of free labor. I have no doubt that if a large bonus or premium were to be offered to Cuba or Brazil, such as that of coming with their sugar into our market on equal terms with our own, there would be planters in these countries who would make a trial of free labor, on their estates. And in my opinion, it requires only a beginning to be made, to be followed up by other planters. What a bright prospect is here opened to us!—the prospect of having cheap, and yet free sugar, of having a constantly increasing supply of that article, and moreover, a constant augmentation of free, and constant diminution of slave labor."

WAR.—STATISTICS OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

"At present there are in this noble retreat, 2700 pensioners, of whom there are, loss of right arms 14; left do. 9; total 23. Loss of both legs 3; right do. 35; left do. 50; total 71. Loss of both eyes 52; right do. 46; left do. 50; total 148. Ruptures 525. Total maimed and ruptured 767. The above does not include any of those suffering from distortions, contractions, fractures, dislocations, or old wounds not having required amputation."—*Naval and Military Gaz. Aug. 7th, 1843.*

This feature in the picture of war, shocking to every humane and Christian feeling as it is, is nevertheless the most amiable trait in its sanguinary character, seeing that the inmates of this "noble retreat" are provided with the comforts and conveniences of life, which the melancholy condition to which they have been reduced, precludes them from procuring for themselves. But let us try to fill in the outline of the picture. Let us ask these 767 pitiable wrecks of fighting sailors, how many of their comrades, in all the battles in which they have taken a part, have been slain or mortally wounded,—how many widows and fatherless children have been thereby thrown destitute on the wide world, to mourn the untimely end of their relations, to whom they had naturally been looking for protection and support,—how many bright prospects had been marred, and how much distress to families had arisen from the history which we are here contemplating. Then let us turn to that "noble retreat" for disabled soldiers at Chelsea, and ask the mutilated inmates there the like question; and when we have gathered from these, and similar sources, all possible information of the miseries of war, we shall find

one half had not been told us. The outward and visible effects of war may be contemplated with feelings of grief and sympathy for the surviving sufferers, but the deep, the silent, the hidden sources of distress which it has opened in the bosom of numberless individuals and families, can never be fathomed by human scrutiny; but the day is fast approaching, when a search will be made, and he in whose skirts blood is found, will have to answer the solemn query, "What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground!"

"Oh why will king's forget that they are men, and men that they are brethren?" J. P.

VINDICATION OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

An apology for the use of slave produce is sought for in the precept given by the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, respecting the use of meats dedicated to idols, and peculiar to the isolated case of idol worship. The advocates of slavery itself represent Paul as justifying it, when he sent back to Philemon his near kinsman and confidential servant, Onesimus, with directions to receive him, "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, both in the flesh and in the Lord," adding, "If he hath wronged thee or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account; I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it."

With equal fairness has his doctrine forbidding the use of meats offered unto idols, when the dedication was known, yet allowing their use when it was unknown, and prohibiting inquiry as to such dedication, been taken out of its legitimate case, and construed into a general rule of morality; and the direction belonging to that case, "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no questions for conscience' sake," converted into an aphorism for the common purposes of life, in our daily intercourse with the wickedness abounding in the world, to the great prejudice of sound morality.

It is obvious the rule must extend to all cases of things procured wrongfully, if it is made to apply to any case of things so procured. Thus under cover of it, no matter what circumstances of atrocity, violence or fraud may have attended the procurement of an article; no matter what suspicions may have assailed our minds, as to the bad concomitants of such procurement, if we keep ourselves prudently ignorant of the express facts, we may innocently buy and enjoy the thing! This has been termed a Christian liberty! Pagan freedom, with an honest purpose, would disdain the privilege: but pagan or pseudo-christian, it falls to pieces by the weight of its own enormity!

The true meaning of the Apostle rises above this miserable system of connivance with wrong. The brethren converted from heathenism were in perpetual danger, when there was presented to them food which they knew to be dedicated to an idol, of relapsing into the condition of idolaters; momentarily it may be presumed, but still with great prejudice to their confirmation in true piety. There was nothing appertaining to the food itself, produced by the dedication, which made its use criminal. The evil, wholly a mental one, existed in the knowledge of the dedication, which, operating on infirm consciences, tended to re-excite in the minds of the converted brethren those feelings of false worship which had been habitual to them on eating food so consecrated. Under these circumstances, it was the part of true wisdom to prohibit the inquiry after that knowledge, which, when acquired, might be a snare and temptation; as it also was, though in a greater degree, to prohibit the use of the food when the knowledge of its dedication had arrived. Let Paul be heard in explanation of his own rule: "As concerning therefore the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is no other God but one. Howbeit, there is not in every man that knowledge, for some with conscience of the idol, unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto an idol; and their conscience, being weak, is defiled."

POETRY.

"The slave, the slave, hath many wrongs—
Where might her pleader be?"

This is the motto of a Poem recently published in Philadelphia.—"An appeal for the Bondswoman, to her own sex,"—we may add, by one of her own sex—and beautifully has the gifted author responded to the question—"Where might her pleader be?" The Poem is divided into seven parts, each being an appeal to a distinct class. We have selected a portion of the first—addressed to mothers—and hope many of our readers will be induced to procure the book itself, and give it a wide circulation. It contains only 36 pages and can be sent by mail at a trifling expense. Henry Longstreth will supply orders, and it may be well to state that the publication is for the exclusive benefit of the cause in which it was written. May the hearts of many mothers, daughters and others to whom this appeal is addressed, be effectually awakened to the wrongs of their suffering sisters in bonds, and taught to feel "as bound with them."

"MOTHER!"—

"Leader of the household flock;
By thy God ordained to stand
As the shadow of a rock
To a young depending band,
Can thine eye, undimmed, behold
Woman's agony and fear,
When the wolf hath tracked her fold,
And no rescuer is near?
Brooding o'er the household nest,
Canst thou calmly sit at rest,
Heedless of that robbed one's groan,
Of the childless mother's moan,
When her empty arms to thee
Are outstretched imploringly?—
By the daily blessings shed
On thy house and on thy head,
By the joys that crown thy hearth
As a holy spot on earth,
Happy, virtuous and free!
In thy gratitude to God,
Who hath kindly dealt with thee,
Lent the staff but spared the rod,—
Teach thy little ones to feel!
Early let thy touch unseal
All those springs of tenderness
Given by our Father's love,
Every living thing to bless
In their path ordained to move.
If thou hast a noble boy,
Stealing ever from his play,
Picture book and childish toy,
To some chosen haunt away,
Where he finds an ancient page,
Chivalry's departed age,
Warms o'er tale of knightly deed,
Hears the tramp of battle steed,
Trumpet call to "holy war,"
Clash of sword and scimitar,
Tell him of those valiant men,
Conqu'rors by the lip and pen,
Warriors of the stone and sling,
Sent among mankind to bring
Down the Philistine of wrong:
In their lofty purpose strong,
Calm of mind and brave of heart;
Teach him how they deal the blow,
In whose strength they speed the dart,
Truth's defier to lay low.
If it be thy lot to guide
Hand in hand and side by side,
With that spirit high and bold,
Little one of softer mould,
Whose heart's windows will unclosed
Only when the South wind blows;
When she seeks thy ready knee
In some pause of childhood's glee,
While the welcome form is pressed
To a momentary rest,
And the little fingers twine
Close and lovingly with thine,
In a gentle voice and mild
Tell her of the Captive's child;
Whose tiny form is uncaressed,
Whose lip in love is rarely pressed,
Who sits neglected day by day,
And wears its little life away,
With none to cherish, no one near
To hush the wail or wipe the tear.

Oh! if thou hast ever known
How a mother's faintest tone

Lives upon the inward ear,
Like no other sound we hear,—
If memory doth ever stray
From things of now and yesterday,
O'er thine own Childhood's guarded way,—
If thou hast ever looked within
The foldings of a worldly heart,
To find, beneath its stains of sin
And coverings of time and art,
The lines thy mother's pencil traced,—
Let every picture unadorned,
To its once spotless surface given,
By her who with the undefiled,
Now sitteth at the gate of Heaven
To watch the coming of her child;
Let every clear and vivid line,
Which all thy better nature stirs,
Incite thee to bequeath to thine
Such memories as live for her's."

We can scarcely forbear to add the concluding verse of the Poem—it is to the "Sinful and Penitent," and exhibits the Christian spirit which pervades the whole:

"Draw near us—the Oppressor needs a friend,
Slow to reproach, forbearing in the Right,
Till God in mercy over him shall bend
On his dark path to say, 'Let there be Light.'"

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NON-SUBSCRIBERS.—We send some copies of the present number to individuals who have not subscribed, hoping they will circulate them amongst their friends and neighbours.

AGENTS.—We are indebted to the kindness of many of our friends who have forwarded the names of subscribers, and we trust in each neighbourhood where our paper has been received, some one will be willing to act as Agent, and forward us his name. The terms will be found below.

FREE COTTON GOODS.

To accommodate Friends and others who wish to supply themselves with free cotton goods, but cannot conveniently give or lend money to aid in the manufacture, the Finance Committee of Friends' Free Produce Association, propose to receive from such individuals any sum of money they may choose to advance, and furnish them with goods to the same amount when these are ready for sale.

ELIHU PICKERING,
S. ALLINSON, Jr.,
THOMAS WISTAR, Jr.,
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
SAMUEL RHOADS,
Committee.

FREE LABOR STORE.—The subscriber having purchased the stock and fixtures of the store at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, of Lydia White, would respectfully inform his friends and those who prefer using the produce of free labor, that he will continue the business as heretofore, and hopes by attention thereto, to merit and receive a continuance of the patronage bestowed on the former occupant.

JOEL FISHER.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER is published on the first Fourth day of the week in each month, at One Dollar per annum, payable in advance, or six copies to one address for five dollars. It may be proper here to remark that pecuniary profit forms no part of our object, and that the whole amount of subscriptions which may be received after paying the expense of publication, will be devoted to the cause of emancipation.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, SAMUEL RHOADS and GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Editors.

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THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 1846.

[NO. 4.

COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaverholder.

F—, N. Hampshire, 1st mo. 1846.

Having read the first number of your paper it has awakened feelings which I would gladly unfold, were it in the power of my pen to set them forth. The cause of the poor slaves I have long had at heart—though I have read but little nor conversed much upon the subject. The secret aspirations of my spirit have often been engaged in their behalf, and this is nearly all that I have seen it my duty to do for this afflicted portion of the human family. Their condition has often been brought very near to my feelings, when contemplating on their miseries and their wrongs; and the query has arisen in my heart—what would I not do, and what would I not be willing to suffer, could I in any way alleviate their woes? Surely there is no article of food or clothing which I would not cheerfully relinquish, did I know how to distinguish between the products of free and slave labour, and were it practicable and had I the means of procuring the former. But I suppose that in the little village of F. near where I reside, there is not one in twenty sufficiently informed to make the distinction. Here we have four little stores supplied with groceries, &c., where we go and purchase what we need for our family use. Now, if we are partaking daily of slave labour, and are daily partaking in the sin of the slaveholders—what is the remedy? how shall we avoid it? for we desire to be free from guilt in this matter, and free from doing any thing to rivet the chains of our poor afflicted brethren.

S. B. R.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaverholder.

B—, Indiana, 2d mo. 20th. 1846.

Esteemed Friends.—The 1st and 2d Nos. of the Non-slaverholder, have been received by me and by several other Friends within the limits of our monthly meeting. The subjects therein contained are cordially approved by many Friends, and disapproved, I believe, by none: yet there is one great obstacle in the way among us here, in car-

rying out the doctrine advocated therein; namely, the abstaining from the produce of slave labour:—and this obstacle is the want of means of obtaining the various necessities of life, through a channel in which we could place full confidence that they were free from the contaminating influence of the labour of the slave. Now as to the necessity of abstaining from the use of slave labour products, many of us, I believe, are fully convinced. The above subject was freely conversed on among Friends during our last Quarterly Meeting, which was held on the 14th inst. and it was the united judgment of all that I heard express, that could some member or members of the Free Labour Produce Association of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, be willing to furnish a small stock of goods on sale, consigned to the care of some Friend at —, and would guarantee them to come through the said Association, and to be entirely the product of free labour, it would be a powerful means of arousing Friends to the importance of the concern, as well as open a door through which we might be enabled to obtain free labour goods; and that it would be sustained by Friends and others within the limits of the Western Quarterly Meeting, and pay a sufficient profit on the capital invested therein.

J. S.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaverholder.

—, New York, 28th of 2d mo. 1846.

Dear Friends.—I have perused with deep interest and much satisfaction, two numbers of your paper; it has been animating to my feelings and to those of my family. Perhaps I am enthusiastic, and anticipate more than will be realized from this mode of action. Large bodies necessarily move slowly—popular sentiments bend with deep reluctance, and only by a sufficient amount of means. Pride, prejudice, covetousness, custom and ignorance, being the safeguards of slavery, are principles which, however strong they may seem, are only potent and powerful in combat against that of their own nature. Truth is sufficient, when brought properly to bear, to overcome them all.

I wish you success in your undertaking; it combines, in an eminent degree, philanthropy and Christianity—it is laying the axe to the root of the corrupt tree—it is preventing effects by removing the cause—it so couples pecuniary interest with Christianity, that though the latter may be rejected where covetousness predominates, yet, as it respects the slave, the end will be reached by the former—it is calculated to restore religious society to the “unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,” by elevating one of its noble and long professed testimonies to its meridian height; it is calculated to settle and tranquillize a convulsed nation by removing ultimately the horrid system of slavery, this being the principal means of such convulsion. Extinguish the market for slave-labor products, and no such products will be found for the market; and when these products are not to be found, the millions now languishing under the most galling bondage ever known under the sun, will every where be recognised as brethren and sisters. Yours, truly, in the cause of the oppressed.

D. I.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

—, Pa., 2d mo. 5th, 1846.

Friends Editors.—When in the city a few days since, I was handed the first No. of your periodical, entitled the “Non-Slaveholder,” with the perusal of which I was much gratified. It has often been a matter of deep regret to me that so many of the active advocates for emancipation have overlooked one of the most important principles connected with the upright cause—that of abstaining, so far as is practicable, from the blood-stained products of slavery. In order to bear a strong testimony against any evil, we should have our own hands washed clean respecting it; and just in proportion as our own hands are imbedded in it, will our testimony become weakened. “Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother’s eye,” was the language of the Divine Founder of our Religion.

I cannot but think that those who are crying so loudly against slavery, and at the same time indulging freely in the various luxuries and more useful articles unjustly obtained, by and through the toil of the poor, oppressed, and almost hopeless slave, are laboring with a mote, at least, in their own eye, which is a serious obstruction in the way of seeing how to pluck out the beam which they see in the slaveholders’ eye.

Taste not, touch not, handle not, is the Apostolic doctrine, and I recognise it as sound. To taste, to touch, to handle—in other words—to do

that which sustains an evil, while we are bearing a testimony against it in words, is really building up with one hand and professing to pull down with the other.

S. P. H.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

—, Virginia, 2d mo. 21st, 1846.

Enclosed thou wilt receive my subscription for the Non-Slaveholder. It will, no doubt be an efficient coadjutor in giving liberty to the slave, a more elevated philanthropy to the master, and a greater degree of happiness to both. I am rejoiced to hear of the success of the F. P. Association in obtaining free cotton. Let the good work go on, and—mark my prediction!—it will ere long find a friendship even in the South, which is not now dreamed of. It would have the whole North in its support, but for political and commercial association.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

P—, (Mass.), 2d mo. 1st, 1846.

DEAR FRIENDS:—Enclosed I send you one dollar in advance for the Non-Slaveholder. Its sentiments meet my most cordial approbation, and are the same which I have endeavoured to carry into practice and to propagate for about twenty years. If I have not been perfectly consistent, none but the perfect Christian can rebuke me in this respect. For many years, probably fifteen or sixteen, I have not knowingly bought a yard of cotton cloth of the product of slavery; much less have I used sugar, or molasses, or rice produced by oppression. We use sugar and molasses made from our maple trees. Without wishing to exalt myself by the contrast, much do I deplore the condition of those who thoughtlessly or fearlessly partake of the luxuries of life, wrung from the unrequited labour of the slave, and consider not, or will not consider, that those who eat not of faith are condemned; and though from their lips they may return many thanks, still, if they will examine their own hearts, they may find something wrong there!

How many abolitionists are there who cry robber! and thief! to those who hold slaves, and yet give their tens, their hundreds, and their thousands per year to bribe the oppressor to perpetrate the deeds they profess to execrate. Though, like Pilate, they wash their hands, and say they are innocent, yet there is ONE who knoweth their hearts! Alas! have I not known professors of religion here, who I doubt not would condemn the slave trade and slavery, yet, by dealing in cotton from the slaveholder, have made their thousands, if not

millions?—And, with what pain have I learned that leading abolitionists have pursued it as a business, to fatten large droves of animals on southern corn, the fruit of oppression, because it was deemed cheaper to whip and drive the slave to obtain the corn than to pay the northern freeman his fifteen dollars per month and good board for his labour? Such, no doubt, would like to be thought amongst the number of those who despise the gain of oppression and shake their hands from the holding of bribes. May they see themselves by the light of Christ, and act accordingly, if they want a well grounded hope to dwell ON HIGH, and to know their defence to be THE MUNITION OF ROCKS, and divine and heavenly BREAD AND WATER to be made sure unto them. Then let them see if they can partake, IN FAITH, of the bread of slavery and oppression, and of the bread of the Lord and his table at the same time?—And also, if they can come into the marriage chamber of the Lamb with the spotted cotton garment of oppression, and the clean linen—the righteous garment of the saints—upon them, at the same time?

For my own part, I must renounce both the tree of slavery and its fruit. If the tree is corrupt, the fruit is also. Yet, in point of charity, I think the slaveholder, who feeds his slaves well and otherwise attends to their comfort, is more excusable than is the dealer in sugar and cotton, when these are the growth of oppression.

I can readily appreciate the benevolence of the occasional slave dealer, who, interested in behalf of a poor slave about to be sold into Georgia or Louisiana, far from sympathising friends, perhaps from a wife and family that he loves, saves him from that terrific doom by becoming himself the purchaser; continuing to the slave those social comforts of which he was about to be stripped, though retaining him still as a chattel and thing. But what shall be said to justify the wholesale traders in the products of oppression, who, regarding slavery as a sin, yet give the direct impulse to the sundering of those ties.

These remarks are at your service, should you deem them worth publishing. May all who read them despise the gain of oppression. “Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill?—He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.”

If a deep WOE rests upon those rich men who keep back by fraud the hire of the labourers who have reaped down their fields—if, truly, the hire of the slave is kept back by fraud, and it “crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth”—be-

ware thou that givest a bribe to the oppressor, lest thou partake in his recompense!

With fervent desires for the promotion of the cause, I remain your friend.

S. B.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

M—, Vt., 3d mo. 17th, 1846.

The first No. of the Non-Slaveholder I received in due course, and have read with much interest. It is cause of rejoicing to see a paper of that stamp issued by members of our religious society. We have long needed an anti-slavery paper, fearless and uncompromising in its principles, and yet unoffending to those who have looked on anti-slavery publications, in general, as publications of dangerous tendency.

I must question whether any impartial observer who would scrutinize Friends, not exactly as associated bodies, but as a mass, could fail of discovering an immense amount of “motive” furnished by them to the slaveholders. My hearty desire is (and I am by no means alone in that desire in this quarter) that you may be able to trace it all out. Let us see in how many ways and forms we are maintaining the institution of slavery—let the cord that binds the slave be untwisted—let every strand be divided, that we may see how much of the material we are directly or indirectly furnishing, that is required to keep the cord strong enough to hold the slave in bondage. Let us know how many are whipped into the cotton field—how many must die prematurely, and how many are bought to supply their places with money that Friends have paid over, that Friends may have convenient clothing and comfortable dinners.

Surely it is time for Friends to be “up and journeying forward, for they have compassed this mountain long enough.”

H. M.

SELECTIONS.

LETTER FROM ANTHONY BENEZET TO RICHARD SHACKELTON.

Philadelphia, 6th of Sixth month, 1772.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: Having a good opportunity by our dear friend Samuel Neale, I make free hereby affectionately to salute thee, and request thy attention on a subject which has long been a matter of deep concern to many well-disposed people in these parts, viz: The Negro Trade; the purchasing and bringing those unhappy Africans from their native land, and subjecting them to a state of perpetual bondage, and that often the most cruel

and afflictive, in which our nation is deeply engaged.

I herewith send thee, by our friend Neale, two copies of a treatise lately published here on this weighty subject, wherein is set forth the inhumanity and great wickedness whereby so many thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-men, equally with ourselves the objects of redeeming grace, endued with the same natural powers, and as free as we by nature, are brought to a miserable and untimely end. I beg thou wilt give it a serious perusal, when I am persuaded, thou wilt perceive it to be a matter which calls for the most deep consideration of all who are concerned for the welfare of their country, and desirous to avert those judgments, which evils of so deep a dye must, sooner or later, bring upon every people who are defiled therewith. How an evil of so deep a dye has so long passed uncensured, and has even received the countenance of a Christian government and been supported by law, is surprising; and I apprehend must in a great measure have arisen from a false representation being made of the case to those in whose power it would have been to put a stop to the trade, who have been unacquainted with the corrupt motives which gave life to it, and the groans, the dying groans, which daily ascend to God, the common Father of mankind, from the broken hearts of these our distressed fellow men; or, I think we could not have so long continued in a practice so inconsistent with the British apprehensions of liberty. Is it not strange that whilst so much noise is made about the maintenance of liberty through the British state, this prodigious infringement of every human and sacred tie, should be overlooked in the case of those miserable Africans?

We make high profession of the Christian religion—to love the Lord our God with all our hearts, and what is declared to be equal thereto, to love our neighbours (i. e. all mankind,) equal to ourselves: and yet how unfeeling for the sufferings of others, how languid in our endeavours to procure them relief! If this love indeed prevailed, would it not deeply affect the hearts of many high professors of different denominations, who have had an opportunity to be acquainted, not only with the grievous sufferings and prodigious havoc which is made by this trade of the human species, by means the most disgraceful, afflictive and cruel, but also with its woeful effects on their lordly oppressors (who are also our brethren,) in corrupting their morals, and hardening their hearts to that degree, that they and their offspring become alienated from God, estranged from all good, and are hastening to a state of greater, far greater and

more deeply corrupt barbarity than that from which our northern progenitors emerged before their acquaintance with Christianity.

Can we be both *silent* and *innocent* spectators; ought we not, jointly or separately, to bring this matter before the government, even before the King and Parliament? Will anything short of this excuse us to God, the common Father of mankind, when inquisition is made for the blood of so many thousands of our fellow creatures, (i. e. our neighbours,) so unjustly and so cruelly shed, and yet daily shedding by our nation under the sanction of laws made by our representatives in Parliament? Indeed, daily experience verifies the assertion at page 86 of the treatise, viz: "That the slavery of the negroes in our colonies is attended with far worse circumstances, than what any people in their condition suffer in any other part of the world, or have suffered in any other period of time." For even wicked, amazingly wicked, as are the American laws, quoted page 81, 1st part, and page 26, 2d part, yet that part for the security of the slaves is seldom put in execution, on sundry accounts, viz: because a slave's evidence is not valid, therefore the prosecution of the murderer must generally lie on the white overseer's testimony, who, except in resentment, will not be likely to appear against his employer. Also because it is dangerous in most places where slavery prevails to plead the cause of negroes; so that it is not uncommon to hear shocking instances of the negroes being wantonly, passively or cruelly murdered, without any legal notice being taken of it. We, as a people, have not been backward in applying to Parliament in cases where our sufferings have been by no means comparable to the present case. If Friends could be prevailed upon to take any step tending to prevent the continuance of this terrible evil (i. e. the slave-trade,) at least, if not slavery itself, we should have the unity of many upright people of other religious persuasions. Indeed, the people of Maryland and Virginia are so convinced of the inexpediency, if not the iniquity, of any further importation of negroes, that a judicious Friend, who has spent some time in those parts, tells me he thinks ten or twenty thousand people would join in a petition to that purpose, to the Parliament.

The last Maryland Yearly Meeting of Friends, did draw up a petition to be laid before their Assembly, praying for a law to prevent any further importation of negroes, and I am told that Friends of Virginia had the same under their consideration. The Assembly of New England have made laws that nearly amount to a prohibition of a further import, and have proposed that those

born in the country should be free at a certain age. By a late computation there are about eight hundred and fifty thousand negroes in the English colonies and islands. In Jamaica alone, from a review of taxables made lately, there were one hundred and sixty thousand taxable working negroes, and probably as many more not taxed as would make two hundred thousand; and but about fifteen thousand whites; and the trade still carried on with such vigour, that we have reason to conclude there is still an hundred thousand violently brought from Africa by the English alone; these are employed chiefly to make up deficiencies, and sell to the Spaniards.

As the procuring, if possible, a remedy to this most grievous evil, is what I have very much at heart, I trust thou wilt extend charity in judging of the freedom I have taken in thus writing to thee. Indeed it is what I should scarcely have done, but for the encouragement given me by our dear friend Samuel Neale, more especially as he tells me thou art nearly connected with a person of judgment and weight in the English Parliament, who may be a good instrument in forwarding an inquiry into this potent evil. Indeed, it is an evil of so deep a dye, that if we indeed believe that the threats as well as the promises recorded in the scripture will have their accomplishment, what can we expect but that the judgments of God will, when the cup is full, break out with irresistible fury!

I shall take it kind if thou wilt let me hear from thee by a few lines in answer, and remain thy friend,

ANTHONY BENEZET.

INFLUENCE OF TRUE CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES.

Christopher Davies, one of the Society's missionaries in New Zealand, visited a pa or village belonging to two Christian brothers, who were also chiefs. He found them expecting an attack from a neighbouring chief, named Ripa. He had made an unjust demand, and was marching against them to revenge their refusal to comply with it. It was just at this juncture that Mr. Davies entered the village; and there he found the two Christian chiefs surrounded by their armed followers, but engaged in solemn prayer—praying especially for the pardon of their enemies, and having a white flag hoisted above their heads in token of their desire for peace. Mr. Davies went out to meet Ripa and his party. With their faces painted red, and their bodies naked, they were listening to addresses, urging them to vengeance and slaughter. Presently they advanced with frightful yells, and dancing their war dance, bid

defiance to the Christians who were assembled on the other side of the fence, opposite to the enemy. One of the Christian chiefs walked quietly up and down between the parties, telling the enemy they were acting contrary to the word of God, and that his own party were restrained only by the fear of God from attacking them. The Christians had, indeed, nothing else to fear; they were one hundred to twenty on Ripa's side. At length one of the enemy, in striking at the fence with his hatchet, cut Noa, the Christian chief, on his head. He tried to conceal the wound, but his friends perceiving it, made a rush from the village, every one with his musket levelled. In another moment, Ripa and his party would have fallen; but Noa, the wounded chief, sprang forward and exclaimed, "if you kill Ripa, I shall die with him," and then moving on towards Ripa, shielded him with his own body from destruction.

Some years ago, adds Mr. Davies, the very sight of blood would have been the signal for dreadful slaughter. But by this Christian forbearance of Noa, the evil was overcome, and peace made between the parties.—*Report of the Birmingham Auxiliary Church Missionary Society.*

THE ALL-PERVADING INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.

The Cincinnati Herald mentions several facts that must make us blush as a people for the subserviency of our literary men, and that tell no flattering tale of the progress of Anti-Slavery sentiment in the country. A beautiful edition of *Longfellow's* poems was recently issued by Carey & Hart, of Philadelphia. On examination it was discovered that several excellent poems, denunciatory of Slavery, had been omitted. The author, on being interrogated, acknowledged that they had been left out with his consent; saying that he could not get the work published, only on condition that they were omitted.

Paulding wrote and published, in 1816, a work that contained, on one page, an allusion to Slavery and the Slave Trade, as conducted in the South. In 1835-'6, after he had become a politician, another edition of the work was published, but in order to give it currency the offensive page was stricken out, and another inserted, depicting the evils to flow from Abolitionism! He was made Secretary of the Navy under Mr. Van Buren.

The last edition of *Bancroft's History*, published in 1841-'2, contains a new chapter, devoted to a notice of Slavery, in which it is spoken of as a patriarchal institution, and placed on a footing acceptable to the peculiar institution. He has his reward, as Mr. Polk's Secretary of the Navy!

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH 1, 1846.

CORRESPONDENTS.—The issuing of this journal has put us "in communication" with numerous individuals approving, and a few disapproving of the publication, but with no one denying its great fundamental principle, that it is the buying and using of the productions of slave-labor which makes slavery to exist. It is to be remarked, as no small evidence of moral progress, that the truth of our motto, which asserts the responsibility we are under for the motives to action which we intelligently give to others, is also uncontroverted by any. The time seems fast passing by, when the inquiry, *though old as Cain*, "Am I my brother's keeper?" will be accepted as a significant argument. We feel and know that in the social relation we occupy this position of "keeper one of another, and that we are called individually to a conduct corresponding with it. "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth thy bottle to him and makest him drunken also," is no higher denunciation of the man who literally tempts his neighbor with the inebriating draught, than it is of him who gives an inducement to his brother for the commission of any other wrong. There is but one short step from the reception of this doctrine to the enacting of it. That step FAITHFULLY taken by all those who are intelligent enough to receive the doctrine, and slavery would soon cease to exercise its present despotic sway!

Many of our correspondents shall have private answers to their inquiries and suggestions, when time will permit. Some of them will see their communications in the present paper. One will perceive his to be much abridged, our space not allowing more room to his important suggestions. Others will find the subjects they refer to, treated of in this or succeeding numbers. Those who desire the early enlargement of our paper are informed that up to the present time, our issue continuing to be large, the subscription list falls far short of paying the expenses of paper and printing. Subscribers names, however, are coming in daily, inducing the hope that, at a short period hence, we may double the number of our pages. This event will occur whenever our subscription list shall nearly approximate those expenses. We hope that our friends will be encouraged by this view of the case to renewed efforts for obtaining subscribers. We notice below the most prominent objections which have been offered to our paper and to the cause which it especially advocates.

It is asserted that it is neither "safe" nor "pru-

dent," and even indicative of "insubordination" for individuals, members of the religious society of Friends, or for associations of such individuals, "to go ahead of the Society," in endeavoring to promote a testimony against the use of slave produce, "which the body of Friends has not thought it best to establish." We have yet to learn that the theory here inculcated has any foundation in the principles or constitution of our religious society. It savours to us as belonging more to a hierarchy, which claims to be the infallible expositor of individual duty, than to the religious community whose early history was marked by its bold advocacy of an unfettered conscience. We at once concede to the Body its full right to determine its principles and plans of united operation; but we claim for the individual members, also, their right to determine the principles and rules of action which shall guide them in their several individual duties, when such action does not contravene the acknowledged doctrines and discipline of the Body.

The objection adverted to may be fairly tested by applying it to reforms already accomplished within the society. Admitting its truth, these conclusions would follow—that so long as the Society of Friends permitted its members to hold slaves, it was unsafe, imprudent, and destructive of good order for individual members to pronounce the act of holding slaves an immorality—that so long as the Society permitted its members to use alcoholic drinks it was wholly improper for a few members to denounce that drinking as wrongful and of bad tendency! When would reform begin if no one could suggest and urge it, until the body had adopted it? When did the body simultaneously enact a previously unproposed reform? To both these questions the answer is obviously, NEVER!

We highly appreciate the benefits of religious society, and regard with deference its proper restrictions; but we desire never to lose sight of the solemn fact that, at the GREAT AUDIT, we are not to answer collectively, but SEVERALLY, for the talents committed to us for improvement. The humble *pound*, delivered to our individual care, is not to be kept laid up in a napkin, though this may be of the most specious whiteness, but is to be improved. Our candle is to be set upon a candlestick, our city upon a hill, and whether our associates, religious or civil, say aye, or nay, to our course of action, we are to follow the light in our own conscience as conducting us into the only sure path of ultimate safety.

It is a mere assumption, however, to say that we go in advance of the principles of the Society, in seeking to promote a testimony against the use

of slave produce. This subject was well discussed in the circular addressed to Friends in the ninth month last, by a committee of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and published in our first number. We present some additional views. Our discipline enunciates principles rather than defines particular offences. Thus it holds up to censure any in membership with us, who shall "IN ANY WISE be concerned in purchasing, disposing of or holding mankind as slaves, or shall by ANY MEANS encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves," or be in any way "accessory to this enormous national evil." Now if a Friend shall make manacles for the slave, shall let his vessel for the slave trade, shall provision such vessel, shall even write a Will for another, bequeathing slaves into further bondage, although such acts are not specified as offences, can any one doubt that he would be amenable to our discipline, and make himself the subject of religious care? But, as much as is the altar above the gift which it sanctifieth, so is the commerce in the productions of slavery above the mere incidents which that commerce produces. Without it there would be no manacles for the slave, no ships hired for the foreign and internal slave trade, no provisioning those ships, no bequests of slaves, no slavery! To be the cause of slavery and the slave trade, which the users of slave produce are, is, at least, to be *in some wise* concerned in holding mankind as slaves, and is *by some means* to encourage and countenance a traffic in slaves, and to be "accessory to this enormous national evil."

We are sorry to find that one or two esteemed Friends have objected to our advocacy of abstinence from the products of slave labour, because it happens that those who have set up a new Yearly Meeting in Indiana are concerned to maintain this testimony. Should they not rather have considered, first, whether the principle is in accordance with Christianity? And this point once settled in their minds in the affirmative, should they not as Christian friends rejoice to find any of whatever name endeavouring to uphold it?

We understand our friends as connecting with their objection the apprehension that the discussion of this question may lead into separation. We entertain no fears of this kind. We can perceive no motive which should induce us to separate from our religious society, though we should have to grieve, our life-long, at the greater number of our fellow members continuing to uphold slavery by giving to the slaveholders their principal inducement for clinging to the system.

We are pleased to be able to put in contrast

with those objections the letter from a Friend in the western quarter of Indiana, which appears under the head of Communications, and which indicates a favorable opinion of our objects in that portion of the Society; and we may state, as an encouraging and gratifying fact, that up to the present time, a large proportion of our subscribers are members of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

We take the liberty of making a quotation from the letter of a much respected correspondent. We hope he will yet perceive more clearly than he now appears to do, that a testimony, to be adopted by the many, must have its commencement with the few; that, in all reforms, there is, "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear," and that even the consistent life of the few may convince many slaveholders of the sin of slavery, which the brilliant declamation of thousands, themselves reveling in the spoils of slavery, would fail to effect. Our friend writes:

"I have thought, in time past, that if we, as a religious society, acting under purely conscientious feelings, could have practically borne a united testimony, to some considerable extent, against the use of slave-grown produce, it would have had its weight and been received as coming from principle, and have carried conviction with it. But otherwise I cannot see how abstinence can be of any use towards removing the sin of slavery, or convincing the slaveholders of the inconsistency of it."

As already intimated, many kind friends have sent us letters of approval. The briefest and one of the earliest of these acceptable testimonials was from Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro', New York, in these words: "My dear friend, I have this day received the 'Non-Slaveholder,' I rejoice in its appearance. May the Lord render it a great blessing to the cause of the poor slave. Let one copy be sent to me as long as the within five dollars will pay for it."

A Friend writing from Logan county, Ohio, after mentioning that two dollars enclosed were to pay for two copies of the Non-Slaveholder, says:

"I feel so deep an interest in the paper, that I know not how to refrain from making an effort to obtain it; especially as it proposes to hold prominently to view the subject of abstinence from the productions of slave labour, as a means of abolishing slavery; a subject which has claimed the serious attention of a few of us in this section for several years past. It appears to me that almost any one who will take the pains to investigate it thoroughly, must arrive at the conclusion, that those who purchase and consume the pro-

ductions of the slaves' labour, are those who support the system of slavery; and that the society of Friends will find it to be just as much their duty to bear their testimony against it, as Friends formerly did to bear theirs against holding slaves. I therefore hail the appearance of the Non-Slaveholder with joy, and with all my heart wish you encouraged to persevere, looking for best wisdom to direct and strengthen you, and I confidently believe that your labours will be blessed."

A correspondent from Erie county, New York, enclosing one dollar for the Non-Slaveholder, remarks upon the importance of abstinence from slave produce, and expresses a desire that free labour goods be deposited in Buffalo for sale. He says they are much wanted, and that if to be had through a channel that could be depended upon, "they would be bought by many" in that vicinity, including a considerable number not in religious profession with us; and that a "higher price" would be given for them "than for slave labour goods." This Friend expresses the opinion that even Friends can accomplish much by united action; meaning that their number is not so inconsiderable, but that a sensible impression might be made on slavery, did the great body of the Society abstain from slave grown articles, and take pains to encourage the production of a sufficient quantity of those articles, by free labour, to supply their wants. It is not, however, probable that Friends would be alone in the support of this righteous testimony. Where our Christian brethren of other denominations, have not already taken it up, it is reasonable to suppose that the example of Friends would have a good effect upon their minds, and induce many to join us in this peaceful and consistent remedy. May we not also entertain the hope that slaveholders, seeing our consistency, will likewise be brought to reflect more and more on the nature of that system, which is so odious in the eyes of their northern brethren, that these cannot assist in any way in its support.

While we stand aloof and charge the sin of slavery on them exclusively, and yet partake freely of its products, they may well question our sincerity, and despise our exhortations; but when they shall see non-slaveholders acting out their professions by a consistent non-participancy in the fruits of slavery, how can they resist such an appeal?

We subjoin the following foreign notices of our periodical:

From the "British Friend" published in Glasgow.

"THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.—This is the title of a Monthly Journal, a copy of the first number of

which, dated 1st month, 1846, has been kindly sent us by the conductors, Abraham L. Pennock, Samuel Rhoads, and George W. Taylor.

The price appears to be one dollar per annum, payable in advance.

America, already abounding with similar periodicals, the originating of an addition to the number may to some appear uncalled for, and its obtaining support very questionable. The conductors, however, have chalked out a line peculiarly their own—that of advocating, chiefly, the propriety of abstinence from the productions of slavery. The following sentence from the Prospectus of the *Non-Slaveholder*, is well deserving consideration:—

Let the principle of non-participancy (of slave labor production,) be adopted and carried out by a body of people, not numerically greater than the Religious Society of Friends, and it would make the BELSHAZZAR of slavery tremble on his throne, for he would see written on the wall of his palace, 'Thy kingdom is divided.' Not only would the 5000 slaves now bleeding and toiling for such a body of people be emancipated from his control, but so much of his dominions as that body wanted for free cultivation, and so much as others wanted, incited by this high example, and a similar motive, would be irrevocably taken from him; and he would read in the growing increase of this sentiment, the further inscription: 'God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it!'

We hope to notice the future numbers of this interesting publication."

From "The Friend" published in London.

"The grand yet simple means for the termination of slavery, the refusal, namely, to make use of its products, remains yet to be fairly tried. We have no doubt whatever, that the self-denial practised by a very considerable class of persons, when the enfranchisement of our West Indian laborers was pleaded for with such unwearied steadfastness, and so irresistible a claim, contributed most essentially to that blessed result. The consumption of slave labour articles, in which we are partakers to a prodigious extent, may appear less revolting to us now than at that period, because the great workshop of iniquity exists only under foreign governments; but we cannot close our senses to the fact, that slavery is slavery, wherever it be found, and that it is our duty, by every means in our power, not to be sharers in its sin.

With these views we have read with much pleasure, the first and second numbers of a magazine

lately set on foot by some Friends of Philadelphia, called *The Non-Slaveholder*, and having for its motto these words of J. G. Whittier, "Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own." The paper has our hearty good wishes; the spirit and tone are such as recommend it to the thorough approbation of Friends, and of the philanthropic public in general; and the materials seem likely to be both abundant and interesting. Whilst the great object towards which it is directed, is the overthrow of the slave system, and the great means which it recognises to this end, the influence of 'a consistent life;' its pages will be diversified with other harmonious subjects, as is expressed in the following paragraph of the Prospectus; "Directing our operations mainly against slavery, we shall not be precluded from occasionally advertising to parallel reforms—thus to those which seek the avoidance of war and the abrogation of the death penalty. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are inalienable rights, and scarcely separable."

ANTHONY BENEZET'S LETTER.—Our readers will find on page 51 a letter highly characteristic of its philanthropic author. It was written previous to the parliamentary enquiry which was instituted mainly through the indefatigable exertions of Clarkson, and terminated with the abolition of the Anglo-African slave trade. The success which crowned that memorable moral warfare, after twenty years of toil and disappointment, and the more recent triumphs of christianity, in the total abolition of slavery within the British dominions, "should inspirit all who wage the desperate strife of humanity against the selfishness and the cupidity of our race."

It is true that the people of the free states of this Union do not possess the power to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the states where it exists; but there is much moral and religious power within their grasp, and they may, and of course should, exercise their right of suffrage, if they exercise it at all, to secure emancipation in the District of Columbia and the Territories. In addition to this, they may effectually reach slavery in the States at its most vulnerable point—the market for its productions. We are sometimes discouraged by the reflection that it is needful to solicit the attention of Friends and others who profess to be abolitionists, to the incontrovertible truth, that their principles necessarily involve the duty of avoiding the use of those productions; but the recollection of instances such as that presented in this letter, where Anthony Benezet thought

it necessary to urge upon Richard Shackelton the serious perusal of a certain pamphlet, that he might be led to perceive how forcibly the continuance of the slave trade called for his "most deep consideration," cheers us onward in hope.

Anthony Benezet thought it surprising that an evil of so deep a dye as the foreign slave trade passed so long uncensured, and even received the countenance of a Christian government and the support of law. We have no doubt that the day will come when it will be yet more surprising to our posterity to read in the records of the present period, how closely their fathers were connected with slavery by indiscriminately dealing in and using its avails. They will doubtless clearly perceive, when slavery no longer exists, the foundation upon which it rested. Their perceptions of truth, in relation to this subject, will not be obscured by self-interest; nor will they experience the prejudices which now blind our people, or the fears of "dangerous consequences to the peace of the church," which, in the present day, as in former times,* unhappily pervert the feelings and paralyse the exertions of so many amongst us.

May we dwell under a deep consciousness of the "corrupt motives which give life to slavery;" and constantly hold in remembrance "the groans, the dying groans which daily ascend to God, the common Father of mankind, from the broken hearts of these our distressed fellow men." Let us not permit our convictions to be stifled and our sympathies deadened, by the cruelly deceptive representations that "the slaves are happy and contented;" that being "well fed, well lodged, and well clothed, and having increased attention to their religious instruction, they are in a very comfortable condition, and it is better to let well alone." It is truly sorrowful that any professor of Christianity should, in this day of light, remain silent and inactive, under this delusion.

The language used by Anthony Benezet in describing the "woeful effects" of slavery upon the "lordly oppressors," is exceedingly strong, but not less true; as all must acknowledge who have made themselves acquainted with the immorality and the darkness—"thick, gross and palpable"—which prevailed in the West Indies, previous to the abolition of slavery there, and which are now prevalent in many places where slavery exists.

Phillippo, in his "Past and Present State of Jamaica," treating of the state of the whites and

* See extract from I. Norris' Letter in our first number.

blacks, says: "The language of the Apostle seemed strikingly descriptive of their entire depravity. 'There is none righteous, no, not one; there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. Their throats are open sepulchres; with their tongue they have used deceit; the poison of asps is under their lips; their feet are swift to shed blood, and the way of peace they have not known.'"

We do not mean to assert that this is the universal condition of the whites and blacks in all the slave states of this Union; but we have abundant evidence to show, that it is too general in many parts of them. Indeed what else can be expected, while the professed Christian Church does not recognise the marriage of slaves as binding until death separates them, but only during the time that their masters allow them to live together: and has officially declared* that where they are separated, they ought to be allowed to marry again, and that those who are members of religious societies, are liable to "church censure" if they refuse to take new companions at the will of their masters.

The question, "Can we be both *silent* and *innocent* spectators" of this heathenish state of society? is as pertinent now as it was in the days of Anthony Benezet. May each individual put it seriously to himself, with a solemn conviction that he will have to answer it in the awful day when inquisition is made for blood.

THE SLAVER PONS.—It is remarkable that during one week of the last month, three vessels have arrived in this country as prizes to the American squadron, having been captured while engaged in the slave-trade on the Coast of Africa. The "Pantea," and the "Robert Wilson," came into Charleston, and the barque "Pons of Philadelphia," into this port. By the accounts we publish, it will be seen that the "Pons" shipped 913 slaves at Cabenda, between the ages of 8 and 30, and that only 47 were females! The statements in the public papers of the miserable condition of these poor victims of the sordid passions of man, accompanied by the presence of the slaver in our port, have awakened the sympathies of this community to a degree not often witnessed. A libel of information has been filed in the District Court of the United States against the barque as a vessel of the United States, and owned by citizens of the United States, for being engaged in the transportation and carrying of slaves from one foreign country

* Document issued by the "Savannah River Baptist Association of Ministers."

to another. The third of this month is fixed for the trial, and the issue will be awaited with intense interest, as indicating how far the laws of the United States are operative in preventing American vessels from engaging in the foreign slave-trade under the *mask* of foreign owners.

The Pons was built in New Jersey, and registered in Philadelphia "28th of January, 1842," and again, having new owners, on the "30th December, 1843." On the "18th July, 1845," she was at Rio de Janeiro, and was regarded as an American vessel, as appears by a bill of lading found on board at the time of her capture. Being under American colors, and having the name of "Pons of Philadelphia" on her stern, she was considered by the captain of the United States ship Yorktown, as an American vessel, and captured as such. It is alleged that she was sold at Rio by the American owners; but as she had no papers on board at the time of her capture, evidence of this allegation has not appeared.

No comments of ours could add to the horror which every Christian must feel in reading the accounts from Monrovia. But while we yield to none in the intensity of our detestation of this truly "infernal" traffic, we must beg our readers to enter into an impartial and full examination of its origin and object, and also the means by which it is supported. For ourselves, we regard the difference, if there be any, as only in *degree* of moral turpitude, between sending a vessel to Africa to convey slaves to Cuba or Brazil, and sending one to Havanna or Rio to convey the productions of their labour to Philadelphia or New York. It is a well known fact that the mortality of the slaves on the sugar and coffee plantations of Cuba and Brazil, occasioned by the severity of their labour and treatment, is so great that they would become extinct in a few years if fresh supplies were not obtained from Africa. The atrocious practice of importing males almost exclusively, which has long been known to exist, and of which the Pons furnishes an instance, proves that the planters do not look to a natural increase of their slaves to meet the demand for the products of their labour. The constant need of laborers to fill the places of those who are destroyed on the plantations is, therefore, indisputably the origin of the slave-trade. It is equally clear that the continuance of this trade is necessary to furnish the present exportation from Cuba and Brazil of sugar, coffee and cotton; and any increase of demand for these articles must necessarily induce a corresponding increase of the slave-trade. The object, then, of this trade, is, simply, to furnish the means of supplying that demand. The truth of our

motto, that, "whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own," cannot be called in question: and we are constrained to solicit our readers, individually, to ask themselves the question: whether the purchasers and consumers of the products of the labour of Brazilian slaves do not give the motive which sent the slaver Pons to Africa? Can any man of common understanding fail to see the necessary connection between the importation of slaves into Brazil and the exportation from that country of the products of their labour? The mission of the Pons to Africa being, therefore, an essential part of the system by which those products are supplied, we do not perceive why it should be condemned if the importation and consumption of *them* are to pass uncensured. It is true that the laws of man allow the one and prohibit the other; but this circumstance cannot change the nature of the act in either case. The foreign slave-trade was formerly allowed and recognised, as a legitimate commerce, by law, and this sanction is still extended to the American slave-trade; yet all who have a higher standard of *right* than the mere enactments of human legislators, place them in the same category of wrong.

An impartial and comprehensive view of the whole subject must, as we conceive, lead the enlightened Christian to reject both the corrupt tree and its fruits. If the Pons had succeeded in landing her cargo of Africans on the shore of Brazil, their labour would soon have furnished a cargo of sugar for our market! We look upon the slave-trade and slavery as sinful in the sight of a just and holy God; shall we then expect to escape the responsibility of their continuance if we contribute the support for which and by which alone they are sustained?

SUPPLY OF FREE GOODS.—Since the first number of our paper was issued, we have received many proofs, not only that a latent feeling of uneasiness under the practice of using the productions of slavery prevails extensively in this country, both in the northern and in some of the slave states, but that a strong desire exists to adopt efficient measures to abandon that practice and substitute articles which have been produced by the labour of freemen.

Inquiries have been made in many quarters, whether the Free Produce Associations of Friends in Philadelphia and New York will be willing to appoint agents and furnish them with small stocks of free goods, groceries, &c. We cannot give an official answer, but from some knowledge of the resources and proposed operations of those bodies, we believe they will not be able to adopt the plan

thus suggested. The Board of Managers in Philadelphia, we have reason to know, have not been unmindful of their duties, and have met with much encouragement to persevere. They have had 63 bales of "*surely free*" cotton collected in Mississippi by a trustworthy person, a resident of another state;—52 bales have arrived in Philadelphia, and 19 are now in the hands of a manufacturer. The cotton, so far as it has been examined, is of excellent quality, and a variety of goods will probably be ready for sale in a short time. A Friend in England has recently sent us patterns of muslin and calico prints, already manufactured at Manchester of free grown cotton.

New channels being thus opened through which free cotton goods may soon be procured, and the opening of a general free produce store in Philadelphia, and another in New York being contemplated, we trust that what remains to be done to connect these operations with distant parts, where the productions of free labour may be wanted, will be supplied by the exertions of individuals or associations, impressed with the importance of the subject in those places.

It will be the province of the Non-Slaveholder to be an auxiliary in this cause, endeavouring to promote the doctrine of abstinence, and suggesting modes and motives for making its practice easy and general. We invite the aid and co-operation of those who are desirous of hastening the day when liberty will be proclaimed to the captive, and the prison doors opened to them that are bound.

AGENTS.—We are preparing a list of Agents, and will probably publish it in our next number. For the information of our friends in Great Britain and Ireland who may wish to receive the Non-Slaveholder, we now state that CHARLES TYLOR, of STAMFORD HILL, near LONDON, has kindly consented to act as our agent. The paper may reach subscribers in England by steamer from Boston, in two weeks from the day of its publication.

INTELLIGENCE.

From the London Friend.

The apprehension of a war between this country and the United States, an event which might well be regarded as the crowning folly of our age, has induced the Meeting for Sufferings to step forward in the capacity of peace-maker on behalf of the Society. A memorial has been accordingly drawn up, addressed to our government, and on the 14th of 2d month, was presented to Sir Robert Peel, in a private interview, by several Friends. The Premier was accompanied by LORD ABER

DEEN. He received the deputation with something more than courtesy, evincing by his remarks a deep interest in the object of the memorial, and suggesting that our American brethren should use their influence in a similar manner for its accomplishment. The memorial is as follows:

TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART, FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

"We the undersigned, members of the religious Society of Friends, respectfully inform Sir Robert Peel, that we constitute a standing committee of said Society, fully authorized to act on its behalf, during the intervals of our Yearly Meeting, in publicly upholding our well known Christian principles, as occasion may require.

"One of the most important of these principles has respect to the peaceable nature of the Gospel dispensation, under which, as we believe, all wars and fightings are in their own nature unlawful, being utterly opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity. Our blessed Saviour struck at the very root of them when he said, 'Love your enemies—do good to them that hate you.'

"According to our deliberate conviction, this command is of universal application, comprehending in its scope and intention, not only individuals as such, but men in their corporate capacities, and governments as representing nations.

"While the scriptural grounds of these sentiments appear to us to be clear and decisive, we are strongly impressed with a sense of the horrors and crimes with which war never fails to be accompanied, and of the extreme impolicy, as well as unrighteousness, of having recourse to so barbarous and destructive a method of settling the disputes of nations.

"Under these convictions, we have been brought into deep religious concern and solicitude on account of the difference which now subsists between the Government of this country, and that of the United States, and the dangers of hostilities which the question at issue has appeared, from time to time, to involve. For if war is always terrible—always to be deprecated—this is pre-eminently the case when it arises between nations so closely allied by the ties of consanguinity and religious faith (not to mention the most intimate commercial relations) as are the subjects of this Realm, and the citizens of that great Confederation.

"We are painfully sensible that should the peace now subsisting between the two countries be once broken, it is impossible for any man to calculate how great would be the amount, or how long the duration of commercial distress, moral depravity, physical suffering, cruelty, and slaugh-

ter, which would be the consequence of this fearful event; or what might be the extent to which these calamities would spread on both sides of the Atlantic.

"While we consider it to be our duty to represent these views to Sir Robert Peel and the other members of the present administration, we rejoice in observing the cordial desire which they have so clearly manifested to avoid these dreadful evils; and we are desirous to express our heartfelt gratitude to them for their repeated endeavors to obtain a settlement of the difference, by the safe and unexceptionable course of arbitration.

"At the same time, we trust we shall not be outstepping our right province as Christian patriots, and friends to the whole human race, in earnestly beseeching the Government to make every concession, (as it relates to the mode of arbitration or in other respects) which may be found necessary to the peaceful termination of the dispute; and even to suffer wrong rather than adopt the tremendous alternative of plunging the two countries into war—thus evincing that they are guided by that 'wisdom which is from above,' and which is 'first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated.'

"We are fully persuaded that in thus acting on the comprehensive ground of Christian principle, Great Britain will find her highest reputation and her truest honor.

"In conclusion, we would express our fervent desire that He who ruleth in the kingdoms of men and hath all hearts at his disposal, may so influence the councils of those who are in authority, both in this country and in America, as speedily to bring about the pacific settlement of the question at issue, and give them richly to partake of the blessing pronounced by our Saviour himself—'Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.'

"Given forth by the Meeting aforesaid, this Eleventh day of the Second Month, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six."

[Signed by 52 Members.]

FROM THE COAST OF AFRICA.

Capture of an American Slaver.—We are indebted to our correspondents of the Salem Register for advices from the Coast of Africa, received by the Otho. A vessel, supposed to be from Philadelphia, with nine hundred slaves on board, has been captured by the Yorktown, and sent home. The particulars are given in the letter below.

SALEM REGISTER OFFICE, March 9, 1846.

Capture of an American Slaver with Nine Hundred Slaves.—Capt. Ryder, of the Otho, from Port Praya, has furnished us with Monrovia papers to Dec. 10, and a Circular from the Methodist Missionaries at Monrovia, dated Dec. 17. The Circular gives the particulars of the capture of the barque Pons, of Philadelphia, with 900 slaves, on the 1st of December, by the U. S. ship Yorktown, Capt. Bell, in lat. 3° South, 3 days out from Cabenda, bound to Rio Janeiro. When the Pons was first seen, she raised American colours, supposing the Yorktown was a British cruiser; but discovering the mistake, immediately hoisted the Portuguese flag. On boarding her, and demanding her papers of the Portuguese Captain, he replied, "I have thrown them overboard." On being asked what was his cargo, he said, "about 900 slaves." On further examination it was found that she had shipped 913, between the ages of 8 and 30, only, 47 of them females, and left at the factory 4 or 500 which they had intended to have taken in the same vessel, but were prevented by the proximity of a British cruiser, from which they narrowly escaped. The Pons was put under the charge of Lieut. Cogdell, and was 14 days in getting up to Monrovia, during which time about 150 of the poor wretches died—some of them jumping overboard in a fit of desperation—and on their arrival at Monrovia, several of the slaves were in a dying state, and many were so emaciated that their skin literally cleaved to their bones, and the stench of the crowded hold was almost suffocating.

The recaptured slaves were landed at Monrovia, and measures were adopted for taking care of them, by the United States Agent for Liberated Africans—300 of them by the Methodist Mission establishment there, who have issued a circular, appealing to the Christian public for aid.

The Pons had sailed for the United States, (supposed for Philadelphia,) under the charge of Lieut. Cogdell.

A letter from one of the Methodist Missionaries gives a horrid account of the sufferings of the slaves, and says it is utterly impossible for language to convey an appropriate idea of the horrors of their situation; the living and the dying were huddled together with less care than is bestowed upon the brute creation; the thermometer at 100 to 120 in the hold. Most of the slaves were in a state of nudity, and many had worn their skins through, producing putrid ulcers, which fed swarms of flies.

MORE ABOUT THE SLAVER PONS.—The Commer-

cial Advertiser has received a copy of the "Appeal to the Humanity and Benevolence of the Christian Public," issued from the Methodist Episcopal Mission Office at Monrovia on the arrival of the slaver Pons, captured by the U. S. sloop of war Yorktown, from which we obtain a few additional facts and details in regard to this affair. The appeal states that a majority of the slaves were boys from 10 to 20 years of age. Of girls there were only 47. Their delight on landing was indescribable. One hundred were taken charge of by the M. E. Mission and about 200 more were distributed among responsible persons in the colony.

A letter from one of the Missionaries, Mr. Hoyt, describing the scene when he went on board the slaver with Gov. Roberts, says:

The decks were literally crowded with poor abject beings. Here and there might be seen individuals in the last agonies of expiring nature; unknown and apparently unnoticed. There was no offer of sympathy to alleviate in the least their misery. Their companions appeared dejected, weighed down with their own sorrows. In another part of the vessel lay a little boy pining away, with two others watching over him.

They were not brothers, but had been captured from the same place. They had procured a bit of muslin that had probably been thrown away by some of the crew, and had placed it under his aching head for a pillow. For the fourteen days that the vessel had been under the charge of the present commander, they had been assiduous in their care; one or the other of them attending on him constantly, and keeping watch alternately at night for this purpose.

Five had been thrown over, dead, this morning, and many more apparently just expiring.

At a special meeting of some members of the Liberian Conference, it was resolved to take one hundred of the captives under the charge of the Mission. A subscription was opened on the spot which produced \$135. It was resolved to select such as were between the ages of 10 and 17.

Mr. Benham in a letter describing a visit to the ship, mentions the dying boy and his attendants, and adds:

Through an interpreter, I commended them for their kindness to the little sufferer, and promised to take them to live with me, and they should bring with them their sick companion. I gave each a slip of paper with my name, directing them to keep them, so that I might know them when they landed.

The elder boys are brothers, the younger was from the same tribe.

During the night the little sick boy died, as did

also several others, and was thrown into the sea. When the brothers arrived near the beach they plunged into the water (as all the captives were required to do) and washed themselves, but came out with the slips of paper clenched in their hands. One of these we have named John Wesley, the other David A. Shepard, and have taken them to educate.

On arriving at the beach small quantities of biscuit and water were given to the sufferers. When it was supposed the danger of depletion was over, water was poured into a log canoe, into which they plunged like hungry pigs into a trough, the stronger faring the best.

Near where I sat was a small pool of brackish water, in a state of stagnation; altogether unfit to be drunk; but on their discovering it they plunged into it, swallowing its black contents with great avidity.

Several of the citizens succeeded with threats and whips finally in driving them from it. In walking half a mile along the beach, several of them lay down to die, but were carried along by their suffering companions, or the citizens.

Mr. Benham says the subscription would be offered again at the anniversary of the Liberia Conference Missionary Society, when it was hoped the \$135 would be increased to \$500. Of the 100 children taken by the mission 19 were girls.

Mr. Benham's letter concludes with a strong appeal to the Missionary board, and the friends of African Missions generally, to contribute money for the purpose of clothing, feeding and educating these unfortunate children.

THE GUILT OF OUR COUNTRY.—Charles H. Bell, commander of the Yorktown, in his official communication to the Secretary of the Navy, giving an account of the capture of the Slaver Pons, says:

"I regret to say that most of this misery is produced by our own countrymen; they furnish the means of conveyance in spite of existing enactments: and although there are strong circumstances against Berry, the late master of the 'Pons,' sufficient to induce me to detain him, if I should meet with him, yet I fear neither he nor his employers can be reached by our present laws. He will no doubt make it appear that the 'Pons' was beyond his control when the slaves were brought on board. Yet, from the testimony of the men who came over from Rio as passengers, there is no doubt that the whole affair was arranged at Rio between Berry and Gallano before the ship sailed. These men state that the first place they anchored was at Onin, near the river Lagos, in the Bight of Benin; here they discharged

a portion of their cargo, and received on board a number of hogsheads or pipes filled with water. These were stowed on the ground tier, and a tier of casks containing spirits were placed over them. They were then informed that the vessel was going to Kabinda for a load of slaves.

On their arrival at the latter place, the spirit was kept on board until a few days before Berry gave up the command, covering up the water-casks in order to elude the suspicion of any cruiser. For twenty days did Berry wait in the roadstead of Kabinda, protected by the flag of his country, yet closely watched by a foreign man-of-war, who was certain of his intention, but the instant that cruiser was compelled to withdraw for a few hours, he springs at the opportunity of enriching himself and owners, and disgracing the flag which had protected him."

The fact that these infernal slavers deem themselves peculiarly safe under the American flag should clothe our nation with blushes! So much for having a 'peculiar institution' with its hosts of Argus-eyed defenders to control and shape our legislation at their will! If there were an honest determination on our part to detect and punish such villainy, who believes that these slavers would dream of finding protection under our flag? And how can such a determination exist in a nation which hugs to its bosom the institution of which this traffic is but one of the natural fruits? Freemen of America! will you not consider these things?—*N. Y. Tribune.*

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN TUNIS.

It gives us sincere pleasure to announce that his highness the Muschir Ahmed Bashaw Bey, of Tunis, has completely abolished the system of slavery throughout the whole of the territories subject to his control. This important event was officially communicated by this enlightened and humane prince to the British consul, Sir Thos. Reade, on the 22nd January last. It will be remembered that his Highness commenced this good work several years since; first, by emancipating his own personal slaves; then by destroying the slave markets throughout his dominions; and then by issuing a decree that all children born under his sway from the 8th of December, 1842, should be free. These things he did, to use his own words, "for the glory of mankind, and to distinguish them from the brute creation." The crowning act has at length taken place, and the Bey of Tunis, like the Queen of England, now reigns over a free people.

To Sir Thomas Reade this consummation of his earnest and honourable labours in the cause

of suffering and oppressed humanity, must be a high reward. We cordially congratulate him on this noble triumph of the anti-slavery cause in northern Africa.

Nor can we forget on this occasion, another of our countrymen, Mr. James Richardson, who, in the early part of the year 1842, represented at Tunis, the British and Foreign, and its auxiliary, the Anglo-Maltese, Anti-Slavery Society. That gentleman has subsequently visited Morocco and Tripoli, pleading every where the cause of human freedom. Our last news from him is dated Ghadames, on the border of the great desert, the 18th of November, 1845, in which he states, "a caravan of forty slaves arrived here the day before yesterday, they were the property of the merchants of this city, and were distributed in twos and threes amongst the inhabitants. They were brought from Ghat by the Touaricks. Some of them were quite children, and were so knocked up when they arrived that they could not walk. The caravan, with which I proceed for Soudan, starts to-morrow afternoon; I go regularly equipped in Moorish dress to prevent curiosity *en route*. With us go some Souf Arabs to purchase slaves for *Algiers*!" *Brit. and For. A. S. Reporter.*

REJECTION OF SLAVE GROWN SUGAR BY THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

The question of the sugar duties is likely to be again debated in Parliament. The note of preparation has been struck; and probably, a great effort will be made to open the British markets to the blood-stained produce of Cuba and Brazil. Our own opinions on this subject are too well known to need reproduction here. We both differ and agree with the contending parties in Parliament. We would have no difference in the amount of duties levied on sugars, whether imported into this country from the British Colonies and British India, or from foreign states where they are wholly produced by free labour. On the other hand we would prohibit the introduction of slave-grown produce come from what country it may. The interests of humanity, the progress of human liberty, and the extension of civilization and religion among men, appear to us peremptorily to require the application of these principles in our commercial intercourse with the nations of the earth.

Sir Robert Peel has announced it as the intention of Government, still to exclude the sugars of countries polluted with the slave-trade, and to maintain a differential duty between the produce of British and foreign possessions, where they are raised by free labour.

It is quite clear to us that until foreign free-labor sugar shall be allowed to come into full competition with our own, the necessary economy in its culture and manufacture will not be secured;—nor a full and adequate supply be obtained for the British market. At present nothing can be more wasteful, we had almost added more rude, than tropical agriculture. It therefore requires a strong stimulus to improve its character, and give it extension; and, at the same time to reduce its cost. We know what can be done by resident proprietors with capital and the requisite skill to apply it, without having recourse to the costly and unsatisfactory experiment of foreign labour, and we assert that with these, the exports of the British colonies might soon be doubled.

That the British government will maintain its position in reference to the sugars of Brazil and Cuba we entertain no doubt. Not only have we the assurance of Sir Robert Peel, that such will be the case; but the official correspondence laid, a few days since, on the tables of the House of Commons, respecting the sugars of Cuba and Porto Rico, is conclusive on this point.

And in maintaining this policy we are glad to perceive the government are likely to have the powerful aid of a nobleman whose virtues endear him to all classes of men in this country, and whose talents entitle him to the highest place among statesmen, Lord Morpeth.

His lordship has seen slavery face to face; he has been brought into personal contact with the victims of the slave trade; he has witnessed the horrors and degradation, the suffering and death connected with both; and is capable of appreciating the motives which influence, and the arguments which sustain, the conscientious recommendation of those who, like himself, would ever disconnect from all fellowship with the glorious cause of free trade, the blood-red flag of the slave trade.—*British and Foreign A. S. Reporter.*

The law passed last session for ameliorating the condition of slaves in the French colonies is a dead letter. That law amongst other things provided that the slaves who undertook to feed themselves should have the Saturday of every week given to them for that purpose. It appears that two gangs of slaves belonging to two planters of the names of Deslandes and Mareil, of Martinique, instead of working in their gardens hired themselves to a M. Delapalun, who employed from 150 to 200 of them, at 2 fr. 50 cts. the men, and 2 fr. the women for the day. Now, it happens that M. Delapalun is considered a dangerous

man, from the fact of his being a declared abolitionist, and from his refusing to employ any other than free labor in the manufacture of his sugar. He is, moreover, a mulatto. The two planters referred to determined that their slaves should not work for him; but they having persisted in doing so, application was made to the mayor of the district, M. Delatouche, to grant them the assistance of a body of police, as they were resolved to punish them for disobedience of orders. The police were accordingly placed at their disposal, and the whole of these negroes, men and women, were cart-whipped to the extent of thirty-nine lashes each!

FREE COLORED PERSONS IN MISSOURI.

A case has recently been decided in St. Louis, of interest to colored men. Andrew Hatfield, a native of Pennsylvania, having lived in Missouri, six years, without obtaining a license, according to the law of that State, was arrested and fined ten dollars. He was brought before Judge Krum, on a writ of habeas corpus, and a discharge contended for on the constitutional ground that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," and also a resolution of Congress that the constitution of Missouri should not exclude the citizens of other States from their rights and privileges in that State. The discharge was granted. The question is a very similar one to those in which Massachusetts has a controversy with South Carolina and Louisiana.

A WHITE SLAVE.

A gentleman lately from Natchez, Miss., informs us that a few days before his departure, a gang of slaves, from Virginia, were sold in the vicinity of his boarding house. Among them was a lad, sixteen or seventeen years of age, who had a very light complexion, auburn hair and blue eyes. The opinion was freely expressed by those around the auction block, that the boy was of purely white descent. That consideration, however, did not deter the democratic republicans of Natchez from bidding for him. He was sold for about \$300.

Indiana Freeman.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Annual Meeting of the Free Produce Association of Friends.

The first annual meeting of this Association, will be held in Clarkson Hall, Cherry street above Sixth, on 3d day evening, 4th mo., 21st, at 8 o'clock; being the week of Yearly Meeting. Friends of both sexes are invited to attend. A detailed report of the Board of Managers will be given at the meeting, showing the encouragement they have met with in procuring free cotton, and the arrangements in progress for manufacturing it into various articles for clothing, and exhibiting testimonials of satisfaction from various Friends within the limits of different yearly meetings, in relation to the objects of the Association.

GEO. W. TAYLOR, Secretary.

AGENTS.—We are indebted to the kindness of many of our friends who have forwarded the names of subscribers, and we trust in each neighbourhood where our paper has been received, some one will be willing to act as Agent, and forward us his name. The terms will be found below.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Those who feel disposed to assist the Free Produce Association in procuring and manufacturing free cotton, and in opening a store for the sale of free goods, will please contribute either in the way of a loan without interest, or donations to their fund for those objects. Such contributions will be received by either of the undersigned.

ELIHU PICKERING, SAMUEL ALLINSON, JR., THOMAS WISTAR, JR., SAMUEL RHOADS, GEO. W. TAYLOR.	Committee on Finance.
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THE LONDON FRIEND, now in its fourth year, has an extensive circulation in England and Ireland, and is rapidly increasing in America.

The principles of the Society of Friends and the most recent intelligence connected with it, are the chief objects of the Journal, but it is also the medium of sentiments and information on various philanthropic subjects, as well as respecting literary and other useful pursuits.

The London Friend is published on the 1st of every month, and leaves Liverpool by steamer on the 4th. Price two dollars per annum, including postage to America. Names of subscribers will be received by G. W. TAYLOR, Philadelphia; MAHLON DAY, New York, and SAMUEL BOYCE, Lynn, Massachusetts.

London, 24th 2d month, 1846.

HENRY LONGSTRETH, Bookseller, Publisher and Stationer, No. 347 Market St. Philadelphia, has constantly on hand a large assortment of School, Juvenile, and Miscellaneous Books, and all kinds of Stationery, which he will furnish wholesale and retail at very low prices. He has published a number of very valuable works, which would be very suitable for gratuitous distribution by Tract Associations and private benevolent individuals; among them are brief account of William Bush, brief account of the late Elizabeth Fry; the Love Conquest, Sumner's Orations on Peace, Porteus on Christian Revelation; also Thoughts on Habit and Discipline, Life in the Insect World, Geographical, Historical, and other Lessons for memory.

For sale as above, Portrait of the late William Allen, and Jonathan Dymond.

FREE COTTON GOODS.

To accommodate Friends and others who wish to supply themselves with free cotton goods, but cannot conveniently give or lend money to aid in the manufacture, the Finance Committee of Friends' Free Produce Association, propose to receive from such individuals any sum of money they may choose to advance, and furnish them with goods to the same amount when these are ready for sale.

ELIHU PICKERING, S. ALLINSON, JR., THOMAS WISTAR, JR., GEO. W. TAYLOR, SAMUEL RHOADS,	Committee.
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FREE LABOR STORE.—The subscriber having purchased the stock and fixtures of the store at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, of Lydia White, would respectfully inform his friends and those who prefer using the produce of free labor, that he will continue the business as heretofore, and hopes by attention thereto, to merit and receive a continuance of the patronage bestowed on the former occupant.

JOEL FISHER.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER is published on the first of each month, at One Dollar per annum, payable in advance, or six copies to one address for five dollars. It may be proper here to remark that pecuniary profit forms no part of our object, and that the whole amount of subscriptions which may be received after paying the expense of publication, will be devoted to the cause of emancipation.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, SAMUEL RHOADS and GEO. W. TAYLOR, Editors and publishers; either of whom will receive subscriptions, payments, and communications.

By decision of the Post Master General, the Non-Slaveholder is subject to newspaper postage only.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1846.

[NO. 5.]

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

The first Annual Meeting of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was held at Clarkson Hall, on the evening of Fourth month 21st, 1846. The following were its principal transactions:

A report from the Board of Managers was read and approved.

The Treasurer's report, showing the financial operations of the Association since its commencement, was also presented and read.

A Committee was appointed to bring forward the names of officers to the next annual meeting. The officers now under appointment, not having served a year, were continued until then, being as follows: Secretary, George W. Taylor; Treasurer, Samuel Alsop; Managers, Enoch Lewis, Elihu Pickering, Abraham L. Pennock, Edward Garrett, Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Wistar, Jr., Samuel Allinson, Jr., and Israel H. Johnson.

The above Committee was also directed to audit the Treasurer's account, previous to its presentation at the next annual meeting.

The time and place for holding that meeting was referred to the Board of Managers.

The Minutes of the Managers were submitted to the Association, but, from want of time, the reading of them, except so much as was contained in the report of the Manufacturing Committee, was dispensed with. From the report it appeared that the manufacture of upwards of 10,000 yards of cotton cloth had been contracted for, a small portion of which had been furnished, and most of the residue was now under process of being made. They consist mainly of the following descriptions of goods—Shirting and Sheeting Muslins, Prints, Apron and Bed Checks, Bed Ticking, Canton Flannel, Twilled Muslins, Gingham and Pantaloon Stuffs.

The Managers were directed to publish their report for circulation, in such form as they should deem proper, and to request its insertion in the

several papers conducted by Friends. The report is as follows:

TO THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.

In this First Annual Report, the managers may remark, that as little more than seven months have elapsed since their appointment, and their field of labor was in great measure unexplored, it may be presumed that the Association will not be disappointed if no very important consequences should yet appear as the result of their efforts.

Information of our Association and of the great object in view, as well as an outline of our plan of procedure, has been widely disseminated; in consequence of which, numerous testimonials of approbation of the object to which our labours are directed, and of the mode which we have adopted for diminishing the evils and curtailing the limits of slavery, have reached us from various quarters. A number of applications for a supply of cotton goods and groceries, obtained through the medium of free labour, have also been received, and the managers confidently believe that whenever the operations of this association shall become so far matured as to secure a supply exclusively through the instrumentality of free and compensated labour, of those articles which now reach the market through the medium of slave-labour, and the public at large can be clearly convinced that the goods which we offer to their acceptance are not, either wholly or in part, extorted from the drudgery of slaves, there will be no want of a demand. Though we may justly regret the general apathy which appears in regard to the iniquitous system of slavery, yet we are fully convinced that the people of these United States generally, are too much enlightened to regard the slavery of the African race with any other feelings than those of disapprobation. The people throughout the various sections of the Union are generally aware that this unrighteous system, on what side soever we view it, is obnoxious.

ious to unanswerable objections. But the products of slave labour are so blended with the common conveniences of life, and so completely interwoven with the commerce of our country, that few among us have the penetration to discover, or the resolution to pursue, the means of disentangling the connection.

The proposition announced in our circular of Sixth month last, that both slavery and the slave-trade, of which the citizens of Philadelphia have recently had such an appalling exhibition, owe their vitality to the market for the products of slave labour, appears too obvious for dispute; yet we have no doubt there are many, both in and out of our society, who apprehend that if they purchase groceries or cotton fabrics which are ostensibly the products of free labour, they may be actually supporting the system of slavery as fully as those who obtain similar articles which are avowedly produced by the labour of slaves, and be in addition to this, paying a bounty on falsehood. Now, we conceive, that all we need do to secure the custom of such purchasers as these, and of all others who are really conscientiously opposed to the slavery of our fellow-men, will be to secure such channels of communication as to furnish ourselves with satisfactory evidence that no deception has been practised upon us, and then to disseminate our information sufficiently in detail, to remove all reasonable doubt in regard to the purity of the channels through which the goods are obtained.

With a view to the first of these objects, this board, soon after its organization, opened a correspondence with several persons residing in various parts of the Union, making inquiry in regard to the channels through which a supply of free grown cotton might be obtained. Several sources afforded a reasonable prospect of a supply; but there was one which arrested our particular attention as it afforded an encouraging hope that through it we might not only procure a present supply, but obtain the requisite information for securing such further quantities as we hope the more extended operations of future years will require. We learned that two persons, residing in Indiana, upon whose integrity we might fully rely, had gone to the state of Mississippi, and expected to remain several weeks in a district where, as we had been previously informed, large quantities of cotton are cultivated exclusively by free labour.

The season for picking cotton having arrived, no time was to be lost, and at a special meeting of this Board, the Committee on Manufactures was authorised to engage those individuals to

purchase about fifty bales. Though they were about leaving Mississippi when our communication was received, they immediately resolved to remain there and endeavour to execute the trust. The first picking, which contains the best cotton, had been chiefly sold, but they succeeded in engaging sixty-three bales. The gins being mostly owned by slaveholders and worked by slaves, some difficulty was experienced in getting this cotton cleared of the seed. But this difficulty was surmounted, partly by hiring gins and employing free men to perform the operation, and partly by engaging slaves to perform it during the Christmas holidays, and paying them in full for their services.

Our friends met with considerable trials, but the integrity of their motives sustained them, and they found many warm friends, who gave them efficient assistance, even among the holders of slaves. They became acquainted with several settlements in Mississippi, consisting of non-slaveholding farmers, in each of which from fifty to two hundred bales of cotton, raised by the hands of freemen, might be procured. These farms, lying in two or three counties, would furnish collectively, not less than six or eight hundred bales. Some difficulty, however, exists from a want of gins in suitable locations. In several instances, individuals appeared disposed to erect the necessary buildings and purchase gins, in case some pecuniary aid could be furnished on loan. One case presented so favourable an opportunity of procuring for the demands of next year, a supply of one hundred and fifty or two hundred bales at a single point, that our friends ventured upon an arrangement for supplying two or three hundred dollars towards purchasing a gin, intending to take the responsibility on themselves if declined by this Board. The subject being duly considered, we judged it consistent with our duty to support the measure, and accordingly authorized the Committee on Manufactures to advance the money on proper security, to be repaid in cotton as soon as practicable. At the date of our latest advices from Mississippi, the buildings were in progress, with an expectation that they would be ready for business early in the ensuing season.

Information from other parts of Mississippi, and from Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee, fully warrants a belief that many hundreds of bales of free grown cotton may, by proper exertions, be obtained from thence.

Of the sixty-three bales, purchased as above mentioned, fifty-two have arrived, and information has been received that the remaining eleven

have been shipped at New Orleans. This cotton, as far as it has been examined, appears to be of excellent quality. Our Committee on Manufactures has been endeavouring to make arrangements for working it up, and nine of these bales, together with ten which we have furnished to the American Free Produce Association, are in possession of a manufacturer. We are not likely, however, to obtain immediately, the finer fabrics from this quarter, but hope to effect that object at no distant day.

A difficulty presents in the manufacturing department which is not necessarily connected with the business. A small quantity of cotton cannot be carried through the various operations of a mill, free from mixture with the products of slavery, without involving some additional expense. This difficulty would evidently be obviated by furnishing one or more mills with a sufficient quantity of free cotton to supply their whole demand. Several manufacturers have expressed a willingness to restrict their operations to free grown cotton in case they can obtain it at the usual price. As the cotton raised by free labour is now thrown into the markets undistinguished from the products of slave labour, they must be sold at the same price; consequently the only enhancement in the cost of the former must arise from the expense of keeping it, during its transit from the field to the manufacturer, separated from the produce of slavery. May we not reasonably hope that a very little time will enable us, with proper exertions, to create such a demand for the goods which come to us untouched by servile hands, that the very small advance in their cost, which may arise from the separate transmission of the raw material, will present no obstacle to their sale? In the first operation of the system which we have associated to establish and support, some pecuniary sacrifices must, unquestionably, be made, yet we confidently believe, that with proper care and perseverance, arrangements may be made, by which the free raw material may be furnished to the manufacturer at a very insignificant advance upon the cost of slave produce; and that the confidence of the community being gained in regard to the character of our fabrics, the demand for free goods will make it the interest of the manufacturers to produce them.

The attention of the Board has also been directed to the inquiry, from what places and through what channels other tropical products may be obtained; but upon this subject we are not prepared to make a detailed report. We may, however, observe that large quantities of free grown coffee are imported into this country from Java,

Hayti, Laguayra, Maracaibo, &c. Rice is also brought from the East Indies and North Carolina, and sugar from Mexico, Laguayra, and other places where slavery is either not tolerated, or is in course of rapid extinction through the operation of laws enacted for its abolition. Maple sugar may also be obtained in considerable quantities from various parts of our own country, more particularly from Vermont. The establishment of a free produce store has likewise been kept in view, and we expect will be effected in a short time; there being already one free produce store in this city, which has been kept by an individual for several years past.

Agreeably to the direction of the Association at the meeting in 9th month, last, an address was prepared and forwarded soon after the organization of the Board, to the philanthropist Thomas Clarkson, acquainting him with our association, and the object which we have in view, together with a request for further information, if any remain in his possession, relative to the abstinence from sugar which took place in England about the year 1792, and its effect in promoting the abolition of the Anglo-African slave trade. Having recently ascertained that this address had not reached him, a copy has been forwarded. As we have been informed by a friend who saw him a few weeks ago, that, notwithstanding the infirmities of age, he was still able to write a letter with his own hand, we indulge a hope of yet receiving a communication from him.

In conformity to the provision contained in the 7th article of our Constitution, an Essay has been prepared by a committee of the Board, "On the duty of abstaining from the productions of slave labour, especially in reference to the destruction of human life which slavery occasions," and nearly five thousand copies have been distributed.

We have had the satisfaction to learn that some Friends in England have associated for the purpose of promoting the use, and furnishing a supply of articles which are produced by the labour of freemen. They have issued an address which has been extensively circulated in their country and ours. In this address they have brought into view the great increase of American cotton, and the cotemporary extension of slavery in the United States.

In allusion to these collateral and connected facts, they inquire, "shall we then continue to uphold and furnish an inducement for the maintenance of this vast system of crime and misery which we profess to deplore and abhor? Humanity, justice and religion," they add, "forbid us so to do; and we therefore confidently cherish the

hope that as one means of discountenancing slavery, many of our countrymen and countrywomen will now be found willing and determined, as far as in them lies, to relinquish the use of American slave grown cotton.

Nor will they, we trust, be less resolute in reference to other articles, the produce of slave labour, among which we may specially reckon Carolina rice and tobacco in all its forms."

Our English Friends have already manufactured a variety of cotton goods, and kindly sent us samples of them. From this quarter we therefore hope to obtain a supply which, added to the fabrics produced from free cotton in our own country, may furnish a sufficient variety to meet our necessary demands, and facilitate the exclusion of the products of slave labour.

It will no doubt be satisfactory to the Association to be informed that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are now directing their energies to an attack upon slavery in its most vulnerable point; an effort to exclude from the markets of England every article which is produced by the labour of slaves. They have vigorously opposed every measure which they judged likely to extend the cultivation of tropical products by servile hands, and have turned their inquiries to the means of promoting the culture of those products by the labour of freemen. The committee have also used their influence with their own government to continue the discriminating duties which exclude from Great Britain the slave grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil, and we have the satisfaction to learn that the British Government, while it has recently proposed to reduce the duties on free sugar, has determined upon the continued exclusion of that which is produced in those countries by slave labour.

We find many indications that the attention of the people of England is seriously awakening to the consideration, that by their extensive consumption of the products of slave labour, they are largely contributing to the support and extension of slavery. In the Appendix to the Fifth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, they emphatically remark, "the time when the Southern States approached nearest to the abolition of slavery, was also the time when there was the smallest demand in England for their staple produce;" and that, "it is the demand for American cotton at Liverpool that rivets the chain of the slave." Can British abolitionists, can British Christians, acknowledging the truth of these declarations, continue their contributions to the maintenance of a demand so destructive to

the morals, the happiness and the inalienable rights of their fellow men?

Before closing this Report, a few general observations may be subjoined. Not a year has yet passed away since the first meeting was held from which the formation of this Association may be dated. That meeting consisted of a very small number, and the early movements of our body were attended with various discouragements. Though the great truth that the most effectual mode of assailing the gigantic system of slavery is to destroy the market for the products of slave labour, appeared one of the clearest of self-evident truths, yet there were few who seemed willing to follow it in its practical results. In looking towards a supply of cotton goods, which the habits of our age and country have classed among the necessities of life, we beheld the Southern States under the domination of slaveholders and the land cultivated by slaves, with here and there a solitary planter, like an oasis in a desert, who raised a few bales of cotton by the labour of freemen. But almost simultaneously with our association, a powerful auxiliary appeared at our side. Our Friends in New York in their last Yearly Meeting, authorized the circulation amongst their meetings of an address advocating the principles which we have associated to maintain. This indicates an advance which can admit of no retrogression. We must also be greatly encouraged by the reflection that the very limited inquiries which we have found opportunity to make, have elicited an amount of information relative to the production of free grown cotton which is no less cheering than unexpected. The efforts of the English philanthropists have evidently given a direction to the movements of their nation from which the ultimate extinction of negro slavery throughout the civilized world may be anticipated as a possible, if not probable consequence. From these and other similar considerations, we apprehend there is ample encouragement to pursue the course on which we have commenced.

Fifty years ago the African slave trade was prosecuted under the British flag, and with the sanction of English law; now, a slave cannot breathe within the dominions of Victoria. Then the American Congress was constitutionally restricted from abolishing that detestable traffic; now the laws of the Union class the African slaver with pirates. The light of the nineteenth century has penetrated into many of the dark recesses of iniquity, and may we not hope that the sun of the twentieth will shine only on freemen?

But whether in the inscrutable dispensations of an All-wise and superintending Providence, Ame-

rican slavery may be allowed a longer or a shorter date, whilst the system continues, a field of labour must remain, to enlist the energies of the friends of our race. Our individual responsibilities are not annihilated by the magnitude or extent of the evil, nor will the labours of those who are zealously devoting their powers of body and mind to promote the best and permanent interests of man, be eventually lost. The history of the past, and the prospects of the future, forcibly inculcate the maxim, Cast thy seed upon moist places, for thou shalt find it after many days.

Signed by direction and on behalf of the Board of Managers.

SAMUEL RHOADS, Clerk.

Philada. 4th mo. 17th, 1846.

SELECTIONS.

From the Democratic Review.

JAMES NAYLER.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

"You will here read the true story of that much injured, ridiculed man, James Nayler; what dreadful sufferings, with what patience he endured, even to the boring of the tongue with hot irons; without a murmur; and with what strength of mind, when the delusion he had fallen into, which they stigmatized as blasphemy, had given place to clearer thoughts, he could murmur his error in a strain of the beautifullest humility."—*Essays of Elia*.

"Would that Carlyle could now try his hand at the English Revolution!" was my exclamation, on laying down the last volume of his remarkable "History of the French Revolution," with its brilliant and startling word-pictures still flashing before my vision. To some extent this wish has been realized in the "Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell." Yet I confess that the perusal of these volumes has disappointed me. Instead of giving himself free scope, as in the French Revolution, and transferring to his canvass all the wild and ludicrous, the terrible and beautiful phases of that moral phenomenon; he has concentrated all his artistic skill upon a single figure, whom he seems to have regarded as the embodiment and hero of the great event. All else in his canvass is subordinated to the grim image of the colossal Puritan. Intent upon presenting him as the fitting object of that "Hero-Worship," which in its blind admiration and adoration of mere abstract Power seems to us at times a species of Devil-Worship; he dwarfs, casts into the shadow, nay, in some instances, caricatures and distorts the figures which surround him. To excuse Cromwell in his usurpation, Henry Vane, one of those exalted and noble characters, upon whose features the lights held by historical friends or foes detect no blemish, is dismissed with a sneer, and an utterly unfounded imputation of dishonesty.

To reconcile, in some degree, the glaring discrepancy between the declarations of Cromwell, in behalf of freedom of conscience, and that mean and cruel persecution of the Quakers, carried on under his sanction and authority, the generally harmless fanaticism of a few individuals, bearing that name, is gravely urged. Nay, the fact, that some weak-brained enthusiasts undertook to bring about the Millennium, by associating together, cultivating the earth, and "dibbling beans" for the New-Jerusalem market, is regarded by our author as the "germ of Quakerism;" and furnishes an occasion for sneering at "my poor friend Dry-as-dust, lamentably tearing his hair over the intolerance of that old time to Quakerism and such like."

The readers of this (with all its faults) powerfully written Biography, cannot fail to have been impressed with the intensely graphic description (Part I., vol. II., pages 184, 185, of the entry of the poor fanatic, James Nayler, and his forlorn and draggled companions into Bristol. Sadly ludicrous is it; affecting us like the actual sight of tragic insanity enacting its involuntary comedy, and making us smile through our tears.

In another portion of the work, a brief account is given of the trial and sentence of Nayler, also in the serio-comic view; and the poor man is dismissed with the simple intimation, that after his punishment he "repented, and confessed himself mad." It was no part of the author's business, I am well aware, to waste time and words upon the history of such a man as Nayler; he was of no importance to him, otherwise than as one of the disturbing influences in the government of the Lord Protector. But to my mind the story of James Nayler has always been one of interest; and, in the belief that it will prove so to others, who, like Charles Lamb, can appreciate the beautiful humility of a forgiven spirit, I have been at some pains to collect and embody the facts of it.

James Nayler was born in the parish of Ardesly, in Yorkshire, 1616. His father was a substantial farmer, of good repute and competent estate; and he, in consequence, received a good education. At the age of twenty-two he married and removed to Wakefield parish, which has since been made classic ground by the pen of Goldsmith. Here, an honest, God-fearing farmer, he tilled his soil, and alternated between cattle-markets and independent conventicles. In 1641, he obeyed the summons of "my Lord Fairfax" to his Parliament, and joined a troop of horse composed of sturdy independents, doing such signal service against "the man of Belial, Charles Stuart," that he was promoted to the rank of quar-

ter-master, in which capacity he served under General Lambert, in his Scottish campaign. Disabled at length by sickness, he was honorably dismissed from the service, and returned to his family in 1649.

For three or four years he continued to attend the meetings of the Independents, as a zealous and devout member. But it so fell out, that in the winter of 1651, GEORGE FOX, who had just been released from a cruel imprisonment, in Darby jail, felt a call to set his face towards Yorkshire. "So travelling," says Fox, in his journal, "through the countries, to several places, preaching Repentance and the Word of Life, I came into the parts about Wakefield, where James Nayler lived." The worn and weary soldier, covered with the scars of outward battle, received, as he believed, in the cause of God and his people, against Anti-Christ and oppression, welcomed with thankfulness the veteran of another warfare; who, in conflict with "Principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places," had made his name a familiar one in any English hamlet. "He and Thomas Goodyear," says Fox, "came to me, and were both convinced and received the truth." He soon after joined the Society of Friends. In the spring of the next year he was in his field following his plough, and meditating, as he was wont, on the great questions of life and duty, when he seemed to hear a voice bidding him go out from his kindred and his father's house, with an assurance that the Lord would be with him, while laboring in his service. Deeply impressed, he left his employment, and, returning to his house, made immediate preparations for a journey. But hesitation and doubt followed; he became sick from anxiety of mind, and his recovery, for a time, was exceedingly doubtful. On his restoration to bodily health, he obeyed what he regarded as a clear intimation of duty, and went forth a preacher of the doctrines he had embraced. The independent minister of the society to which he had formerly belonged sent after him the story, that he was the victim of sorcery; that George Fox carried with him a bottle, out of which he made people drink; and that the draught had the power to change a Presbyterian or Independent into a Quaker at once; that in short, the Arch-Quaker, Fox, was a wizard, and could be seen at the same moment of time riding on the same black horse, in two places widely separated! He had scarcely commenced his exhortations, before the mob, excited by such stories, assailed him. In the early summer of the year we hear of him in Appleby jail. On his release he fell in company with George Fox. At Walney island he was furiously

assaulted, and beaten with clubs and stones; the poor priest-led fishermen being fully persuaded that they were dealing with a wizard. The spirit of the man, under these circumstances, may be seen in the following extract from a letter to his friends, dated at "Killett, in Lancashire, the 30th of 8th month, 1652."

"Dear friends! Dwell in patience, and wait upon the Lord who will do His own work. Look not at man who is in the work, nor at man opposing it; but rest in the will of the Lord that so ye may be furnished with patience, both to do and to suffer what ye shall be called unto, that your end in all things may be His praise. Meet often together; take heed of what exalteth itself above its brother; but keep low, and serve one another in love."

Laboring thus, interrupted only by persecution, stripes and imprisonment, he finally came to London and spoke with great power and eloquence in the meetings of Friends in that city. Here, he for the first time found himself surrounded by admiring and sympathising friends. He saw, and rejoiced in the fruits of his ministry. Profane and drunken cavaliers, intolerant Presbyterians, and blind Papists, owned the truths which he uttered, and counted themselves his disciples. Women, too, in their deep trustfulness, and admiring reverence, sat at the feet of the eloquent stranger. Devout believers in the doctrine of the inward light and manifestation of God in the heart of man, these latter, at length, thought they saw such unmistakable evidences of the true life in James Nayler, that they felt constrained to declare that Christ was, in an especial manner, within him, and to call upon all to recognize in reverent adoration this new incarnation of the Divine and Heavenly. The wild enthusiasm of his disciples had its effect on the teacher. Weak in body, worn with sickness, fastings, stripes, and prison-penance, and naturally credulous and imaginative, is it strange that in some measure he yielded to this miserable delusion? Let those who would harshly judge him, or ascribe his fall to the peculiar doctrines of this sect, think of Luther, engaged in personal combat with the devil, or conversing with him on points of theology in his bed-chamber, or of Bunyan at actual fisty-cuffs with the adversary; or of Fleetwood, and Vane and Harrison millenium-mad, and making preparations for an earthly reign of King Jesus. It was an age of intense religious excitement. Fanaticism had become epidemic. Cromwell wayed his parliaments by "revelations" and Scripture phrases in the painted chamber—stout generals and sea-captains exterminated the Irish, and swept Dutch navies from the ocean, with old Jewish war-cries, and hymns of Deborah and Miriam; country

justices charged juries in Hebraisms, and cited the laws of Palestine oftener than those of England. Poor Nayler found himself in the very midst of this seething and confused moral maelstrom. He struggled against it for a time; but human nature was weak; he became, to use his own words, "bewildered and darkened," and the floods went over him.

Leaving London with some of his more zealous followers, not without solemn admonition and rebuke from Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who at that period were regarded as the most eminent and gifted of the Society's ministers, he bent his steps towards Exeter. Here, in consequence of the extravagance of his language and that of his disciples, he was arrested and thrown into prison. Several infatuated women, surrounded the jail, declaring that "Christ was in prison," and on being admitted to see him knelt down and kissed his feet, exclaiming, "Thy name shall be no more called James Nayler, but Jesus!" Let us pity him and them. They, full of grateful and extravagant affection for the man whose voice had called them away from worldly vanities, to what they regarded as eternal realities, whose hand they imagined had for them swung back the pearl gates of the celestial city, and flooded their atmosphere with light from heaven: he, receiving their homage, (not as offered to a poor weak, sinful Yorkshire trooper, but rather to the hidden man of the heart, the "Christ within" him,) with that self-deceiving humility which is but another name for spiritual pride. Mournful, yet natural: such as is still in greater or less degree manifested between the Catholic enthusiast and her confessor; such as the careful observer may at times take note of in our Protestant revivals and camp-meetings.

How Nayler was released from Exeter jail does not appear, but the next we hear of him, is at Bristol, in the fall of the year. His entrance into that city shows the progress which he and his followers had made in the interval. Let us look at Carlyle's description of it. "A procession of eight persons—one, a man on horseback riding single, the others men and women partly riding double, partly on foot in the muddiest highway in the weldest weather; singing, all but the single rider, at whose bridle walk and splash two women, Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!" and other things, "in a buzzing tone," which the impartial hearer could not make out. The single rider is a raw-boned male figure "with lank hair reaching below his cheeks," hat drawn close over his brows, "nose rising slightly in the middle," of abtuse "down look," and

large dangerous jaws strictly closed: he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung to by the others bare. Amid pouring deluges and mud knee-deep, "so that the rain ran in at their necks and vented it at their hose and breeches:" a spectacle to the West of England and posterity! Singing as above; answering no question except in song. From Bedminster to Ratcliffgate, along the streets to the High Cross of Bristol: at the High Cross they are laid hold of by the authorities: turn out to be James Nayler and Company."

Truly, a more pitiful example of "hero worship" is not well to be conceived of. Instead of taking the rational view of it, however, and mercifully shutting up the actors in a mad-house, the authorities of that day conceiving it to be a stupendous blasphemy, and themselves God's avengers in the matter, sent Nayler under strong guard up to London, to be examined before the parliament. After long and tedious examinations and cross-questionings, and still more tedious debates, some portion of which, not uninteresting to the reader may still be found in "Burton's Diary," the following horrible resolution was agreed upon:

"That James Nayler be set in the pillory, with his head in the pillory in the Palace Yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours on Thursday next; and be whipped by the hangman through the streets, from Westminster to the Old Exchange, and there, likewise, be set in the pillory, with his head in the pillory for the space of two hours, between eleven and one, on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing a description of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there stigmatized on the forehead with the letter 'B'; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol to be conveyed into and through the said city on horseback with his face backward, and there, also, publicly whipped the next market day after he comes thither: that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labor hard until he shall be released by parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink and paper; and have no relief except what he earns by his daily labor."

Such, neither more nor less, was, in the opinion of parliament, required on their part to appease the Divine vengeance. The sentence was pronounced on the 17th of the Twelfth Month; the entire time of the parliament for the two months previous having been occupied with the case. The Presbyterians in that body were ready enough to make the most of an offence committed by one who had been an Independent; the Independents, to escape the stigma of extenuating the

crimes of one of their quondam brethren, vied with their antagonists in shrieking over the atrocity of Nayler's blasphemy, and in urging its severe punishment. Here and there among both classes were men disposed to leniency; and more than one earnest plea was made for merciful dealing with a man, whose reason was evidently unsettled; and who was, therefore, a fitting object of compassion; whose crime, if it could indeed be called one, was evidently the result of a clouded intellect, and not of wilful intention of evil. On the other hand, many were in favor of putting him to death as a sort of peace-offering to the clergy, who, as a matter of course, were greatly scandalized by Nayler's blasphemy, and still more by the refusal of his sect to pay tithes, or recognize their Divine commission.

Nayler was called into the parliament-house to receive his sentence. "I do not know mine offence," he said mildly. "You shall know it," said Sir Thomas Widdington, "by your sentence." When the sentence was read, he attempted to speak, but was silenced. "I pray God," said Nayler, "that He may not lay this to your charge."

The next day, the 18th of the Twelfth Month, he stood in the pillory two hours, in the chill winter air, and was then stripped and scourged by the hangman at the tail of a cart through the streets. Three hundred and ten stripes were inflicted; his back and arms were horribly cut and mangled, and his feet crushed and bruised by the feet of horses treading on him in the crowd. He bore all with uncomplaining patience; but was so far exhausted by his sufferings, that it was found necessary to postpone the execution of the residue of the sentence for one week. The terrible severity of his sentence, and his meek endurance of it, had in the mean time powerfully affected many of the humane and generous of all classes in the city; and a petition for the remission of the remaining part of the penalty was numerously signed and presented to parliament. A debate ensued upon it, but its prayer was rejected. Application was then made to Cromwell, who addressed a letter to the speaker of the house, inquiring into the affair, protesting an "abhorrence and detestation of giving or occasioning the least countenance to such opinions and practices" as were imputed to Nayler, "yet, we being entrusted in the present government on behalf of the people of these nations; and not knowing how far such proceeding entered into wholly without us may extend in the consequence of it, do hereby desire the house may let us know the grounds and reasons whereon they have proceeded." From this, it is not unlikely that the Protector might

have been disposed to clemency, and to look with a degree of charity upon the weakness and errors of one of his old and tried soldiers who had striven like a brave man, as he was, for the rights and liberties of Englishmen; but the clergy here interposed, and vehemently, in the name of God and His Church, demanded that the executioner should finish his work. Five of the most eminent of them, names well known in the Protectorate, Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith and Reynolds, were deputed by parliament to visit the mangled prisoner. A reasonable request was made, that some impartial person might be present, that justice might be done Nayler in the report of his answers. This was refused. It was, however, agreed that the conversation should be written down and a copy of it left with the jailer. He was asked, if he was sorry for his blasphemies. He said he did not know to what blasphemies they alluded; that he did believe in Jesus Christ; that He had taken up His dwelling in his own heart, and for the testimony of Him he now suffered. "I believe," said one of the ministers, "in a Christ who was never in any man's heart." "I know no such Christ," rejoined the prisoner, "the Christ I witness to fills Heaven and Earth, and dwells in the hearts of all true believers." On being asked, why he allowed the women to adore and worship him, he said, he "denied bowing to the creature; but if they beheld the power of Christ, wherever it was, and bowed to it, he could not resist it, or say aught against it."

After some further parley the reverend visitors grew angry, threw the written record of the conversation in the fire, and left the prison, to report the prisoner incorrigible.

On the 27th of the month he was again led out of his cell and placed upon the pillory. Thousands of citizens were gathered around—many of them earnestly protesting against the extreme cruelty of his punishment. Robert Rich, an influential and honorable merchant, followed him up to the pillory, with expressions of great sympathy, and held him by the hand while the red-hot iron was pressed through his tongue, and the brand was placed on his forehead. He was next sent to Bristol, and publicly whipped through the principal streets of that city; and again brought back to the Bridewell prison, where he remained about two years, shut out from all intercourse with his fellow-beings. At the expiration of this period he was released by order of parliament. In the solitude of his cell he said the angel of patience had been with him. Through the cloud which had

so long rested over him, the clear light of truth shone in upon his spirit: the weltering chaos of a disordered intellect, settled into the calm peace of a reconciliation with God and man. His first act on leaving prison was to visit Bristol, the scene of his melancholy fall. There he publicly confessed his errors, in the eloquent earnestness of a contrite spirit, humbled in view of the past, yet full of thanksgiving and praise for the great boon of forgiveness. A writer who was present says, the "assembly was tendered, and broken into tears; there were few dry eyes, and many were bowed in their minds."

In a paper, which he published soon after, he acknowledges his lamentable delusion. "Condemned forever," he says, "be all those false worships with which any have idolized my person in that Night of my Temptation, when the Power of Darkness was above me—all that did in any way tend to dishonor the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the measure of Christ Jesus in themselves, to look at flesh, which is as grass, or to ascribe that to the visible which belongs to Him." "Darkness came over me through want of watchfulness and obedience to the pure Eye of God. I was taken captive from the true light; I was walking in the Night, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all my mercies had not rescued me, I had perished; for I was as one appointed to death and destruction, and there was none to deliver me." "It is in my heart to confess to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day: yet there were many things formed against me in that day, to take away my life, and bring scandal upon the truth, of which I was not guilty at all." "The provocation of that Time of Temptation was exceeding great against the Lord; yet he left me not; for when Darkness was above, and the Adversary so prevailed, that all things were turned and perverted against my right seeing, hearing, or understanding; only a secret hope and faith I had in my God, whom I had served, that he would bring me through it, and to the end of it; and that I should again see the day of my redemption from under it all; and this quieted my soul in its greatest tribulation." He concludes his confession with these words: "He who hath saved my soul from death—who hath lifted my feet up out of the pit, even to Him be glory forever; and let every troubled soul trust in Him, for His mercy endureth forever!"

Among his papers, written soon after his release, is a remarkable prayer, or rather thanksgiving. The limit I have prescribed to myself will only allow me to copy an extract.

"It is in my heart to praise Thee, O my God; let me never forget Thee, what Thou hast been to me in the night, by Thy presence in my hour of trial, when I was beset in darkness; when I was cast out as a wandering bird; when I was assaulted with strong temptations, then Thy presence, in secret, did preserve me; and in a low state I felt Thee near me: when my way was through the sea; when I passed under the mountains there wast Thou present with me; when the weight of the hills was upon me Thou upheldest me. Thou didst fight, on my part, when I wrestled with death; when darkness would have shut me up Thy light shone about me; when my work was in the furnace, and I passed through the fire, by Thee I was not consumed. When I beheld the dreadful visions, and was among the fiery spirits, Thy faith stayed me, else through fear I had fallen. I saw Thee, and believed, so that the enemy could not prevail." After speaking of his humiliation and sufferings, which Divine Mercy had overruled, for his spiritual good, he thus concludes: "Thou didst lift me out from the pit, and set me forth in the sight of my enemies: Thou proclaimedst liberty to the captive; Thou calledst my acquaintances near me; they to whom I had been a wonder, looked upon me; and in Thy love I obtained favor with those who had deserted me. Then did gladness swallow up sorrow, and I forsook my troubles; and I said, How good is it that man be proved in the night, that he may know his folly, that every mouth may become silent, until Thou makest man known unto himself, and hast slain the boaster, and shown him the vanity which vexeth Thy spirit."

All honor to the Quakers of that day, that at the risk of misrepresentation and calumny, they received back to their communion, their greatly erring, but deeply repentant, brother. His life, ever after, was one of self-denial and jealous watchfulness over himself—blameless and beautiful in its humility and lowly charity. In the latter part of the 8th month 1660, he left London, on foot, to visit his wife and children in Wakefield. As he journeyed on, the sense of a solemn change about to take place, seemed with him—the shadow of the Eternal world fell over him. As he passed through Huntingdon, a Friend who saw him, describes him as "in an awful and weighty frame of mind, as if he had been redeemed from earth, and a stranger off it, seeking a better home and inheritance." A few miles beyond the town he was found, in the dusk of the evening, very ill, and was taken to the house of a friend, who lived not far distant. He died shortly after, expressing

his gratitude for the kindness of his friends, and invoking blessings upon them. About two hours before his death, he spoke to the friend at his bed-side these remarkable words—solemn as Eternity, and beautiful as the love which fills it:

"There is a spirit which I feel which delights to do no evil, nor to avenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end: its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exultation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other: if it be betrayed it bears it, for its ground and spring is the mercy and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned; it takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth with none to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken. I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places of the earth, who through death obtained resurrection and eternal Holy Life."

So died James Nayler. He was buried in "Thomas Parnell's burying ground, at King's Rippen," in a green nook of rural England. Wrong and violence, and temptation and sorrow, and evil-speaking, could reach him no more. And in taking leave of him, let us say, with old Joseph Wyeth, where he touches upon this case in his *Anguis Flagellatus*: "Let none insult, but take heed lest they also, in the hour of their temptation, do fall away."

From the [London] Anti-Slavery Reporter.

The precarious nature of our present relations with the United States has awakened the attention of British politicians to the great importance of obtaining cotton wool from sources which would render England wholly independent of that country for its supplies. At the present time, it may be said, that the largest and most lucrative branch of our home trade, as well as our foreign commerce, would be exposed to serious hazards, should hostilities unhappily break out between the two countries. As the friends of peace—of permanent and universal peace, and in view of those higher considerations which should influence civilized and Christian men, we not only deprecate war, but would use our utmost exertions to

prevent it. War, as it is the greatest evil that can afflict nations during its continuance, is also the greatest crime that they can perpetrate. War, under any pretence, between Great Britain and the United States, would be especially criminal, owing as they do, their origin to a common ancestry, speaking a common language, professing the same religion, and linked together by a thousand ties, which ought never to be broken. We trust divine Providence will so guide their counsels as that peace may be maintained; and the cause of difficulty be amicably and honorably removed.

It is not, however, on the ground of our present relations with the United States, important as that may be in the eyes of politicians, that we should seek our supplies of cotton wool from other countries, but because, in the cultivation of that article, the liberty of nearly three millions of our fellow creatures is trodden under foot, and a despotism, at once the most sordid and the most cruel, built up and consolidated. Who can reflect for a moment on the law and the practice of slavery in the United States without the utmost abhorrence, and without feeling it to be a sacred duty to use every legitimate means for its overthrow?

Our commercial intercourse with the United States has hitherto strengthened the institution of slavery. It has given a new edge to the weapons of oppression, and force to the arms that wielded them. Let us henceforth adopt a wiser and more humane policy, and determine to cripple and destroy that evil to which we have hitherto unhappily given a giant's power.

It is satisfactory to know that cotton wool can now be obtained in large quantities, and of good quality, from various parts of the world, the produce of free labor. British India already sends a large supply to this country and China, and that can be extended to an indefinite extent when the means of cheap and easy transit from the interior to the coast shall be secured by railroads and steam navigation on the rivers. Dr. Wight, the superintendent of the Government Cotton Farms, in the Madras Presidency, in a late communication to the *Morning Chronicle*, speaks in the most confident terms of the successful results of the late experiment with American cotton seed in Southern India. This gentleman says: "In answer to the prevalent opinion among Americans, that all attempts to cultivate American cotton in India has failed, I am now able to state, as the result actually obtained in the course of our experiment during two consecutive years, and neither of these favourable ones, that our lands, when sown at the proper season, are capable of yielding from 1000 to 1200 pounds per acre." In

reference to quality, Dr. Wight observes: "As regards the quality of Indian grown American cotton, I believe that the crop now picking is not inferior to any New Orleans grown on the banks of the Mississippi." And with respect to quantity, he adds: "India is well able to respond to the call of the English manufacturers for supplies. The four southern provinces of the Peninsula—Coimbatore, Salem, Madura, and Tinnivelly—all cotton growing districts, include an area of above 28,500 square miles, 4,000 of which might, nay would, be annually under cotton cultivation in the event of a rise in the price of only one farthing per pound in the local markets. These 4,000 square miles, a mere fraction of India, would, at the rate of 100 pounds per acre of clean cotton, produce 256,000,000 pounds, or more than half the quantity required for home consumption, and that without in the slightest degree interfering with the production of food for their inhabitants." Such being the fact in Southern India, we may add that a still more copious supply can be had from Central India, where experiments in American cotton planting have been carried on with equal if not superior success. We may instance Dharwar in particular, where we learn from the American superintendent that, not only has he completely realized the object the government had in view on the experimental farms, but that the native cotton growers which surround him, are fast imitating his improved mode of cultivation, and purchase all his spare seed. In this district cotton wool can be purchased at one penny per pound. We may add to these gratifying facts, that, in the neighborhood of Dacca, once so celebrated for its beautiful cotton fabrics, a long staple cotton wool has been raised of the most beautiful texture; and there can be no doubt that on the Delta of the Ganges long staple cotton can be grown which shall rival that from the United States. What is wanted is British capital, enterprise, and skill, to effect a complete revolution in our cotton trade, both with respect to supply and cost. Manchester itself can provide all this without difficulty.

Another writer in the *Chronicle* points out the immense good that would result to the people of India if the growth of cotton wool were extensively promoted. "India," he says, "wants railroads, those grand arteries of civilization, which send with life-full energy the blood from the centre to the circumference of all classes, kinds, and condition of aggregated bodies, to stimulate her industry, to fully develop her resources. He further observes: "In the Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commons, we find that the traffic to and from that city amounts to 187,343 tons an-

nually, consisting chiefly of cotton and salt. Bombay is unapproachable, except by a dangerous sea-board, and she sadly wants a medium of easy communication with the great cotton growing districts of the interior. Cotton has now to be transported 500 miles to the coast to reach Bombay for shipment. Here is necessity the first—strong, palpable, and convincing—of the want of railway communication. Some idea may be formed of the destruction and delay occasioned by these long journeys, when we state that the cotton is carried on the backs of oxen at the rate of ten miles a day, which enormously augments its shipping price. The present cost of conveyance is from £14. to £20. per ton, and the charge by railway need not exceed 2d. per ton, per mile, which would amount to about £4. 5s. an enormous difference." Without attributing, as this writer does, so much to railroads, we perfectly agree with him that by reducing the cost of transit, and the saving of human labor and time, they will confer an immense boon on India, and enable it to bring its cotton to market not only in better condition, but at so low a price as effectually to compete with the slave labor produce of America, and we trust to beat it out of the market. Let that be done, and the doom of American slavery is sealed.

Under present circumstances, with all the burdens upon the land, and restraints upon the industry of the natives, and the cost of transport, to which it is gratifying to know the home government is not indifferent, India sends us at present enough cotton wool annually to keep the price of that from the United States at a low figure, and to supersede to a considerable extent, the cotton formerly received from Brazil. And a still further increase in our supplies from India may be anticipated.

Since the last report of Dr. Wight, it appears, 30,000 acres had been put into cultivation, whilst from one acre alone the produce was 700 pounds, and more was to be expected. All that is now wanted to make East India cotton a most valuable export commodity, is the employment of European agents in the India markets to select the best qualities.

INTELLIGENCE.

CONGRESS—The following is the 4th section of the bill to protect the rights of American settlers in Oregon, which was read in the House of Representatives at Washington, on the 17th ult.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That provision shall hereafter be made by law to secure and grant to every white person, male or female, over the age of eighteen years, three hundred and twenty

acres of land; and to every white person, male or female, under the age of eighteen years one hundred and sixty acres of land, who shall have resided in the said territory described in the first section of this act for five consecutive years, to commence within three years from the passage of this act.

Mr. Giddings moved to strike out the word "white." The motion was lost. Subsequently, Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, moved to add to the bill the following section:—

And be it further enacted, That involuntary servitude, except for crimes, shall not exist in the territory of the United States to which this bill relates.

Mr. Tilden moved to add to the section the following:—

"And no distinction shall be made in said territory on account of color." This was lost.

And the question was put on Mr. Winthrop's amendment, and it was also lost; Ayes 59, noes 67.

JAMAICA.—*Cotton*.—We have seen some samples of very beautiful cotton, grown during the past season in St. Andrew's, by Henry Gourgues, Esq., of this city. It appears that Mr. Gourgues has kept in cultivation a small nursery of cotton trees for the last three years, during which period he, each season, has produced beautiful samples. Three years ago, Mr. Gourgues exported the crop of 10½ acres of the staple, and which yielded him a profit of more than £11 per acre. It is indeed a pity that some of our enterprising agriculturists do not engage in the cotton culture. It would, we are assured, be productive of a large return for the outlay, and would prove, that even without growing sugar and coffee our island is a valuable appendage to the British crown.—*Palm-mouth Post*.

PORTUGAL.—The most important subject introduced amongst the Peers since last packet, was a project of law presented by the Duke of Palmella, Conde Lavradio, and Conde Sade Bandeira, for the suppression of slavery in the Portuguese Colonies. The first article declares all children born of slaves to be free from the passing of the present law. The third article declares that all slaves belonging to the state are immediately free. The fifth, that the slaves of private individuals will be free in three years from the passage of the law, the owners to receive indemnity either in money or bills, gradually admissible in the Colonial Custom houses. This project of law has not yet been discussed.—*London Morning Chronicle*.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH 1, 1846.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.—By the request of the Board of Managers of this association we insert their report in our present number, with a synopsis of the proceedings of the association at its late annual meeting. We trust no apology is needed to our readers for thus appropriating so many of our columns. If the rejection of slave productions is admitted to be a duty, it becomes important, and indeed imperative, that proper measures should be adopted to furnish a supply of similar articles, so far as they are necessary, produced by the labour of freemen. We regard this association, therefore, as an essential means in promoting the system which we would establish as a substitute for that of slavery.

The meeting at Clarkson Hall on the evening of the 21st of last month, was attended by a large number of Friends, the house being well filled. The proceedings of the Managers were approved, and appeared to give great satisfaction and encouragement to those present. Several strangers were in attendance from other Yearly Meetings, and it was peculiarly gratifying to have the company of our friends JOSIAH FORSTER, GEORGE STACEY and JOHN ALLEN, from England. The two first have long been members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which has exerted a powerful influence in sustaining the discriminating duties by which the slave-made sugars of Cuba and Brazil are shut out from the English market; and we trust our dear friends will be found, when they return to their homes, not only the advocates of the rejection of slave products by their government, but efficient co-labourers with their fellow-members, whose address we published in the third number of the Non-Slaveholder.

The goods manufactured for the Association will, at present, be deposited with and offered for sale by Thomas S. Field & Co., No. 36 North Front Street, up stairs; for whose advertisement we refer the reader to the appropriate column of this journal.

SLAVERY ABOLISHED BY ABSTINENCE FROM ITS PRODUCTS.—At the late Free Produce Meeting, some friends from a distance, who were acceptably present and gladly heard, expressed in terms of approval their views in regard

to the objects of the association. A suggestion, however, was thrown out by one of them, in the course of his remarks, which called for a brief notice near the close of the meeting, and to which we would now further advert. It was this: that whilst we should certainly and carefully persevere in carrying out the purposes of our association, we should avoid being "so occupied by abstinence as to neglect THE GREAT MEANS of abolishing slavery." These means were understood, from the connection, to be those which are usually resorted to by abolitionists for effecting the overthrow of that evil.

We do not object to the duty of using all means which are just and moral for accomplishing that desirable end. On the contrary, we affirm the duty, and would earnestly incite to a full occupation of the means. We object, however, to the comparison which makes abstinence from the products of slavery an inferior instrumentality in the great work of abolition, and we claim for it a HIGH PRE-EMINENCE. A disconnection from the use of those products has been too much treated as a mere austerity practised by individuals in view of a special call to it, and having for its sole end a trial of their faith in the abandonment of comforts otherwise lawful! This view has made the practice less frequent; is the weak apology for its omission; and has led to the further sentiment, that it is not a mode by which any decided impression can be made upon slavery. Our idea is widely different from this. While we believe that the maintenance of a pure conscience leads to the avoidance of all connection with evil, simply because such connection is wrong, and that abstinence should be primarily founded on a sense of the duty of individual purity, independent of its ulterior effects, just as Honesty is to be pursued apart from a consideration of its policy, its effects we consider, would, not the less, make a startling impression upon slavery.

We believe that it is abstinence only which can rightly concentrate, direct and give force to every other anti-slavery operation. Its foundation upon the rock of conscience and self-sacrifice is sure. They who embrace it, should their best devised schemes fail, have something more than mere expediency to fall back upon. They have a predetermined impregnable defence, behind which to rally their forces, and from which, with renewed confidence and power, to press on to victory. The call to that rally is so clear that it needs no might of intellect, but only a pure heart that will heed—to hear it. The very child that plays around its mother's knee will acknowledge

its power, and shun with noble heroism continual temptations to violate it. It is so free from passion in its nature that its opposers can have no plea for passionately contending against it. They who embrace it in truth must ever press forward with the steady even tread of conscious might, which cannot be foiled by any human power. The slave-master can find no false position or inconsistency to carp at in its advocacy. He cannot even raise the common cry of interference against those whose first object is to keep pure their own souls. The Principle and Deed are perfect in their nature. They cover him who bears them with an armor that the finest Damascus steel of the adversary cannot penetrate, and give him a weapon which pride and love of power cannot long resist. His acts plead when his words are unheeded. They are a silent yet ever stern rebuker of him who, knowing slavery, palliates or upholds it. They call in trumpet tones upon those who know little of it to examine it thoroughly. Abstinence guarantees and ensures the sincerity of him who abstains, and confirms his endurance in the faith. It constantly reminds him that above his money making are claims of suffering humanity that cannot lightly be put aside. It elevates his love to higher pleasures than those of the body. It purifies the whole man, and gives to his other testimony against slavery a noble cast. Not for strife, not for division, does the self-sacrificing man plead for the truth, but that the Truth may be over all. It holds up to the planter no bribe by which Northerners are wont to seduce Southerners to buy, and whip, and make-naked, and starve, and insult, and degrade, and imbrute MEN. It is two-edged, cutting off the inducement to hold slaves, and laying bare to the quickening truth the conscience of him who holds them. By creating a great and increasing, and sure market for free-grown goods, it offers a bounty to the tens of thousands of non-slaveholders at the South to keep heart and hand clear of the unholy system. It will thus raise up and maintain, in the midst of the cotton and sugar plantations and rice swamps, a body of practical abolitionists, such as we firmly believe no other anti-slavery instrumentality can effect. It will not wait for the slow progress of anti-slavery sentiments which are now being transmitted from the hearts of the men of Ohio into those of Kentucky, and by them into those of Tennessee, and by them, finally, into the hearts of the men of the far South; but from the high, pure sky of Truth, it will pour down its blaze of light immediately into the darkest nooks of slave-dom. On every fifty

acre free-labor farm, and by every free-labor cotton gin it shall give to the breeze its banner, beneath whose folds shall rally the stout hearts of poor men, who have no large investments and no old family aristocracy to warp them from the pure truth. By it, no more shall the small farmers of the South move by thousands yearly to the far West, to a land where labor is respectable and profitable. By it shall the hardy enterprising children of Pennsylvania, and New York and Massachusetts, go into the south land, and dwell among her effeminate children, and imbue them with their sentiments. Thus shall Despotism be precluded from concentrating her power in the hands of a few wealthy individuals, as she now bids fair to do, and to build up for herself a tower of defence so connected and strong that nothing short of Divine interference shall be able to rend one stone from its walls. And finally—the abolition which abstinence produces is not that which removes the evil into remoter regions without eradicating it; but it is one co-extensive with the wrong, and competent to its destruction every where, by withdrawing the inducement for its perpetration anywhere. It is an ever-productive abolition, constantly yielding results commensurate with its exertion—not lost in its humblest effort, but carrying relief to some sufferer or sufferers; in its greatest, proclaiming liberty to all. It is a Christian, cross-bearing Abolition, assailing the corrupt tree, by laying the axe to the root of it; which, severed or even impaired, the tree, losing its sap and nourishment, must languish and die!

We ask, is the highly professing Christianity of this age incompetent to such an issue with slavery?—or will it make the issue?—and that speedily?

THE ENGLISH DEPUTATION.—Our friends deputed by the Yearly Meeting at London to visit that of Indiana, and to confer with those of its members who withdrew from its jurisdiction about three years since, having performed the service in conformity with their appointment, expected to embark this day at Boston, on their voyage homeward. They leave behind them many attached friends, who wish them a safe return to their families and connections at home, and a peaceful retrospect of their labours of love in this country. It may yet be too early to discern the fruits of those labours. If the Anti-Slavery Friends did not perceive in this visit all that they expected it to be, they felt at least that it was dictated by and performed in that love which seeks to unite in one the household of faith

and if there was lukewarmness on the part of any members of the ancient Yearly Meeting, touching the subject of slavery, we trust they have been, or will be, incited by it to return to their "first love," and to do their "first works." The parties are certainly left not more distant from each other, and we hope they are so much nearer as that the lines now separating them will not be found to be long impassable.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.—Evidences thicken upon us of the interest which the subject of the disuse of slave produce is exciting among the friends of Abolition every where. The fourth number of the new series of the excellent periodical at the head of this article, contains two papers on the subject. One of them, an editorial, will be found in this number. The other, entitled "Reasons for withdrawing from our trading connection with the American Slaveholders; and a plan of doing so suggested," is mainly a tract issued at Manchester, the great seat of the British Cotton Manufactures, proposing the formation of a Society in that place for the encouragement of the growth of free labour cotton. The subject is luminously treated under the following heads.—As respects the connection with the American Slaveholder.

I.—By this connection, the American Slaveholder has been stimulated to promote and extend the system of American Slavery; and, in so doing, he has made that system one of peculiar enormity.

II.—It is a connection involving us in guilt.

III.—By our not making any effort to withdraw from this connection, we dishonour the Christian religion."

As respects the plan,

"We must endeavour, earnestly and unceasingly endeavour, to obtain from some other and less polluted sources, a supply of cotton cheaper than the American, and of suitable quality."

NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.—We understand that our friends in New York propose to procure an assortment of Free Cotton goods from Philadelphia, and have them on sale during the week of their next Yearly Meeting, for the accommodation of Friends from the country. Notice will probably be given early in that week of the place where the goods may be obtained.

THE SLAVER PONS.—The trial of this vessel took place early in last month, in the District Court of the United States, held in this city, and no claimant appearing, she was condemned. One

half of the proceeds of her sale will be divided among her captors, and the other paid into the Treasury of the United States.

CRUELTY TO SLAVES.—It has been suggested to us that the frequent presentation of the cases of extreme cruelty practised upon slaves, would be more likely to have the effect to draw public attention to the subject of slavery, and move it to an effort for the removal of the evil, than any abstract declamation on the wrongfulness of the system, or the wholesale assertion that it is necessarily one of great cruelty. We have been asked, in this view, to present constantly to the attention of our readers some case or cases of such cruelty, of recent occurrence, and of unquestioned authenticity, in order that the public feeling may be kept alive to the necessity and duty of an immediate remedy; and we have even been requested to make it the primary purpose of our journal to do so. It is probable that if men's hearts were in their right places, the effect would be very powerful of well attested cases of injury, wantonly practised on defenceless slaves, the effect increasing with the number of the cases; but we apprehend that familiarity with cruelty, induced by the constant exhibition of such wrongs, would have the same effect as familiarity with crime generally has—to make us callous to it. If it were not for this consequence, every page of history would be a lesson of peace instead of an incentive to war, and the vices surrounding us the happy promoters of the virtues which should succeed them. The effect of this familiarity with acts of slave torture in the immediate vicinity of their occurrence, is obviously to make them the subject of but brief attention, and to insure impunity to the perpetrators of them. Thus we hear of no punishment inflicted on the murderers of slaves. Even in the aggravated case of the slave Moustache, noticed in our first number, which excited a momentary attention in New Orleans, the scene of the brutal and fatal violence practised upon him, the grand jury ignored the bill presented against Joseph Louapré, the master, though on the mitigated charge of manslaughter. Nearer at home, we think, we perceive the effect of such familiarity, though in a much less degree, in the indifference with which accounts of such cruelty are sometimes apparently read by men of generally good sentiment and sound feeling, and in the remarks they sometimes make justifying a rigour practised upon human beings, at which their hearts would revolt if such rigour were inflicted on the brute creation surrounding them. We shall not, there-

fore, go to the extent of making this journal the especial vehicle of such events. Occasionally, however, their recital may prove monitory and advantageous. We give below, taken from the "True Wesleyan," a respectable Methodist Journal, an account of some cases of high atrocity, the perpetrators of which were professedly church members! The same paper contains other well attested cases of excessive and death-dealing cruelty, and which are, unquestionably, of common occurrence.

FROM THE SOUTH—A SLAVE SHOT.

Dear Brother Lee:—The following is an extract from a letter which I have just received from one of my correspondents in the South, with whom I am well acquainted:

"I hired out two of my negroes to Mr. —, and he attempted to whip one of them about two weeks since. The negro ran—Mr. — took his gun and shot him; did not KILL HIM, but lodged between twenty and thirty shots in him. The doctor informs me that there is a possibility of his getting well. I have been very much alarmed, fearing lest I should lose my property."

Need I inform you that both of the persons, the owner of the negro and the employer, are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is so! This is true, to my personal knowledge, or they were members in 1841. I leave the reader to make such inferences as he may think proper.

The above, however, is quite moderate to many cases I am acquainted with myself in the same section of the country. In the same region where this correspondent lives, there is a man living by the name of B. who was an overseer of one Gen. C's plantation previous to the Florida war. This Mr. B. informed me that during the period of four years that he had charge of the above plantation, "he had killed six of the negroes, and on two occasions he had cut the heads off from two, and stuck them upon poles in the plantation to intimidate the rest." I have seen this same man, who by the bye is a member of the church, take a perforated paddle, and apply it to his own negroes until the blood and flesh would run profusely through the holes.

The cold-blooded murders that take place on the large plantations are indescribable, and I should not wonder that, in the Day of Judgment, it will be found that more cruel tragedies have transpired within the departments of American slavery, than in any system of bloodshed that ever disgraced the history of the world. I could give you quite a list of different circumstances, which I have withheld from publication for two considerations: 1st, the public have so many similar facts; and 2d, the incredibility of such barbarous sacrifices of human life and shedding of blood.

Yours, &c.

WILLIAM H. HOUCK.

POETRY.

THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling,
Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
Startles the villages with strange alarms.

Ah! what a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
When the death-angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal Miserere
Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus,
The cries of agony, the endless groan,
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
Through Cimbric forest roars the Norseman's song,
And loud, amid the universal clamor,
O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who from his palace
Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din,
And Aztec priests upon their teocallis
Beat the wild war-drums made of serpent's skin;

The tumult of each sacked and burning village;
The shout that every prayer for mercy drowns;
The soldiers' revels in the midst of pillage;
The wail of famine in beleaguered towns;

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched asunder,
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
The diapason of the cannonade.

Is it, O man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals nor forts:

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation, that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain!

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, "Peace!"

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

FREE COTTON GOODS.—4-4 Shirtings, bleached and brown; 5-4 Sheetings, do. do., just received from the Manufactory.

In the course of next week we expect 30 pieces coloured Cambrics, assorted colours; 60 do. Calicoes, various patterns, fast colours, belonging to the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Deposited at present with, and for sale by
THOS. S. FIELD & CO.,
No. 36 north Front street, up stairs,

FREE LABOR STORE.—The subscriber having purchased the stock and fixtures of the store at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, of Lydia White, would respectfully inform his friends and those who prefer using the produce of free labor, that he will continue the business as heretofore, and hopes by attention thereto, to merit and receive a continuance of the patronage bestowed on the former occupant.

JOEL FISHER.

THE LONDON FRIEND, now in its fourth year, has an extensive circulation in England and Ireland, and is rapidly increasing in America.

The principles of the Society of Friends and the most recent intelligence connected with it, are the chief objects of the Journal, but it is also the medium of sentiments and information on various philanthropic subjects, as well as respecting literary and other useful pursuits.

The London Friend is published on the 1st of every month, and leaves Liverpool by steamer on the 4th. Price two dollars per annum, including postage to America. Names of subscribers will be received by G. W. TAYLOR, Philadelphia; MAHLON DAY, New York, and SAMUEL BOYCE, Lynn, Massachusetts.

CHOICE FAMILY FLOUR.—The subscriber having opened a family flour store at the new building, No. 35 north Fifth street, corner of Apple-tree alley, respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he is careful to select the very best flour in the market, excepting only such as has been raised or manufactured by the agency of slave labour. Any flour purchased at this establishment delivered free of extra charge, and changed if upon trial it does not give entire satisfaction.

CALEB CLOTHIER.

Philada. 5th mo. 1st, 1846.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Those friends of the cause, who feel disposed to assist the Free Produce Association in procuring and manufacturing free cotton, and in opening a store for the sale of free goods, will please contribute either in the way of a loan without interest, or donations to their fund for those objects. Such contributions will be received by either of the undersigned.

ELIHU PICKERING,	Committee on Finance.
SAMUEL ALLINSON JR.	
THOMAS WISTAR, JR.	
SAMUEL RHOADS,	
GEO. W. TAYLOR.	

FREE COTTON GOODS.

TO accommodate Friends and others who wish to supply themselves with free cotton goods, but cannot conveniently give or lend money to aid in the manufacture, the Finance Committee of Friends' Free Produce Association, propose to receive from such individuals any sum of money they may choose to advance, and furnish them with goods to the same amount when these are ready for sale.

ELIHU PICKERING,	Committee.
S. ALLINSON, JR.	
THOMAS WISTAR, JR.,	
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,	
SAMUEL RHOADS,	

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER is published on the first of each month, at One Dollar per annum, payable in advance, or six copies to one address for five dollars. It may be proper here to remark that pecuniary profit forms no part of our object, and that the whole amount of subscriptions which may be received after paying the expense of publication, will be devoted to the cause of emancipation.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, SAMUEL RHOADS and GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Editors and publishers; either of whom will receive subscriptions, payments, and communications.

By decision of the Post Master General, the Non-Slaveholder is subject to newspaper postage only.

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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1846.

[NO. 6.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

A portion of your readers will recollect the attempt made nearly twenty years ago, by Enoch Lewis to establish an anti-slavery periodical, under the title of "The African Observer." In looking through the first volume of "The Friend" recently, my attention was arrested by the following remarks relative to it, and designed to promote its circulation. I have thought their republication might be useful, and therefore offer them for that purpose.

Notwithstanding the "voices of the few solitary enthusiasts" continued to cry, and many listened to them, yet I believe the general state of public feeling at this day, demands that we should still "fortify our principles against our inclinations, our indolence, and our interests," and that the members of the Society of Friends should arouse themselves to a just appreciation and faithful fulfilment of their individual duties in relation to slavery. The insidious and successful scheme for annexing Texas to the United States, with the view of strengthening and, if possible, perpetuating slavery; the determination manifested in various plans and efforts of southern politicians and slaveholding professors of religion to maintain the unchristian system, as "a part of the laws of Jehovah, and authorized by the head of the Church;" the almost total impracticability of our reaching the conscience of the slaveholders through the medium of the press, and, above all, our religious obligation to "do unto others whatsoever we would they should do unto us," call loudly upon us to withdraw as far as possible from every connection with slavery—to be customers no longer in the market which sustains it.

"The Friend" of 4th month 5th, 1828, in announcing the discontinuance of the African Observer, says: "We consider its suspension a real loss to the public; but the general apathy which prevails in relation to the momentous subject of negro slavery; the unwillingness of those who are involved in the evil to see its mischief exposed, and the inevitable consequences of persisting in it clearly set forth, renders

the number of those who cheerfully support such a work too small to warrant its continuance."

How do these remarks correspond with the opinion now so often expressed, that, at the period alluded to, the people in several of the slave states were upon the point of abolishing slavery, and were only prevented from doing it by the agitation of the subject in the North?

In the Friend of 12th month, 15th, 1827, the following suggestions, in reference to the Observer, appeared:

"The present state of public feeling in the United States on the subject of slavery, is a striking instance of the influence which surrounding objects exert in familiarizing the mind with things that are fitted to excite sensations of the deepest abhorrence.

"A million and a half [now nearly three millions] of human beings are held in chains by men who make a louder boast of their freedom than any other nation on earth; who commenced a bloody war for the sake of abstract principles of liberty, and the unalienable rights of humanity; and the mockery no longer shocks the public feeling. Thirty years ago, the horrors of the African slave trade were the theme of popular declamation from one end of the Union to the other; a slave-trade in many cases as revolting and degrading [and in some of its features far more so,] is now carried on to an enormous extent within our own territories, and it is scarcely noticed but as one of the ordinary incidents of commerce. We are in habits of friendly intercourse with the masters; connected with them by private and social, no less than political ties—they are our best customers for our manufactures and merchandise; their cotton, [their sugar,] their rice, and their tobacco, are indispensable articles of traffic, food and luxury—WE ARE DAILY DERIVING SOME COMFORTS OR PROFIT FROM THE LABOUR OF SLAVES; daily multiplying our relations and connections with the slaveholders. An unwillingness to discuss an unpleasant topic; to offend those whom it is our interest to serve and to please; the suggestion of indolence and timidity, that the

evil is too great to be removed; the apathy, which affects the character of superior discernment, and is in truth but selfishness; *all these motives conspire to render slavery an unpopular theme.* Here it is, and will remain, (it is said) and why trouble ourselves about it? The slaves are happier, say their masters, than many millions of poor in Europe; happier than their freed brethren at home, and why disturb them? *We acquiesce in the conclusion, and turn away from the subject, each one to his own affairs.*

"A few solitary enthusiasts, here and there, lift up their voices in the name of humanity, but who listens to their cry? Occasionally, indeed, a political end is to be gained; a question like that of the Constitution of Missouri is agitated, in which political interests give force and persuasion to the arguments of wisdom, and truth, and justice. But when the excitement of party has subsided, the public apathy returns, and scarcely a voice is heard amid the tumult and stir of the crowd, to plead for the oppressed. The miseries which the slaves suffer, the cruelties to which they are subjected, are inflicted and endured in remote and private places; we only hear as by accident, that misery and cruelty are results of their condition; often we only know it by the reaction which they produce; by the stinging of the trodden worm. The surface of society is smooth and placid; the wheels of government move readily along, and the superficial and the selfish are too willing to be satisfied that 'all is well!'

"It is for these reasons more necessary that we should fortify our principles against our inclinations, our indolence and our interests. The powerful appeals to the heart and imagination, which wrought the overthrow of the slave-trade, cannot now be made. The subject is comparatively dry and didactic, involving details of statistics, and rural and political economy, and needing more the light thrown by cool observers of men and things, than the aid of rhetoric and poetry. Those who now labour, must be content to allow others to reap the rewards of fame. To inform the public mind accurately respecting the present condition of slavery, is the first task to be performed. It is surprising to reflect how little the best informed among us have known on the subject. The recent work of an estimable fellow citizen [G. M. Stroud,] on the laws of slavery, has for the first time portrayed its legal incidents—upon that point it is a treatise of inestimable value, and will form the text book of future inquiries into the subject. The "African Observer" was established in conformity with these views, and is devoted to an impartial examination of slavery as it now

exists in the Union. The editor has pursued his solitary, and almost unassisted labours, with great perseverance and industry; and we know of no publication which contains, in the same space, a greater amount of solid information on this important subject. We are sorry that his journal is not more widely circulated, for it is essential to the success of future exertions in removing this blot from our national character, that the circumstances and incidents of slavery be accurately known. This knowledge can be best gained by establishing and supporting a Journal like the Observer, which shall deserve and gain a character for impartiality and accuracy, and become in time a depository for the observations and suggestions of persons, resident or travelling in the South. It is evident that a Journal of the kind here described, can contain little to amuse the general reader—it takes higher ground—it rests its claim for support upon the sobriety of its views and the accuracy of its information. It appeals to the understanding of practical and patriotic men. It hopes, by accumulating facts; by settling principles; by investigating, reasoning, detecting and exposing, to prepare intelligent persons for a full discussion of the great question of emancipation, when the public mind shall be prepared for the decision which must one day be made. It is for this purpose that we are anxious that the African Observer should be supported. The good which it will be able to effect may seem to some remote and conditional; for the dreadful catastrophe of a general insurrection may overtake us in the midst of our schemes of emancipation. Yet those who feel on this subject as men of sound principle and Christian charity, are aware that all useful reforms must spring from a correct knowledge of the existing relations of slavery; that the first efforts to gain this, must be unpromising and ill rewarded; and that nothing but the perseverance of Christian principle will accomplish the end. But what will the labour of the most devoted individual avail, if there are none to cheer him in his task; no friendly greetings, no return of sympathy to show that he does not toil on unregarded?

"Our design, in this cursory notice of the Observer, has been to show the obligation which rests upon philanthropists, to support a journal of this character. We shall make occasional extracts in our future numbers, from the work itself; and by so doing, justify the opinion we have given of its merits, and induce, we hope, many of the subscribers to the Friend, to become the supporters of the African Observer."

These suggestions, clear and urgent as they

were, did not effect the purpose of obtaining for the "Observer" the patronage necessary to its continuance. It is extraordinary that a periodical so well conducted, in all those circumstances in which we have undertaken to read lessons of instructions to the anti-slavery press, should have failed among a people themselves professing to be highly anti-slavery. It did fail, however, and that failure may be admonitory of the issue of all similar enterprises amongst us. Still the truths which are contained in those remarks cannot perish, and they may have been recorded to give impulse to your enterprise. Their republication is suggested by such a hope.

BENEZET.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

R—, (ILL.,) MARCH 20, 1846.

Friends!—Such I call all men who are engaged in any of the various modes now on foot for abolishing slavery. I to-day had the pleasure of seeing the "Non-Slaveholder," published by you—and sent to this post office for several Friends of this neighbourhood. I shall take pleasure in distributing them, and trust that the paper will do good. I, as an abolitionist, can recognise the "Non-Slaveholder" as a co-worker worthy of commendation. I was raised in the South, in a small neighbourhood of Friends, and from my earliest childhood remember that that little band of simple Quakers, was distinguished as anti-slavery men—not merely in theory, but in practice also. They owned no slaves, hired no slave labour when the master was to receive the pay, bought no slave labour produce, distributed anti-slavery publications, not only among themselves, but among their neighbours also, talked with their neighbours on the subject, and preached on the subject, and made it a special duty at every election, to inquire what were the principles and practice of the candidates on that question. They and others held meetings and organised an abolition society—and I have reason to know that this little society, mainly established by Friends, did good. Beside the measures already named, the society reclaimed hundreds of kidnapped free negroes, and since its organization there have been hundreds of slaves liberated in that county—and to this day, although the little band of Quakers have removed, their labours continue to bear fruit, and that county is a check to slavery, though in the very heart of it, sends an anti-slavery member to the Legislature, and is whig when democratic candidates are more pro-slavery, and vice versa; and the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian Churches of that vicinity are

more anti-slavery than the same churches in other places. All these results I must attribute to the agency of that little Society of Friends, not exceeding a dozen families; and had every county of the United States such a little society as that, fifty years hence could not fail to usher in a jubilee. But on leaving the sunny South, it was my fortune to settle near a large Society of Friends; these were from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, &c. But I can scarcely recognise them as Friends, so very different are they on that question. Like other people I see them eat and wear slave labour; like other people I see them refuse to circulate anti-slavery publications, or to form or countenance anti-slavery associations, and I doubt whether one of your papers will be subscribed for in this neighborhood; like other people I have heard them join in condemnation of distinguished anti-slavery men; like other sects in this country some of them are anti-slavery and some pro-slavery, though none of them I believe, justify slavery, yet many of them say (as is fashionable,) "it will never do to turn them [the slaves] loose among us," "the master must be paid for his property," &c.; but these results instead of staying the efforts of anti-slavery men, should call out redoubled zeal and effort, and therefore I hail the "Non-Slaveholder" as a messenger of good from a source that will be heard.

The Church action of the Society of Friends is good, and is producing good fruits, but is this a cause why that people should stand still on the fence of the harvest field, while others are toiling through the heat of the day? because those other laborers were a few years ago behind in the work, shall they now lead on the glorious cause without your aid?

There are three means or weapons that may legally and peaceably be wielded, for or against slavery. Thus I hold that when a man joins a pro-slavery church, and uses no means to change that society, that man supports slavery. When a man buys goods and hires labour and makes no preference in favor of free goods and labour, that man contributes his mite in support of slavery. When a man goes to the polls and rejects a Liberty man and votes for a pro-slavery man, that man contributes his mite in support of slavery.

Thus by the use of these three means, a small number of active men may wield an influence that the world will feel. Hence I hail all those who employ either or all those means, as collaborators in the glorious cause.

Yours truly,

For the Non-Slaveholder.

FAIRS.

That a righteous testimony against the grievous sin of slavery should be continuously upheld by all professed followers of the merciful One who came to "undo the heavy burdens," to "let the oppressed go free," and "to break every yoke,"—must be the sincere desire of every one from whose heart is breathed the aspiration, "Thy will be done!" Though many Christian men and women may differ from me as to the mode of bearing this testimony, I cannot understand, and I will not readily believe, that it is to them any more than to myself a matter of indifference. Nor is it of small importance that all who seek as religionists, as moralists, or as philanthropists, the spread of truth and right, and the annihilating of error and wrong, should, by close investigation into their own motives of action, thus trying their deeds in the true light, aim at the avoidance of all violation of pure principle mingled with their intended good.

A notice has appeared in the British Friend, and also one more brief in the London Friend, of an Anti-Slavery Fair proposed to be holden in Philadelphia "next year, for the benefit of the Liberty Party;"—and the names are given of six Friends* to whom it may be supposed the following sentence is designed to apply,—"they intend to make a great and general effort." This notice is extracted from a private letter, probably not designed for publication, written by a highly valued personal friend of the individuals referred to, and addressed to a much esteemed friend in England. The reference to the individuals therein named, (of whom the writer of these remarks is one, and for several of whom he can speak,) was not authorised by them, nor, perhaps, was it needful that it should be in a private letter, as it was probably based upon a knowledge of their deep interest in the cause of abolition, and a conviction that they would faithfully pay over any contributions which might be sent to them in trust for the above purpose. *The writer has no fault to find with any one in this matter.* Mistakes are readily made, and, where good feeling exists, they are easily rectified. I do not know whether any of the friends referred to would feel free to originate a fair. There are some of them who would decidedly object to being concerned in one. It may be that some, who had not previously given to the subject a thorough investigation, have felt startled at seeing their names in print in con-

*There is I believe no ground for supposing that that this effort was to be made exclusively or chiefly by members of the Society of Friends.

nection with a mode of action meant to be purely benevolent, but to which the deliberate sanction of their religious judgment had not been given, and for the unequivocal advocacy of which they were not fully prepared. It may be said of some of them that they had never had connection with a "fair;" while others, who may have acted upon an impulse, could not feel themselves as individuals released from a present responsibility, because they had not yet seen "a more excellent way." The writer for himself must withdraw the identification of his name with "the Liberty Party." Having long conscientiously refrained from voting for Slaveholders, it is nevertheless undesirable to him to be placed by others in a position which he has not selected for himself. And this having been done, will it not be admitted that he has thus obtained a right to express his dissent from a course of which he is made publicly to appear the advocate?

It would be unjust and ungenerous were I to confound any of the anti-slavery fairs which have been held in Philadelphia with those in which raffling or "illegal gambling," exorbitant overcharges, or other deviations from strict integrity have been practised; fully believing as I do that these errors have been carefully guarded against, and that the conductors of them have considered themselves simply as engaged in an honest business partnership, the whole profits of which were to be applied to a charitable purpose.

In guarding against those deviations into which a benevolent zeal may lead, but from which there is a simple and sure preservative, it is the part alike of christianity and of philosophy to pursue such a mild and rational course as may have the effect at once of convincing the judgment and cherishing those amiable sensibilities which may have been misdirected. And let none, in pointing out the minor errors of others, seek to screen themselves in still greater deviations from "quaker thoroughness." Such would it be, as I conceive, to proscribe those whose sympathy for the bondman makes it painful to them to use the product of his unrequited labours; or to throw wide open to the slaveholder the incentives of commerce; or to swell the evil current upon which the slaveholding or pro-slavery candidate seeks to float into office. Whilst it is right and attainable for each one to know for himself the path of individual duty, perhaps there can scarcely be found among the disciples of the great Exemplar, a safer model for the abolitionist than is presented in the life of the meek philanthropist WOOLMAN. How desirable is it that we should endeavour, by guards on every point, to preserve

inviole that tenderness of conscience in which he was enabled to walk in the light, favoured with "a certain evidence of divine Truth," bearing a testimony to it far in advance of most of his brethren of that day or of this. And whilst we should certainly seek to be clothed upon with a like spirit of condescension and humility,

"Slow to reproach, forbearing in the right,"

we can scarcely believe in the genuineness of his testimony against slavery, and suppose that it ought to be in any respect abated by the generation which has succeeded him.

Burlington, 5th mo., 1846.

W. J. A.

SELECTIONS.

BIRDS.

BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

There is nothing which makes me feel the imprisonment of a city, like the absence of birds. Blessings on the little warblers! Lovely types are they of all winged and graceful thoughts. Dr. Follen used to say, 'I feel dependent for a vigorous and hopeful spirit on now and then a kind word, the loud laugh of a child, or the silent greeting of a flower.' Fully do I sympathize with this utterance of his gentle and loving spirit; but more than the benediction of the flower, more perhaps than even the mirth of childhood, is the clear, joyous note of the bird a refreshment to my soul.

'The birds! the birds of summer hours,
They bring a gush of glee,
To the child among the fragrant flowers,
To the sailor on the sea.
We hear their thrilling voices
In their swift and airy flight,
And the inmost heart rejoices
With a calm and pure delight.
Amid the morning's fragrant dew,
Amidst the mists of even,
They warble on, as if they drew
Their music down from Heaven.
And when their holy anthems
Come pealing through the air,
Our hearts leap forth to meet them,
With a blessing and a prayer.'

But alas! like the free voices of fresh youth, they come not on the city air. Thus should it be; where mammon imprisons all thoughts and feelings that would fly upward, their winged types should be in cages too. Walk down Mulberry street, and you may see, in one small room, hundreds of little feathered songsters, each hopping about restlessly in his gilded and garlanded cage, like a dyspeptic merchant in his marble mansion. I always turn my head away when I

pass; for the sight of the little captives goes through my heart like an arrow. The darling little creatures have such visible delight in freedom;

'In the joyous song they sing;
In the liquid air they cleave;
In the sunshine; in the shower;
In the nests they weave.'

I seldom see a bird encaged, without being reminded of Petion, a truly great man, the popular idol of Haiti, as Washington is of the United States.

While Petion administered the government of the island, some distinguished foreigner sent his little daughter a beautiful bird, in a very handsome cage. The child was delighted, and with great exultation exhibited the present to her father. 'It is indeed very beautiful, my daughter,' said he; 'but it makes my heart ache to look at it. I hope you will never show it to me again.'

With great astonishment, she inquired his reasons. He replied, 'When this island was called St. Domingo, we were all slaves. It makes me think of it to look at that bird; for he is a slave.'

The little girl's eyes filled with tears, and her lips quivered, as she exclaimed, 'Why, father! he has such a large, handsome cage; and as much as he ever can eat and drink.'

'And would you be a slave,' said he, 'if you could live in a great house, and be fed on frosted cake?'

After a moment's thought, the child began to say half reluctantly, 'Would he be happier, if I opened the door of his cage?' 'He would be free!' was the emphatic reply. Without another word, she took the cage to the open window, and a moment after, she saw her prisoner playing with the humming-birds among the honey-suckles.

One of the most remarkable cases of instinctive knowledge in birds was often related by my grand-father, who witnessed the fact with his own eyes. He was attracted to the door, one summer day, by a troubled twittering, indicating distress and terror. A bird, who had built her nest in a tree near the door, was flying back and forth with the utmost speed, uttering wailing cries as she went. He was at first at a loss to account for her strange movements; but they were soon explained by the sight of a snake slowly winding up the tree.

Animal magnetism was then unheard of; and whosoever had dared to mention it, would doubtless have been hung on Witch's Hill, without benefit of clergy. Nevertheless, marvellous and altogether unaccountable stories had been told of

the snake's power to charm birds. The popular belief was that the serpent charmed the bird by looking steadily at it; and that such a sympathy was thereby established, that if the snake was struck, the bird felt the blow, and writhed under it.

These traditions excited my grandfather's curiosity to watch the progress of things; but being a humane man, he resolved to kill the snake before he had a chance to despoil the nest. The distressed mother meanwhile continued her rapid movements and troubled cries; and he soon discovered that she went and came continually, with something in her bill, from one particular tree—a white ash. The snake wound his way up; but the instant his head came near the nest, his folds relaxed, and he fell to the ground rigid, and apparently lifeless. My grandfather made sure of his death by cutting off his head, and then mounted the tree to examine into the mystery. The snug little nest was filled with eggs, and covered with leaves of the white ash!

The little bird knew, if my readers do not, that contact with the white ash is deadly to a snake. This is no idle superstition, but a veritable fact in natural history. The Indians are aware of it, and twist garlands of white ash leaves about their ankles, as a protection against rattlesnakes. Slaves often take the same precaution when they travel through swamps and forests, guided by the north star; or to the cabin of some poor white man, who teaches them to read and write by the light of pine splinters, and receives his pay in 'massa's' corn or tobacco.

I have never heard any explanation of the effect produced by the white ash; but I know that settlers in the wilderness like to have these trees round their log houses, being convinced that no snake will voluntarily come near them. When touched with the boughs, they are said to grow suddenly rigid, with strong convulsions; after a while they slowly recover, but seem sickly for some time.

The following well authenticated anecdote has something wonderfully human about it:

A parrot had been caught young, and trained by a Spanish lady, who sold it to an English sea-captain. For a time the bird seemed sad among the fogs of England, where birds and men all spoke to her in a foreign tongue. By degrees, however, she learned the language, forgot her Spanish phrases, and seemed to feel at home. Years passed on, and found Pretty Poll the pet of the captain's family. At last her brilliant feathers began to turn grey with age; she could take no food but soft pulp, and had not strength enough to mount her perch. But no one had the heart to

kill the old favourite, she was entwined with so many pleasant household recollections. She had been some time in this feeble condition, when a Spanish gentleman called one day to see her master. It was the first time she had heard the language for many years. It probably brought back to memory the scenes of her youth in that beautiful region of vines and sunshine. She spread forth her wings with a wild scream of joy, rapidly ran over the Spanish phrases, which she had not uttered for years, and fell down dead.

There are different theories on the subject of instinct. Some consider it a special revelation to each creature; others believe it is founded on traditions handed down among animals, from generation to generation, and is therefore a matter of education. My own observation, two years ago, tends to confirm the latter theory. Two barn-swallows came into our wood-shed in the spring time. Their busy, earnest twitterings led me at once to suspect that they were looking out a building spot; but as a carpenter's bench was under the window, and frequent hammering, sawing, and planing were going on, I had little hope they would choose a location under our roof. To my surprise, however, they soon began to build in the crotch of a beam, over the open door-way. I was delighted, and spent more time in watching them, than 'penny-wise' people would have approved. It was, in fact, a beautiful little drama of domestic love.

The father-bird scarcely ever left the side of the nest. There he was, all day long, twittering in tones that were most obviously the outpourings of love. Sometimes he would bring in a straw, or a hair, to be interwoven in the precious little fabric. One day my attention was arrested by a very unusual twittering, and I saw him circling round with a large downy feather in his bill. He bent over the unfinished nest, and offered it to his mate with the most graceful and loving air imaginable; and when she put up her mouth to take it, he poured forth such a gush of glad sound! It seemed as if pride and affection had swelled his heart, till it was almost too big for his little bosom. The whole transaction was the prettiest piece of fond coquetry, on both sides, that it was ever my good luck to witness.

It was evident that the father-bird had formed correct opinions on 'the woman question'; for during the process of incubation he volunteered to perform his share of household duty. Three or four times a day would he, with coaxing twitterings, persuade his patient mate to fly abroad for food; and the moment she left the eggs, he would take the maternal station, and give a loud

alarm whenever a cat or dog came about the premises. He certainly performed the office with far less ease and grace than she did; it was something in the stile of an old bachelor tending a babe; but nevertheless it showed that his heart was kind, and his principles correct, concerning division of labour. When the young ones came forth, he pursued the same equalizing policy, and brought at least half the food for his greedy little family.

But when they became old enough to fly, the veriest misanthrope would have laughed to watch their manœuvres! Such chirping and twittering! Such diving down from the nest, and flying up again! Such wheeling round in circles, talking to the young ones all the while! Such clinging to the sides of the shed with their sharp claws, to show the timid little fledgelings that there was no need of falling!

For three days all this was carried on with increasing activity. It was obviously an infant flying school. But all their talking and fussing was of no avail. The little downy things looked down, and then looked up, and, alarmed at the infinity of space, sunk down into the nest again. At length the parents grew impatient, and summoned their neighbours. As I was picking up chips one day, I found my head encircled with a swarm of swallows. They flew up to the nest, and chatted away to the young ones; they clung to the walls, looking back to tell how the thing was done; they dived, and wheeled, and balanced, and floated, in a manner perfectly beautiful to behold.

The pupils were evidently much excited. They jumped up on the edge of the nest, and twittered, and shook their feathers, and waved their wings; and then hopped back again, saying, 'It's pretty sport, but we can't do it.'

Three times their neighbours came in and repeated their graceful lessons. The third time, two of the young birds gave a sudden plunge downward, and then fluttered and hopped, till they alighted on a small upright log. And oh, such praises as were warbled by the whole troop! The air was filled with their joy! Some were flying round, swift as a ray of light; others were perched on the hoe-handle, and the teeth of the rake; multitudes clung to the wall, after the fashion of their pretty kind; and two were swinging, in most graceful style, on a pendant hoop. Never, while memory lasts, shall I forget that swallow party! I have frolicked with blessed Nature much and often; but this, above all her gambols, spoke into my inmost heart, like the glad voices of little children. That beautiful

family continued to be our playmates, until the falling leaves gave token of approaching winter. For some time, the little ones came home regularly to their nest at night. I was ever on the watch to welcome them, and count that none were missing. A sculptor might have taken a lesson in his art, from those little creatures perched so gracefully on the edge of their clay-built cradle, fast asleep, with heads hidden under their folded wings. Their familiarity was wonderful. If I hung my gown on a nail, I found a little swallow perched on the sleeve. If I took a nap in the afternoon, my waking eyes were greeted by a swallow on the bed-post; in the summer twilight, they flew about the sitting room in search of flies, and sometimes lighted on chairs and tables. I almost thought they knew how much I loved them. But at last they flew away to more genial skies, with a whole troop of relations and neighbours. It was a deep pain to me, that I should never know them from other swallows, and that they would have no recollection of me. We had lived so friendly together, that I wanted to meet them in another world, if I could not in this; and I wept, as a child weeps at its first grief.

There was somewhat, too, in their beautiful life of loving freedom which was a reproach to me. Why was not my life as happy and as graceful as theirs? Because they were innocent, confiding, and unconscious, they fulfilled all the laws of their being without obstruction.

'Inward, inward to thy heart,
Kindly Nature, take me;
Lovely, even as thou art,
Full of loving make me.
Thou knowest nought of dead cold forms,
Knowest nought of littleness;
Lifelike truth thy being warms,
Majesty and earnestness.'

The old Greeks observed a beautiful festival, called 'The Welcome of the Swallows.' When these social birds first returned in the spring-time, the children went about in procession, with music and garlands; receiving presents at every door, where they stopped to sing a welcome to the swallows, in that graceful old language, so melodious even in its ruins, that the listener feels as if the brilliant azure of Grecian skies, the breezy motion of their olive groves, and the gush of their silvery fountains, had all passed into a monument of liquid and harmonious sounds.

Letters from New York,

THE POET COWPER.

The mind of this admirable writer was marked with the genuine traits which distinguish a poetical from other minds. He is, it is true, not to be

compared with the great masters of the art, whose lofty and creative imaginations place them in a sphere of their own, but he had a power of collecting the scenes and harmonies of nature into the focus of his own heart, and of imbuing them there with light and grace. He had an intensity and delicacy of feeling which made him perceive what is most beautiful in the complicated character of humanity, and he had that intuitive sense of the mind's action, which enabled him to present to others the objects and sentiments which influence with the greatest strength. By these qualities of his intellect, by the tenderness of his heart, and the extreme susceptibility of his nature, he was possessed of all the qualities, with the exception of a powerful imagination, which form the character of a poet; and in being denied the stronger excitements of fancy, he seems to have been formed by Providence to produce the works he composed. He was endowed with all the powers which a poet could want who was to be the moralist of the world—the reprove, but not the satirist of men—the teacher of simple truths, which were to be rendered gracious without endangering their simplicity.

AMERICAN CHRISTIANS! LOOK HERE!

The following extract of a letter from D. L. Brayton, an American Baptist Missionary among the Karens, is from the Boston Christian Reflector. It appears the Karens are afraid to become Christians lest the Missionaries should carry them off into slavery! Besides slavery is as deadly in its influence on Religion as it is pernicious in Politics.—*Tribune*.

MERCUR, Oct. 27, 1845.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Will you or some of your valuable correspondents, tell me how to meet the following objection, which I have to meet wherever I go among the wild Karens? "If we become disciples, when you get a large number of us, you intend to entice us away and make slaves of us in your own country." This objection is often urged with as much seriousness and confidence as though they were actually acquainted with the system of American slavery. Did these ignorant, but *slave hating* heathen, but know the slaveholding character of the American Churches would they not say to our faces, "Go back, thou hypocrite—Go back, and teach the heathen of your own country, and give them the Bible, before you come here to impose upon us." I am fully persuaded, that did they know it, this would in substance be the language of many a wild Karen.

Will not the Karens become, acquainted with

the history of American slavery? I see not how it can possibly be avoided.

Some of their young men are learning our language; becoming acquainted with our books, papers, &c. And when they once begin to get the idea, they will not cease their importunities until they know its history. And when it is once known, it will spread like wild-fire among the people. Sometime since, I noticed in a public paper the following remark as coming from Brother Kincaid: "if the heathen were aware of the slaveholding character of our Churches, by whom the Missionaries are sent out, the usefulness of the Missionaries would be at an end." Now I should not be willing to go quite so far as this, and say that their usefulness would be at an end. But I most sincerely believe, that the strength of the Missionary's arm would be *sadly paralyzed*.

I thought I felt interested for the slave before I left my native land; but during the eight years since I left it and came to this heathen country, I have been witnessing the amount of men and money employed in behalf of the heathen of these provinces, and how small their number compared to the slaves of the United States of *free and independent* America. According to the Census of Government in 1840, the whole population of these provinces, including Malay—Chinese—Siamese and Tounghoos, (who never have any Missionary,) was 115,000, not *one-twentieth* the number of oppressed heathen in that land of boasted freedom and Christianity. And what is the amount of means used in behalf of this population? There are on the ground at present thirteen Missionaries and their wives, and one single female. According to what statistics I have before me, the whole expense cannot be less than \$20,000 a year, and I believe it must be considerably more than that. Don't understand me to convey the idea that we have a superabundance of labor and money. *No! indeed.* Almost every department of labor among us is suffering for want of reinforcement. In many instances we cannot employ assistants and have schools for want of money. Had we twice the amount of men and money, there would be an abundance of work to be done. But when I think of it, in connection with American slavery, and think of the slaveholder holding the Bible from his own people, and yet apparently anxious to give the same to the heathen, my heart sickens, while it seems as though I had been dreaming over the subject of American slavery. Would that we might all awake, and wash our hands from this *awful pollution*!

D. L. BRAYTON.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH 1, 1846.

BRITISH ABSTINENCE.—We briefly adverted in our first number to the extensive abstinence from the products of slave labor, which prevailed in Great Britain in the years 1791–1792, and which, we doubted not, essentially promoted the abolition of the British slave-trade. We then suggested that we would take another opportunity for showing the fatal error which the abolitionists subsequently committed in leaving the simple ground of avoiding the use of those productions, and we now appear to redeem that pledge.

The hope we then expressed that we should ere long be furnished with an interesting account of the abstinence referred to, has not yet been realized. The circumstance, however, is related by Thomas Clarkson, in his history of the abolition of that trade; and, without any further information than this history contains, is highly interesting.

When in the year 1791, Wilerforce's motion for the abolition of the slave-trade was lost in the House of Commons, by an overwhelming majority, the friends of the cause soon directed their attention to the means which were still in their power. Two pamphlets appeared which inculcated abstinence from the productions of slave labour as a moral duty. They exhibited to view the undeniable truth, that if each individual would abstain from the products of West Indian slave labour, the inducement to continue the traffic in slaves would be withdrawn. This was represented as a peaceable and constitutional measure; and being obviously within the power of all, at least to a considerable extent, was now adopted by many of the opponents of slavery and the slave-trade.

The principal article then brought into the market, exclusively by the labour of slaves, was sugar; and the abstinence to which the abolitionists resorted, applied chiefly to it. Clarkson being about this time engaged in a visit to most parts of England and Wales, observes, "There was no town, through which I passed, in which was not some one individual who had left off the use of sugar. In the smaller towns there were from ten to fifty, by estimation, and in the larger, from two to five hundred, who had made this sacrifice to virtue. These were of all ranks and parties. Rich and poor, churchmen and dissenters, had adopted the measure. Even grocers had left off trading in the article, in some places. In gentlemen's families, where the master had set the example, the

servants had often voluntarily followed it; and even children, who were capable of understanding the history of the sufferings of the Africans, excluded, with the most virtuous resolution, the sweets, to which they had been accustomed, from their lips. By the best computation I was able to make, from notes taken down in my journey, no fewer than three hundred thousand persons had abandoned the use of sugar."* Here was probably a demand for upwards of three million of pounds a year, cut off, by a relatively small part of the population of that island. This was unquestionably a good beginning, and if it had been followed up, would no doubt have produced important results, not only within the British dominions, but in all the countries where the productions of slave labour are brought into the market.

But the important error committed by abolitionists, seems to have been, that their attention was directed rather to the slave trade, than to slavery itself. Granville Sharpe, though he was a long time chairman of the society for the abolition of the slave trade, does not appear to have approved of their procedure in confining their efforts to the abolition of the trade, instead of attacking the great radical evil on which that traffick depended.† The object in view, unquestionably, was the eventual extinction of slavery, and that was the expected result of the abolition of the traffick. The assiduity with which the attack upon that odious system of piracy was conducted, demand, our highest admiration; and the judgment adopted in 1787, to select the abolition of the traffick as the great object of their labour was founded upon such knowledge of the subject as they then possessed. But subsequent experience has sufficiently proved, that while a market remains where human beings can be sold, means will be found to supply it. And we may add, that while a market remains where the productions of extorted and uncompensated labour can be sold, there is reason to fear that such labour will be used to produce them. The impracticability of securing good treatment to the slaves in the islands, while the slave-trade remained, which the abolitionists foresaw and which furnished one of the motives for commencing with the trade,‡ was found to exist after, as well as before its legal abolition. Again, the slave-trade was assailed, not merely because of the abominable cruelty with which it was prosecuted, but because of the

* Vol. II, p. 273; Phila. edition.

† Stuart's Life of G. Sharpe; p. 47.

‡ Hist. of Abolition, vol. I, p. 231.

intrinsic injustice of the whole system of slavery. The cruelty of the measure, unquestionably, gave to the abolitionists a stronger hold on the feelings of the community than if a little humanity had been blended with the traffick, yet those who understood the subject, and judged upon Christian principles, must have been convinced that nothing less than the extinction of slavery, by the most direct and peaceable means, could satisfy the demands of justice.

There is little reason to doubt, that the mass of the English nation, at the time when this abstinence from sugar took place, were friendly to the abolition, both of slavery and the slave-trade. But men are roused to action by their feelings, rather than their judgment. The abominations of the traffick being placed in bold relief before the people, by the publication of the testimony elicited by the House of Commons, a feeling of abhorrence was excited, which displayed itself in a flood of petitions for the abolition of the trade, and the abstinence from the use of sugar, to which we have adverted. But that abstinence seemed to have been used rather as a means of arresting the traffick in slaves, than as the expression of a fixed and inflexible determination to withdraw from the support of slavery itself.

With the highest respect for the judgment, as well as the integrity, of those virtuous men who devoted so large a portion of their time and strength to the abolition of the Anglo-African trade, we must be permitted to suppose that a little more attention to the primary evil of slavery, and to the means by which it must be supported, would have indicated a clearer insight into the proper principles of action, and have produced more important results in regard to the slavery of our day.

As all the great, and most of the small portions of christendom have denounced the African slave-trade, and, two at least, have branded it as piracy, without attempting to draw a distinction between its usually murderous method of prosecution, and the most humane of which it is susceptible, these governments have virtually condemned the whole system of African slavery. And in this they were, no doubt, behind the general mass of the people. Probably in 1792, no opposition would have been made by the community in general, on either side of the Atlantic, to any constitutional expression of aversion to slavery, which their governments could then utter. Slavery being a forced and unnatural state, the approbation of it is of artificial growth. No rational man, whose mind is not warped by habit or interest, believes it consistent with the design of our merciful Creator, that man should be held as the absolute property of man. But as

habit and interest unquestionably reconcile many upright minds to an approval of slavery, so the same causes may, no doubt, reconcile many, who are equally upright, to the free and customary use of the products of slavery, although they conscientiously believe that the holding of slaves is clearly wrong.

It is needless to expatiate in this place, upon the argument, adduced in a preceding number of this paper,* that the whole system of slavery depends upon the demands for the products of slave labour. The proposition, that slaves would cease to be held, if the produce of unrequited toil could not find a market, is too clear for argument. If now we suppose that the advocates of the black man in 1792 had taken and steadily maintained the ground that abstinence as far as practicable from all the products of slave labour was a necessary part of the duty devolving on opponents of slavery; and had kept the supply of the market by free labour prominently in the view, both of the people and the government, would not their proceedings have exhibited a more consistent whole than they now do?

It is a serious question, worthy of mature consideration, whether we can consistently profess a conscientious opposition to the holding of slaves, and, at the same time, have no scruple with regard to the traffick or consumption, on which the vitality of slavery depends. The system of slavery, like any other system, should be regarded as a whole. To get clear of it consistency seems to require that we should support none of its parts.

To return then to 1792, and suppose the abstinence from the slave grown products to have been kept steadily in view, what may we conjecture the result would have been?

The great staples of the British West Indies at that time were sugar, rum, coffee, and cotton; of which we find there were exported to Great Britain in 1787, five years before this time, 1,923,989 cwt. of sugar, 2,251,228 galls. of rum, 30,275 cwt. of coffee, and 9,287,514 lbs. of cotton.†

Of the sugar thus carried to Great Britain, a part was no doubt re-exported, but we have no date at hand to determine how much. This was unquestionably all produced by slave labour, and probably employed at least 120,000 slaves to cultivate it. Under the system pursued in the sugar islands, during the existence of slavery, it is well known that the slaves did not keep up their numbers by natural increase. The reduction of the demand for slave grown sugar must have operated, as far as it went, to diminish the exactions upon the

* See Address, on pages 6 and 7.
† Edward's West Indies, Vol. 1.

slaves, or to create a demand for the same article through the instrumentality of free labour. The necessary effect, of keeping the idea of abstaining from the products of slave labour, prominently before the public, as a necessary part of the plan for the extinction of slavery, must have been to enhance the price of free and reduce that of slave sugar. The same voice of the nation which eventually impelled the government to abolish the traffick in slaves, would probably have prevented a duty from being levied upon the free grown sugars of the East, to favour the sale of the slave grown products of the West. From the facility with which the youthful mind embraces an obvious truth, when fairly presented, compared with the tendency observable in the old to adhere to the opinions and principles of their youth,* we may fairly presume that the rising generation might have been readily drawn to act upon the conviction that the substitution of free for slave produce is an essential element of every plan which is designed to extirpate the system of slavery. More than fifty years have passed since this abstinence from slave grown sugar occurred, during which time a new generation has arisen in Great Britain, of whom an overwhelming majority are unquestionably opposed to slaveholding. Had they grown up with the conviction that the only consistent course by which they could manifest their aversion to slavery, was to withhold their support from the markets of slave grown produce, it may be fairly questioned whether any article, known to be extorted from the drudgery of slaves, would, at this day, have found a market in the United Kingdom.

The effect and the necessity of time, to accomplish any important improvement in the habits and opinions of the community, are forcibly illustrated by the fact that nearly fifty years of persevering labour were required to clear the Society of Friends from the practice of trafficking in the persons of men. During that time a generation arose which had not grown old in the practice; and those who had, were generally removed by death. How slowly must improvements have advanced in the days of Methuselah!

But the article which has exercised the most powerful influence upon slavery, particularly in the United States, is cotton. The quantity imported

into Great Britain from her West Indian possessions, in 1787, appears as above to have been a little over nine millions of pounds. The whole quantity imported in that year is stated at 22 millions, which in 1792 appears to have risen to 35 millions.* Of this a very small part was supplied by the United States, for the whole produce of the year is stated at three millions of pounds.† The invention of the cotton gin, which took place about the year 1793, gave a new impetus to the culture of cotton. By this gin, impelled by water, and attended by three persons, an amount of cotton was cleared of seed, which had previously employed three thousand pair of hands.‡ The cultivation of cotton, mostly by slave labour, advanced so rapidly that in 1800, the quantity raised in the United States, is given at 35 millions of pounds; of which 16 millions were sent to England; and the whole import of that country was then 56 millions. From that time to 1840 we find the quantity raised. The exports to Great Britain, and whole British imports as below.

	Crop of the U. States. lbs.	Export to G. Britain. lbs.	Whole British Import. lbs.
1810	85,000,000	36,000,000	132,500,000
1820	160,000,000	90,000,000	147,500,000
1830	350,000,000	210,000,000	259,750,000
1840	790,479,257	560,955,000§	

A writer quoted in the Farmer's Encyclopedia estimates the quantity of cotton raised by one labourer at 1000 pounds,|| but we apprehend the statistics of the South require a higher estimate; we shall therefore assume 1500 lbs. as the produce of one slave. Now the 560,955,000 lbs. exported to Great Britain in 1840, would, on that estimate, require the labour of 373,970 slaves. The product of the four great cotton raising states, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, is stated at 626,438,164 lbs. which we observe exceeds the exports to Great Britain a little less than 50 millions of pounds. Admitting the cotton which found its way to the market, to have been supplied by those four states at the rate of 1500 lbs. to a slave, this supply would have required the labour of all the slaves in those states, male and female, between the age of 24 and 55, and about 80,000 of those in earlier or later periods. Upon this supposition, the markets of Great Britain may be said

* It is a curious illustration of this tendency, that no Physician in Europe who had reached forty years of age, when Dr. Harvey announced his discovery of the circulation of the blood, ever adopted his theory; and that his practice was greatly diminished by the reproach occasioned by that signal discovery, Hume's Hist. Vol. 6, page 339.

* Report of Secretary of Treasury 1836, page 54.
† Ib. page 7.
‡ Farmers Encyclopedia, Art. Gossypium.
§ This number is deduced from the number of bales, estimating the bale at 450 lbs.
|| Rep. Secretary of Treasury, 1836.

to support the slavery of those four cotton growing states.

We are aware that these calculations are founded on very imperfect data; but accuracy in this case is of little importance. Our object is not to show exactly how much slavery is supported in the United States by the cotton market of England; but to present to our readers the unquestionable truth that a large amount of slavery is thus supported.

Now had the abstinence from slave products, which was begun in 1792, been kept prominently in view, we can hardly suppose that the English nation would have continued to draw their supplies of cotton, to so great an extent, from the labour of slaves. But we may further consider that the results of the principle which we advocate, would not have been confined to the abolitionists of Great Britain. The friends of the slave, on this side of the Atlantic, would unquestionably have joined their English coadjutors in discouraging the consumption of slave grown cotton, and in swelling the demand for that which would be procured from the labour of freemen. A demand must inevitably have produced a supply.

But the simple doctrine so obvious when announced, that slavery is supported by the market for its products, being too generally overlooked, the culture of cotton by servile hands, has grown with the growth of the Union, while the manufactures in the free states, as well as in Great Britain, though opposed in principle to slaveholding, have continued to support the system, by purchasing the slave grown cotton; and the people at large have supported the manufacturers, by supplying a market for their fabrics. Thus the slave trader, the slaveholding planter, the shipping merchant, the manufacturer, and the consumer are connected by the chain of commerce. And must we not acknowledge that those who purchase and consume the fabrics, furnish the basis on which the whole system rests?

We may perhaps, at a future time, advert to the support afforded to southern slavery by the consumption of tobacco, rice, cotton and sugar in the free states, but having already extended our observations further than was expected when we began, we shall close the subject for the present.

WAR WITH MEXICO.—A proclamation issued by the President of the United States, under date of "the thirteenth of May," declares that, "by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States." The first act of aggression was unquestionably on the part of our nation, whose "army of occupa-

tion" entered upon Mexican territory, whence it was warned to remove under the penalty of war being the result. The act of the republic of Mexico to which the President alludes followed this hostile demonstration. Such is the truthfulness of public documents! The American Congress has placed at the disposal of the Executive a large amount of men and treasure to carry war into the country of the enemy, or defend ourselves against its reaction: and the war spirit, reckless of cause or consequence, is rife through our land. Every where is heard "the drum's discordant sound," and every where observed the note of preparation for the coming conflict. It is not our purpose, however, to chronicle the movements and counter-movements of this war, the victory obtained, the defeat incurred, the treasure expended, the final triumph; only as bleeding humanity and trampled-down Christianity are concerned. "My kingdom," said Christ, "is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight." The battle of His warfare is not "with confused noise and garments rolled in blood," but it is one of PURE PRINCIPLE, contending "against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." It is in this battle only that the Christian soldier can be enlisted.

When we refer, therefore, to the war with our neighbour of Mexico which has just been officially announced, though its coming has been long foreseen, we shall do it for the purpose of pointing out the true motive for which it was commenced, and removing, as far as we may, the true incentive to its continuance. Within the humble reach of our ability, this duty, we hope faithfully to perform.

This war, we proclaim, exists in the desire to add new territory to the already extended dominions of slavery, and to subject to the exclusive culture of slaves, soil which, under the existing institutions of Mexico, can only be cultivated by free labour. Slavery demands the market of the world, and she will have it, if the world will continue to buy at her shambles her blood-stained commodities, "asking no questions" concerning them, and caring not for the wrong and suffering producing them. Her dominions, with the recent addition of Texas, are large enough in all reason for her present and near-coming wants, but she prudently looks ahead to the period when the millions she at this time holds in thralldom shall be few to the immense multitude of her vassals which shall then bow at her footstool. Stealthily, through our government, she stretches forth her

arm, and draws into her enclosure the surrounding nations where personal freedom exists. Mexico is the object of to-day's enterprise, but she looks beyond her, to the occupation, in fitting time, of all of North America, south of the line of the Missouri compromise; and with the additions of some or all of the West India Islands. Prominently among these is the important island of Cuba, insecurely in the possession of the slave power, and therefore requiring the agis of our nation; and the not less important one of Hayti, occupied by free blacks working out the problem of free and self government, and therefore requiring our proscription and subjugation!

All this will she accomplish, unless a merciful providence shall overrulingly prevent, if the church, which is, or should be, the salt of the earth, shall have so irrecoverably lost its savour as that Christians shall continue to buy at the market where slavery offers her polluted wares, and by the sale of which, only, can she possibly exist. When the church shall have seriously resumed the consideration propounded to it by the Apostle James, "from whence come wars and fightings?" and shall comply with the duties issuing out of that consideration, then, and then only, may we conclude that the end of slavery draweth nigh!

AMERICAN MANUFACTURES.—We ever hail with high gratification any advances made by the people of these states in the arts and manufactures which are based on the productions of free labour, and carry in their result an increased amount of comfort and happiness to the whole people. With the theory of "the greatest good to the greatest number," when enforced at the expense of the lives, and happiness, and intellect, and virtue of the smaller number, we do not sympathize. Our patriotism is subordinate to the love of man and mankind; and ready are we to confess that we regard with no complacency the doctrine, "Our country—right or wrong," and view with no pleasure its *seeming* prosperity, when that prosperity has its roots deeply implanted in violence and wrong done to one sixth of our people. We feel no exultation, therefore, at noticing the great annual increase of the cotton manufactures of this country, so long as those manufactures are contingent for their supply of material on the labour of slaves, and have for their effect the perpetuation of the system of slavery. At the root of all prosperity founded in wrong there is cherished a worm which shall suddenly nip its verdure. Not less truly does the language apply to nations than to individuals—

"I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree: yet he passed away, and lo, he was not: yea, I sought him, and he could not be found." Let us take the monition in time to avert this result.

We turn with undisguised pleasure to the growing and healthful prosperity of our country in the branches of its manufacture disconnected from slavery. Among these branches may be prominently noticed those which relate to iron and wool. The first embraces all forms into which that valuable metal is moulded, from the heavy and most cumbersome to the minute and most delicate: the latter, all the usual varieties of cloth into which the wool of the sheep is converted. We present below the notice of a gratifying extension of this branch of manufacture to the fabrication of the safe, light, and pleasant texture for female dresses, called *mousseline de laine*. This article has to some extent supplanted the use of cotton cloth. To those who have avoided this use on conscientious grounds, it has afforded an important relief. To all, if offered at a reduced price, which seems probable, it will be an acceptable substitute for the cotton muslin. The effect of this substitution in diminishing the demand for slave-produced cotton will readily be perceived. There is an admitted danger, however, of cotton being fraudulently blended with the wool; but the conscientious, as well as the prudent who seek an unflammable material for dresses, must look to it that they are not deceived. A little honest carefulness in this respect will be sufficient to detect any such fraud, and may prevent suffering to many an innocent child. The extract we subjoin is from the Boston "Emancipator," whose able editor is constantly looking out for advantages in favour of free labour:

MUSLIN DE LAINE.—The fabric of fine muslin from sheep's wool, is a great advantage in favour of free labor, as it supersedes so much the use of cotton. Only a few years ago, it was deemed impossible to introduce the manufacture into this country, on account of the labour required; but Yankee ingenuity has so much simplified the process, and, contrived to do so much of it by machinery, that it has been most successfully established at Andover and Southbridge, Massachusetts, and Hooksett and Manchester, New Hampshire. In a few weeks, the manufacture in those four towns will equal 211,000 yards per week, or eleven millions a year, equal to more than a million of dresses, in value more than two millions of dollars, and consuming at least a million pounds of wool. The Atlas, to which

we are indebted for these facts, and which sees in them only a glory of the protective system, says they are supplied 'at a cost far less than they can now be imported.'

'Great pains are taken to secure the best materials to form the web of the cloth, and an article is produced that can hardly be distinguished from the highest priced foreign manufacture; in appearance and in durability it is quite as good, and in many instances it is afforded at a half or even a third of the price of the foreign article. Two years' more aid and protection from the tariff will have so firmly established this manufacture, that it will drive the foreign goods entirely from our market, by the substitution of a better as well as cheaper article.'

In two years, then, there will be no objection to the introduction of muslin de laine duty free, will there?"

THE LATE DANIEL NEALL.—We felt in common with our anti-slavery friends the loss our community sustained in the removal of this valuable coadjutor in the cause of the oppressed. In none of the obituaries we have read of him has his worth been over-rated. On the contrary, they were characterized, as we thought, by that careful truthfulness which distinguished the individual to whom they referred. To our minds, few persons united to so warm a heart a more tranquil judgment. In the midst of the most exciting scenes, he was not stoically, but considerately and firmly serene. No man's mind was better balanced to meet an emergency of good or evil. When right demanded he was unyielding in its support. His calm counsel and steady purpose were felt when he was present; when absent, they were sought. His exemplary industry afforded him the means of a large liberality. His house gave shelter to the slave, and hospitality to the slave's friend. This hospitality was not at the cost of the slave's toil. His beneficence was not bounded by caste or colour, but it embraced the whole poor, as well as the poorest of the poor. He is gone! Where is the receiver of his mantle?—His departure was on the 15th of the Fourth month last, in the 63d year of his age.

CHARLES T. TORREY.—The sentence of six years imprisonment in the Baltimore Penitentiary pronounced against this friend of the oppressed, for assisting the escape of three slaves, nearly five years of which sentence remained to be fulfilled, has been abrogated by a higher authority than man's; and his freed spirit, we trust, is now under the divine favour, in the fruition of that act

of mercy which human laws pronounced to be criminal. He departed this life on the ninth ult., at 3 o'clock, P. M., leaving behind him, for the consolation of his weeping friends, the evident assurance that he had for his companion in prison THE PRISONER'S FRIEND.

"TO DO GOOD AND TO COMMUNICATE FORGET NOT."
—We recognize the fulfilment of this injunction in the following letter from a Christian brother. "The wisdom that is from above," is "full of mercy and good fruits." The unsolicited and liberal contribution of our highly esteemed friend has been handed over to the Treasurer of the Association, and makes the capital which that institution now holds *by gift*, for the purchase of free cotton and conducting its manufacture, three hundred and seventy dollars. Besides this amount, three thousand five hundred dollars have been loaned *without interest*, for the same purpose. A much larger sum than the aggregate of these, is wanted, by gift or loan, for the further operations of the Association.

Peterboro, May 18, 1816.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK:

My dear Friend,—I was greatly interested in the last number of the Non-Slaveholder.

What is needed is, that the Free Produce Association have a few hundred dollars a year for some half dozen years. With these few hundred dollars they can cover the difference between the prices of Free and Slave labor Cotton, so far as they can buy the former, and cover also the difference in the expense of manufacturing. I see that the manufacturer may require an extra price, if he keep the free cotton separate from his slave cotton. I shall be glad to help the Association from time to time. The Association will expend the accompanying draft in such manner as it sees fit.

Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

SLAVE COTTON PAPER.—We are frequently interrogated as to the propriety of using paper made of cotton rags, the product of slave labour. Our predilections are adverse to such use, if it can possibly be avoided. At the same time we are prepared to say that we perceive an important distinction between the using of mere offal, for the formation of which slavery does not exist, and the using of cotton cloth for the formation of which it does exist. Whatever the rule may be, it should obviously be one which would generally apply to the use of the offal remains, in a similar degree valueless, of any article procured by any act of violence.

POETRY.

The following lines, written by William Cowper more than half a century since, have lost nothing of their force by the lapse of time. Tom is as fresh a character as ever, and he well represents many an arguer of the present day.

PITY FOR POOR AFRICANS.

** Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor.**

I own I am shock'd at the purchase of slaves,
And fear those who buy them and sell them are knaves;
What I hear of their hardships, their tortures, and groans,
Is almost enough to draw pity from stones.

I pity them greatly, but I must be mum,
For how could we do without sugar and rum?
Especially sugar, so needful we see;
What, give up our deserts, our coffee, and tea?
Besides, if we do, the French, Dutch, and Danes
Will heartily thank us, no doubt, for our pains;
If we do not buy the poor creatures, they will,
And tortures and groans will be multiplied still.
If foreigners likewise would give up the trade,
Much more in behalf of your wish might be said;
But, while they get riches by purchasing blacks,
Pray tell me why we may not also go snacks?

Your scruples and arguments bring to my mind
A story so pat, you may think it is coin'd,
On purpose to answer you, out of my mint;
But I can assure you I saw it in print.

A youngster at school, more sedate than the rest,
Had once his integrity put to the test;
His comrades had plotted an orchard to rob,
And asked him to go and assist in the job.
He was shock'd, sir, like you, and answer'd 'Oh no;
What! rob our good neighbor! I pray you don't go!
Besides the man's poor, his orchard's his bread,
Then think of his children, for they must be fed.'

'You speak very fine, and you look very grave,
But apples we want, and apples we'll have;
If you will go with us, you shall have a share,
If not, you shall have neither apple nor pear.'

They spoke, and Tom ponder'd—'I see they will go:
Poor man! what a pity to injure him so!
Poor man! I would save him his fruit if I could,
But staying behind will do him no good.'

'If the matter depended alone upon me,
His apples might hang, till they drop from the tree;
But, since they will take them, I think I'll go too,
He will lose none by me, though I get a few.'

His scruples thus silenced, Tom felt more at ease,
And went with his comrades the apples to seize;
He blamed and protested, but join'd in the plan:
He shared in the plunder, but pitied the man.

FRIENDS FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK.—The annual meeting of this association took place on fourth day evening last, and was attended by a large number of Friends of both sexes. The meeting was a very satisfactory one, but we have not space to enter this month into the particulars. These will be furnished in our next number.

AGENTS.—In making out our list of Agents, where we have published names without permission, we have been guided in our selection by what we have observed of the interest taken in our Journal, and have given a preference to those who have sent us six or more subscribers. In a few instances we may have taken the wrong names from the list furnished, for want of knowing who was most concerned in procuring the subscribers. Such mistakes will be corrected when the subscriber taken in error, shall give us the proper name. Any omissions, we shall be glad to supply. We reckon among our friends, several who have not yet sent us any subscribers, and are daily in expectation of receiving their lists.

INTELLIGENCE.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT ABOLISHED IN MICHIGAN.—Michigan is the first State in the Union to abolish the punishment of death for murder. On the 2d ult., the bill to abolish Capital Punishment, passed the House by a vote in the ratio of three to two. It had already passed the Senate by a vote of three to one. We shall now have an opportunity of testing by actual experiment, whether the abolition of the gallows will make the crime of murder more frequent, as is alledged by the advocates of the death penalty.

HAYTI.—The slaveholders who wield the power of the American government, have, undoubtedly, some deep plot in hand concerning the island of St. Domingo. They covet the island, and it is a terrible eye-sore to them to see a black republic there. The friends of the African race are bound to keep a constant lookout. The following has appeared within a few days:

"It is stated by the Pensacola correspondent of the Picayune that the U. S. brig Porpoise, Lieut. Commanding Hunt, sailed on the 12th inst., having on board Lieut. Porter, charged with special duty, for St. Domingo. He says the Porpoise will visit most of the ports of the Island with a view of procuring ample information on all points affecting the interests of American citizens."—*Emancipator.*

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER

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FREE LABOR COTTON GOODS.—Bleached and brown 4-4 and 5-4 shirting and sheeting muslin, assorted colored cambrics, calicoes, neat style fast colors, and ginghams in store; also manufacturing, promised to be finished shortly, cotton twilled pantaloons stuff, apron check and cotton diaper and plaid table cloth stuff, assorted widths, for, and manufactured from free cotton procured by the Free Produce Association of Friends, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. We have also in store India yellow and blue nankeens, seersuckers plaid and striped, white grass cloth, fine grass cloth 10kfs or cravats, and mull mulls. For sale by

THOMAS S. FIELD & CO.

Commission Merchants,

5th mo. 30th, 1846. No. 36 N. Front st. up stairs.

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THE

NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 1846.

[NO. 7.]

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE
FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS
OF NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.

In presenting a report of the proceedings of this Association for the past year, the Board of Managers have to state that they have laboured under considerable disadvantage, arising from an apparent feeling of apathy in the minds of many Friends, respecting the promotion of the objects of the Association.

They have held six meetings; at one of which a committee was appointed to elicit information from Friends generally, as to whether there was a probability of articles, the product of free labour, being purchased by them, if such were procured and offered for sale. The result was that a large number of Friends would encourage such an undertaking, if the articles could be furnished at the same price as goods, the produce of slave labour: a comparatively small number being willing to give a higher price should it be found necessary to charge it. Several letters have been received on the subject, which have been encouraging and satisfactory, and the Committee are of opinion that a large quantity of goods might be sold if the means necessary for establishing a free produce store could be obtained.

A committee was afterwards appointed to solicit donations, and loans without interest, for this object. This attempt has not yet resulted in a subscription at all adequate for the purpose proposed.

Information has been received from the kindred Association in Philadelphia, that a large amount of cotton can be obtained from different sections of our own country, of the best quality, and free from the labour of slaves, at a very trifling advance, if any, above the price of slave grown cotton. An establishment near Philadelphia is now manufacturing goods of free grown cotton, supplied by that Association.

It is evident that the larger the quantity of free labour goods, which may be manufactured and

sold, the cheaper will be the rate at which they can be afforded; and it is apprehended that the reason of such goods having been, heretofore, held at a high price has been the smallness of the demand for them. Important information having been received as to the large quantity of free grown cotton that can be obtained, and the difficulties in the way of its manufacture having been in great measure removed, the managers hope that Friends from the country, as well as of the city, will now come forward and advance means sufficient to open a general free produce store upon a proper scale; whereby not only our citizens, but Friends and others from the country, may be supplied with goods undoubtedly free from "the gain of oppression."

We also learn from the Association alluded to, that our friends in England have already manufactured a variety of cotton goods, and have sent samples to our friends in Philadelphia, who say, "From this quarter we may, therefore, hope to obtain a supply, which, added to the fabrics produced in our own country, may furnish a variety to meet our necessary demands, and facilitate the exclusion of the products of slave labour."

The Board of managers have printed one hundred and fifty copies of the Constitution, which have had a limited circulation.

Some Friends in Philadelphia, connected with the Free Produce Association, have commenced the publication of a monthly periodical called "The Non-Slaverholder," devoted chiefly to the advocacy of abstinence from the produce of slave labour. Much interesting information on the subject is contained in its columns, and it is thought to be well calculated to advance the cause. The Managers wish particularly to call attention to an article in the fourth number of that paper, entitled "The Slaver Pons." The minds of many have latterly been introduced into much sympathy with the victims of the slave trade and slavery, by reading the accounts of that vessel. In contemplating the sufferings of these poor creatures—more than nine hundred in number—on board of this

ship, and so stowed in the hold that the air, when the hatches were closed down, had to be breathed over once in thirty minutes, every feeling mind must be ready to exclaim, "would that I could do something to prevent these things! for this is but a small portion of the hundreds of thousands that are annually torn from, or murdered in Africa!" Let every one then bring the inquiry home, *Do I, in any way, countenance, or contribute to the support of this horrible barbarity?* Is it true that "He who gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own?" Is there, or is there not, an intimate, though indirect connection, between those who cause the agonies of these poor Africans, and the purchasers of the luxuries which they are kidnapped to produce? As remarked in the article alluded to, "If the Pons had succeeded in landing her cargo of Africans on the shores of Brazil, their labour would soon have produced a cargo of sugar for our market." We condemn the slave-trader, as inhuman, whilst we encourage and support him by paying for those fruits which are cultivated with the life-blood of his victims! For we are informed, by good authority, that in the Island of Cuba it has been, for years, the practice of importing men chiefly from Africa. That they are worn out, and die in an average of ten years; and that their places are again filled up by fresh importations of their countrymen, who are required to drag out their term of ten years, and to die in the production of those articles which we consume!

This is said to be the most economical way of producing sugar in the Island of Cuba! And under this system we are told, by the authority of slaveholders themselves, that the greatest average production in this island, on the best conducted estates, is 5000 pounds per annum for each slave on the plantation. The general average of sugar for each slave on all the sugar estates in Cuba, cannot exceed 4000 pounds—and is most likely much less.*

* The average production of sugar in Louisiana in 1840, was 2,367 pounds to each slave, and the number of slaves employed in that cultivation was 50,670. The average production of cotton in that state was 1636 pounds, and the number of slaves 93,220.

The entire crop of sugar in Cuba in 1840 is stated by the Intendant of Havana at 321,636,000; to which must be added 58,895,024 pounds which is ascertained to have been sent into the United States under the guise of molasses, for the purpose of evading the duty. Thus the total production of sugar in Cuba, in 1840, may be stated at 380,531,024 pounds. The annual importation of slaves into Cuba, to keep up the cultivation of the island is said to be from 40 to 50,000. Taking the number at 40,000, we find that for each slave brought into the island, there appears to be 9513

Unimpeachable records of the slave trade show, that for every one hundred and twenty Africans that are landed, and become available to the planter on the coast of America, not less than two hundred and fifty-five have perished in the horrible details of that inhuman traffic. If then one slave thus represents more than three Africans, it appears, according to this proportion, that the average life of those who are required to cultivate the Island of Cuba, is represented by three years and two months! And these three years and two months,—at 4000 pounds per annum,—are again represented by about 12,000 pounds of sugar—the equivalent for the life of a man!

The average duration of human life is said to be about 33 years; and supposing the African would, in a civilized state, live to that period—(and of this there is no doubt)—we find that for the production of this 12,000 pounds of sugar, nearly thirty years of human life are sacrificed—being less than eighteen ounces of sugar for one day of human life! One of our celebrated countrymen remarked that he seldom looked upon a piece of sugar without fancying it covered with spots of human blood. And if we, when partaking of this luxury, could realize these truths, should we not be induced, in unutterable disgust, to eject it from the palate, as being saturated with the blood of our fellow man. Does not the purchaser and consumer of goods produced by the labour of slaves, furnish the incentive which keeps the whole system in action? And if so, is not every one responsible in proportion to the degree of support he may give to it? May those then who have had their attention called to the subject, use their best endeavors to keep their hands clean; that in the summing up of all things, it may be said of them, as of Mary of old, "she has done what she could"—remembering the language of scripture, "He who knoweth to do right and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

The Board of Managers have had, throughout the course of the past year, deeply to regret that they have not been able to do more to promote this cause; and although they have at times felt somewhat discouraged, yet they are not without hope that the minds of Friends will be more generally turned to this subject; as they are well satisfied that abstinence from the use of articles produced by slaves, would be one great means of the ultimate and total abolition of slavery.

It may indeed be said that we are so intimately connected with slavery and oppression, in our various relations with those who uphold and support it, that it is impossible for us, whilst living in the civilized world, to be entirely free from contributing indirectly to its support. And, upon this view of the case, many are doubtless discouraged from making any attempt to free themselves from the connexion:—arguing "that to be consistent in abstinence from the indirect support of slavery is impossible, it therefore cannot be our duty to attempt it in part!" If after washing our hands, and thinking them clean, we were to examine them with the aid of a microscope, we should find evidence sufficient to convince us that they were not. Is then the fact that we cannot cleanse our hands entirely from the dust of the earth, a reason sufficient that we should not attempt to remove from them the filth that may be palpable to the naked eye? There is a Power, more searching than the microscope;—that lays bare the secrets of the heart, and manifests the hidden things of darkness:—in the Light of whose revealing, we are enabled to perceive the least infraction of His law. It is this Power, we reverently believe, which renders us uneasy in the continuance and support of that gigantic system of oppression, which was commenced in iniquity, and is carried on in sin; and in relation to which some of us have heard, in language more powerful than words, "touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing."

In concluding their report the managers would call the attention of the members of the Association, and of Friends generally, to the Minute of the Meeting for Sufferings on the subject of slave labour. That Minute was fully approved by our late Yearly Meeting, (1845) not having a single dissenting voice; and was directed to be sent down to the subordinate meetings. It has been circulated far and near, in this land, and beyond the sea; and has been the occasion of praise and eulogy to our Yearly Meeting;—which to be gratifying, needs only the consciousness of being merited. Without this consciousness the praise of others is humiliating in the extreme. The managers therefore feel it their duty to call attention to the position we now occupy. Shall we maintain the high ground which has elicited the approbation of all the friends of the oppressed? or, deserting that ground, are we prepared to hear the accents of praise turned into the voice of derision, as being, apparently, indisposed or unprepared to live up to the standard which we proclaim to others? Let it not be said of us, that we have begun to build, and are not able to finish. Difficulties there are to be met with;—but let us not abandon our prin-

ciples because we meet with difficulties in the way of supporting them. The reward of success is sweetened by the remembrance of the difficulties through which we have passed to attain it. None can gainsay the justice of our cause. Why then should we desert it? Let us rather, as individuals, join heart and hand in support of those principles which, as a Yearly Meeting, we have proclaimed to the world.

To use the words of the Minute alluded to, "There is a force in united efforts, especially when enlisted in the cause of virtue, which, when discreetly and perseveringly conducted, can achieve wonders. It is true that, at the present time, the products of slavery are so intertwined with our various occupations and wants, that we scarcely can see how to disengage ourselves from them; yet, if our attention be singly fixed upon the pointing of Truth, in reference to this subject, we may reasonably trust that it will guide us rightly, and prepare our way before us. In ancient days, when the progress of a people, who were journeying by divine direction, was obstructed by a river that spread its breadth in their way, they were required to advance until the soles of their feet pressed the margin of the stream; and thus standing, the retreating waters gave way before them, and they passed over dry-shod. If, following this example, we proceed as far as we can, and there stand—willing to advance if a way can be discovered, all past experience unites in bearing testimony, in favour of the belief, that little by little, the difficulties will yield until the whole are surmounted."

Signed by direction and on behalf of the Board of Managers.

ROBERT B. PARSONS, Secretary.
New York, 5th mo. 27th, 1846.

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

LETTER FROM THOMAS CLARKSON,

To the Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

MY ESTEEMED FRIENDS,—Though I have been forbidden by my medical friends to have any thing more to do with public affairs, and though I have need of repose, after 61 years of work, during the little span of life which Providence may think fit yet to give me, I should be wanting in my duty to the poor sufferers on your side of the water, if I were not to attempt to second your humane and generous efforts, by trying to answer some of the questions put to me, on the subjects mentioned in

your letter. I have no *public documents* at hand for your information, but must content myself with sending you the result of my memory, taking care that nothing comes to you from my hands but what may be relied upon as *strictly true*.

The pamphlet, which occasioned the general abstinence from sugar in England in 1791 and 1792, was written by a person of the name of Fox, whom I knew, but whose Christian name I do not recollect. It was written in such a clear and convincing manner, that it seemed impossible for any reader of *common feeling*, of *common sense*, and of *common morality*, to withstand it. The reader was carried away by a stream, as it were, which he found himself *unable to resist*. As far as I recollect, the drift of it was, to make the consumer equally guilty with the planter. The sensation created by the reading of the book made a deep impression, so that he, who read it, felt himself morally bound to communicate its contents to his friend; hence it became known throughout the Island, and a flame was spread, such, I believe, as was never known in England on the subject. It became at length the general topic of conversation. The nobleman, as well as the plebeian, was affected by the work. I was travelling at this time all over the island, a tour of about 8000 miles, to try to pick up respectable evidence to be laid before the Lords and Commons, relative to the monstrous evils attached inherently to the slave trade, in order that they might form their judgment concerning them, with a view to their abolition. I had then an opportunity of seeing what was going on, with respect to this subject, in all parts of the kingdom. I visited scarcely a family in the course of my rounds, where the book was not known. I found it in the families of noblemen and gentlemen of the highest fortunes. I found that the flame had even, in some cases, reached their servants, who out of their little incomes sent four or five shillings by way of subscription to the London Committee for the abolition of the slave trade. In the course of my journey also, I saw the book lying in a great many of the inns and coffee houses. It would not be unfair if you were to ask me, how happened it, that if the people in England were so devoted to the abolition, that the House of Commons in 1791 threw out the bill for that purpose? I answer, because the *majority* consisted of planters and of those gentlemen in the House of Commons whom the shipping interest, the West India interest, and other powerful interests, privately canvassed, and prevailed upon to vote for them. I am sorry I have not Fox's book to send you; I fear a copy cannot now be procured.

With respect to the Cotton question, as in the former case, I have no documents at hand to refer to; but in 1840, my late friend, Joseph Pease, of Darlington, in the county of Durham, invited my co-operation to a plan which had been proposed, and which he had much at heart, to better the condition of the natives of British India. I answered that I would give him all my spare time, but this would not amount to much. The plan proposed was, that the East India Company should, instead of making the rent of the land dependent on its production, let it to the Ryots at a low fixed rate, on long leases; thus the cultivation of the land would be extended and improved, the condition of the people elevated, and many of the famines, which afflicted India so grievously, would be prevented. It was also proposed that several millions of acres should be appropriated to the cultivation of sugar and cotton for the European markets, on which only free men should be employed; and by which means, if proper skill and capital were engaged in the management, it was evident, that all the slave grown sugar and cotton of the western world might be driven out of the European markets by the superior quality and less price of that from India. The attention called to the subject induced the Directors of the East India Company to examine into the merits of the plan proposed, and they so far concurred in it, that they obtained from the United States a large supply of cotton seed, and, at the same time, secured the services of several practical cotton planters, to conduct a series of experiments upon certain farms in different parts of their territories. Some of these experiments have failed, but others have been realized both in the Bombay and the Madras Presidency, and I am informed that the latest information received from India, on which the utmost reliance may be placed, goes to prove that not only may good cotton be obtained in almost unlimited quantities, but may be purchased on the spot, at prices varying from one penny to one penny farthing per pound. All that is required, is the application of capital and skill to aid the native cultivator to raise a quantity for export, equal to the demands of this country.

I have just heard that 250 bales of cotton have arrived at Liverpool from one of the company's experimental farms.

Now, my friends, if you were to ask me, what I think of the cotton cultivation of the East Indies, I should say, without any hesitation, that it is proceeding to a vast extent, and as much of the soil is suitable for it, and free labour is to be had at one penny or two pence a day, it can be sold in Europe, notwithstanding the greater distance, on

far lower terms than what is produced in America, by the expensive mode of slave labour.

But one of the most delightful and encouraging circumstances connected with British India, is, that slavery is now legally abolished in every portion of it under the dominion of the British Crown; and there is now no fear of promoting slavery, by an increase of demand for the produce of that country. An obstacle is thus completely removed, which prevented many of the abolitionists of Great Britain, in their individual as well as their collective capacity, from pushing the matter forward in a manner which they now feel it their duty to do.

I may add to this, another pleasing circumstance, which is, that the East India Company can never be stopped in their cultivation for want of labourers; for it is a fact, that one hundred thousand can be had, and more, if wanted, after a reasonable notice.

I am, my esteemed friends,

Your friend,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

Playford Hall, near Ipswich, May 1, 1846.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

In the year 1827 an address was delivered by Dr. Jones in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, on the advantages to be derived from the employment of slaves in the manufacturing of cotton and other goods. Our friend Enoch Lewis published the following *sound strictures* upon it in his "*African Observer*." They were transferred to the columns of *The Friend* with remarks justly and highly commendatory; in which the writer says: "We may be assured, that so long as the people of the south derive wealth from the labour of their slaves they will be loath to sacrifice its indulgences to avoid remote dangers. We find, accordingly, that it is only in those parts where almost the only profitable management of a *stock*, is one at which generous minds revolt, that a real interest is taken in the emancipation of the blacks, the substitution of free labourers, and the deliverance of the whites from the thralldom in which, by a just retribution of Providence, a servile population must always hold its masters."

I think it important to keep these sentiments prominently in view at the present time, when even amongst *Friends* the doctrine is frequently asserted, that to cease contributing to the wealth which the people of the south derive from the labour of their slaves, would bring misery and starvation upon the latter.

"In calling (says Enoch Lewis) the attention of my readers to this address, I am far from desiring

to intimate an opinion, which the author expressly deprecates, that he is an advocate of slavery, or willing to promote any measures which are calculated to perpetuate that harsh institution. It would be with the greatest reluctance that I should adopt such an opinion, and certainly could not justify to myself the attempt to cast such a stigma upon so respectable a character. I must, however, be allowed to suppose, that the tendency of the doctrines contained in some parts of the address, and those not the least prominent, is not in favour of the cause of emancipation. The establishment for which he so earnestly pleads, and in which, he asserts, the philanthropist and political economist must agree with equal pleasure, appears to me, if carried into effect, likely to rivet more firmly the fetters of slavery. The author has, indeed, advanced an opinion, that the formation of extensive manufactories, in which the operatives are slaves, or at least negroes, will improve the condition of the slaves, and pave the way to their ultimate emancipation. The manner in which these effects are to be produced, is not clearly stated; we have, therefore, ample room to suppose that a contrary result may arise.

"We are told, that, for a considerable period, the planters in many places, have found it extremely difficult to pay their current expenses, and to feed and clothe their negroes, from the annual produce of their lands; and thousands have removed to the more fertile regions in the western states, not with a view of accumulating wealth, but merely for the purpose of obtaining a ready and abundant supply for their negro families. Thousands more of our southern fellow citizens will be compelled to adopt the same expedient, unless some new resource be obtained. This is, in effect, an acknowledgement that the exhausted soil no longer supports the expense of slave cultivation; or, in other words, that the labour of the slaves will no longer support the masters and themselves, and that the slaveholding system requires for its support some new resource, or a richer soil. THIS TO THE PHILANTHROPIST AFFORDS A PLEASING, RATHER THAN A PAINFUL PROSPECT; not that the masters should be embarrassed, but that the value of the slaves should be small. The subject of regret is, that the new and fertile soils of the west should be subjected to the same depleting regimen, and slavery find an asylum in which to maintain a sombre existence for ages to come.

"Disinterested benevolence is lovely in theory, and not less so in practice, when it can be found; but the experience of mankind, I fear, will warrant the conclusion, that motives of interest point the course, and stimulate the exertions of a ma-

majority of our race. The Author of our existence has diffused into the nature of things, a principle by which moral evils tend to exhaust their own supplies. This principle is the vis-medicatrix of nature. In regard to slavery, it is particularly important. Slave cultivation, by exhausting the soil, diminishes the profits of labour, and thence the value of Slaves. *When the labour of the slave will no longer afford a surplus beyond the expense of rearing and supporting him, the temptation to retain him in that unnatural state is removed, and his emancipation becomes a natural result.* If this state of things can be avoided only by emigration, attachment to the land of their birth and aversion to encountering the hardships attendant on the formation of a new settlement will unquestionably prevent many from resorting to that expedient. Hence, under such circumstances, emancipation will be more frequent than when slave labour is profitable. In most of the British colonies, official returns have been made within a few years of the slave population, the number of manumissions, and the average value of slaves; and the number of manumissions appears, as might be expected, generally, if not always, greater where the price of slaves is least. Thus, in Barbadoes and Demarara, where the slave population is nearly the same, and the legal obstructions very similar, the number of manumissions effected in a given time is nearly in an inverse ratio to the price of slaves. In the former, where the average value of a slave was £28, the number of manumissions was 408. In the latter, where a slave was worth £86, the manumissions amounted to 142. In Berbice, where the slaves appear to have been worth about £90 each, we find 49 manumissions out of a population of 22,000; but in the Bahamas, where the average value of a slave, was £21 8s., the manumissions for the same time are stated at 176, out of a population of 9,500 slaves, or a ratio on equal numbers, of more than 8 to 1.

"If, when by exhaustion of the soil, the value of slaves employed in the labour of the field has been nearly annihilated, the introduction of manufactories should furnish new and profitable employment for this class of labourers; the necessary consequence would be, that their value must rise, and the temptation to augment their numbers, by importations or otherwise, must increase. Hence instead of a disposition on the part of the masters to prepare them for freedom, and to promote their emancipation, they would cling more closely to what they would consider their valuable property, and frown upon every attempt which might be made to enlighten the minds of this servile class. For it is generally well understood,

that knowledge in a slave, beyond what is requisite for the performance of his allotted service, is dangerous to his master.

"The Doctor appears to suppose that when the condition of the master is prosperous, the comforts of the slave must be increased. This, however is not necessarily the case. When the slave is employed in the production of commodities intended for exportation, the exactions of the master will increase, as the value of the exports advances. With the improvement of the foreign market, the attention must be directed from cultivation for home consumption, and the support of slaves be rendered more dependent on foreign supplies. This is illustrated by the case of the Bahamas compared with Jamaica, Demarara and Berbice. In the first, where the soil is too much exhausted for the production of sugar, the slaves are generally well fed, and their numbers increase; in the other, where the staple productions are designed for exportation, the poor slaves are gradually wasting away from excess of toil or deficiency of food."

I will probably recur to this subject again, and adduce abundant evidence that where the labourer is free, every augmentation in the demand for the produce of his toil increases his comforts; where the labourer is a slave, it diminishes them; and that to relieve the slave, you must consume less sugar: the more sugar you eat, the harder he works, the sooner he dies.

During the period which has elapsed since the suggestion of Dr. Jones, manufactures have been undertaken in some of the Southern states. The result in most, we believe in all, of these cases, has proved that slaves cannot be profitably employed in them, except in those parts involving the lowest drudgery. The intelligence necessary to the government of a machine does not usually belong to the machine called a slave. It is true that solitary examples exist of slaves possessing great mechanical abilities developed under circumstances of particular favoritism; but the security of the slave system consists in keeping down the standard intellect of the slave to the level nearly of the tool he wields. Give the slaves generally a mental equality with the operatives in well conducted manufactories, and their condition would become to them increasingly and unbearably irksome. This feeling would lead them to various expedients for escaping from it; among them the exertion of a very natural power, which, under the new lights they would possess, and the new facilities these lights would afford them, would quickly lift them out of that condition, —the power of locomotion.

BENEZET.

SELECTIONS.

ANTI-WAR MEETING IN GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

A public meeting of the Glasgow Anti-War Society and of others friendly to peace principles, was held in Glasgow on the evening of the 23rd of 4th month last. An Address to the Merchants, Agriculturalists, and Citizens of the United States of America, on the subject of war, was adopted and directed to be forwarded to America for extensive publication.

In moving the adoption of this address, George Thompson, after making a few preliminary remarks, said—

If you would come to a right conclusion on this subject, you must approach it with a childlike simplicity and humble teachableness. You must be willing to be led in the right way, though you should be compelled to abandon the notions of expediency and necessity which you have hitherto cherished; and then, I believe, you will be brought to see the beauty, the power, the sublimity, and the divinity of non-resistance. I am individually convinced that nothing short of this principle will satisfy the demands of that law of love, under which the follower of Christ is required to live. Embracing this principle, you will at once perceive the simplicity, the symmetry, the completeness, the perfection, and the moral omnipotence of the Gospel. You will find your feet upon a rock. The mists which education, prejudice, passion, custom, and priestcraft, have thrown around the actions and occupations of men, will be dispelled by the glorious beams of the Sun of Righteousness and Peace, and you will look with profound pity upon those who think that any of the righteous plans of man, or any of the holy purposes of God, can be fitly wrought out, or assisted by the weapons of violence, or by the shedding of blood—that blood which is the life of man—whose life is the sole property of his Maker. You will find too, that this principle of non-resistance not only guards the life of man as sacred, but enters into and controls the whole conduct and deportment of him who sincerely adopts it. He goes to a heavenly armory for all the weapons he employs in his efforts to pull down the strong holds of Satan—he lives in an atmosphere of love—he has forsaken the beggarly elements of the world—he has abandoned the defences of stone walls, and muskets, and swords; and, with weapons of heavenly temper, he seeks only to penetrate the hearts and understandings of his fellow-men, and to conquer them by reason, by persuasion, by argument, and by the force of truth and

love. Such is the principle of non-resistance, which, though misrepresented and reviled, finds its source, I believe, in the spirit of the Gospel, and in the heart of the Redeemer.

If these things be true, how is it that armies and their diabolical deeds find admirers and defenders among the millions of this country who call themselves Christians? The answer is this:—The Church has corrupted her way upon the earth. The days are gone when the followers of Christ arrayed themselves in the spotless garments of innocence and peace—when a Christian was a man who would submit to crucifixion rather than deny his Master, by carrying a sword. The Church has harnessed herself for battle—the chariot of the Gospel has been yoked behind the flaming steeds of war—the milk white flag of peace has been exchanged for the bloody banners of destruction, intended to be waved over the bleeding, groaning, and mutilated bodies of hosts of men, hewed down and butchered to gratify the ambition of worldly-minded and wicked statesmen, who sit at home in silken security, and promote their schemes of aggrandisement and revenge, by sacrificing thousands of their fellow-creatures on the field of slaughter. Sir, I take all the horrors, and all the guilt, and all the damnation of war, and lay them at the door of a fallen and practically apostate Church. The fell demon of destruction, to whom the cries of the dying are music, and whose nectar is blood, has found his most potent auxiliary to be the Church—the Church whose bishops consecrate banners, whose archbishop makes the God who sent his Son into the world to preach, that men should 'love their enemies,' THE GOD OF BATTLES, and gives Him thanks, that he has assisted our troops to butcher thirty thousand of the human race—the Church whose chaplains lay their prayer-books upon the drum-head within sight of those who are to be massacred on the morrow, and pray, 'Give peace in our time, O Lord, because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God!'—the Church whose abbies and cathedrals are filled, not with the statues of the saints and philanthropists who have blessed the world by the preaching of the Gospel, and their deeds of mercy and benevolence, but with profligate warriors, who, while their souls were steeped in the pollution of adultery, and every species of debauchery, were constantly reeking with the gore of their fellow-creatures, and laving their horses' hoofs in the clotted blood of those whose souls, by their impious and inhuman mandates, had been dismissed in the act of murder from the red field of slaughter to the bar of God;—the Church, too many of whose minis-

ters care not whether their sons obtain, through simony, a living in the Establishment, or purchase a commission in the Army, and with it a license to be the butchers of their race.

Sir, if such things be done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry? If such be the state of the Church, can we wonder at the state of the world? If deacons, priests, rectors, vicars, prebends, deans, arch-deacons, and arch-bishops, convert the God of the Bible into a being, the very counterpart of that horrid deity whom the Hindoos worship as the goddess of blood—if they identify God with all the deception and drunkenness of the recruiting system—if they make him the commander in chief of an army, made up of graceless Englishmen—prodigal sons, who have broken the hearts of their parents—worthless husbands, who have forsaken their families, and licentious officers whose ordinary pastime, in many instances, is gambling and seduction—an army that never moves in India but it carries in its train half as many prostitutes as soldiers—an army, that is composed chiefly of those who either call upon Mahomet to help them, or upon Juggernaut and Hallee, and the host of deities who are the personifications of sin, and whose rites are lust and murder—if, I say, the ministers of the religion of Christ in Britain can identify God with such an army, make Him its leader, give him thanks for its butcheries, and ask him to reward its institution, can we wonder that there is joy in hell, and that war continues to desolate, and scourge, and curse the world? Sir, is such a nation as ours warranted to expect that she will be made the instrument of converting the world? Does not Britain herself need to be converted from a religion of war to a religion of peace? Can her ministers have in them the mind that was in Christ, when they are found supporting a system that sends annually tens of thousands of victims to the bottomless pit?—a system that begins in sin—that annihilates the freedom and responsibility of man—that trains myriads of men to the profession of deliberate murderers—that carries havoc and desolation into the fairest regions of the earth—that multiplies widows and orphans—that substitutes the command of a General for the law of God, and is, in fact, a standing proof of the practical atheism of those by whom it is supported?

Sir, as far as I am acquainted with our recent wars, I am prepared to say, that we have in all respects fallen short of the heathen, with whom we have been fighting, in regard to honor, good faith, and humanity. Take one or two examples: what was the Afghan war, but one, on our part,

of causeless aggression—destitute altogether of excuse, even according to the maxims of those who uphold wars? We were threatened with no danger. The people against whom we marched our army were not enemies, but friends. It was not to redeem them from slavery—for they were as free, and more so, than we are in this country. The ruler we sought to depose was not a tyrant, but, on the contrary, ruled with the approbation and love of the people. The man we sought to place upon the throne, was a man who was hated by the people, and had been expelled thirty years before, in consequence of his despotic vices. Into this country we marched our army—passing our own natural frontier, and crossing deserts, rivers, and mountains—to invade it. We butchered the people—we blew up their fortresses—we enslaved their chiefs—we occupied their cities—we hurled their ruler from his throne—we set up an execrated and imbecile tyrant; and we handed over the whole region to political agents, revenue collectors, and military officers, who carried on intrigues, ground the people to the dust by their exactions, and revelled in licentiousness among the women of the country. Remember, I am saying no more than I can prove by the most undeniable evidence. At last, the monarch whom we had set up was assassinated. The depraved conduct of some of our principal functionaries disgusted the people, and inflamed them with hatred and revenge. At this juncture, Akbar Khan, son of the popular ruler, Dost Mahomed, whom we had sent two thousand miles away into captivity and exile, gathered around him some of the chiefs of the country and their tribes, and it was resolved that an effort should be made to drive out the invaders. The season of the year favored the plans of the patriots. They seized a number of our countrymen and soldiers, and held them as hostages for the restoration of the banished prince. They forced our army to evacuate the capital, and you all know that many thousands of our soldiers and their followers perished amidst the snows of the Khyber Pass in the ill-fated retreat from Cabul. Well, what then came to pass? Forced to treat with the victorious Akbar Khan, we at length restored his father, and resolved to leave the country. The prisoners who had been taken by Akbar Khan were delivered up, and bore uniform and unhesitating testimony to the kindness, the respect and the scrupulously delicacy with which they had been treated during their captivity. What was our final act? The troops of Candahar and Jellalabad having formed a junction, and being on the point of leaving the country, determined to act upon the

instructions of Lord Ellenborough, who had directed that *some signal act of vengeance* should be perpetrated ere Afghanistan was quitted forever. Bear in mind, that every prisoner had been delivered up, without the injury of a single hair of any one of their heads, and without the infliction of a single insult. How did we regard this treatment of our countrywomen and soldiers? Why, by setting to work like demons, and destroying the bazaar of Cabul, one of the finest places of the kind in Asia—by demolishing the grand mart in which the peaceful merchants of the country, who had done nothing to offend us, but furnish our supplies and negotiate our bills, had deposited their goods, and were wont to carry on their trade.

Now, sir, contrast the conduct of these barbarous Affghans, these followers of Mahomet, with the conduct of the civilized English, the professed followers of Jesus, and tell me which of the two most illustrated the spirit and morality of the Christian religion. Tell me, too, what you think of the return made for the safe delivery into our hands of every captive that had been taken by these Affghans. What is the consequence? We have turned tribes of men, who might have been retained as friends, into bitter enemies; and we have brought into contempt and detestation the name of Christianity, throughout a country where our peaceful influence and pure example might have scattered boundless blessings, and diffused the saving knowledge of the truth. Now, set over against the conduct of the British in Cabul, the conduct of the Chinese. We went to war with the Chinese solely in consequence of the refusal of the government of that empire to allow a pernicious and contraband trade in opium. During that war, the Europeans who had lived in the immediate vicinity of Canton had fled for safety to other places, under the protection of some friendly flag. On the conclusion of the peace between Great Britain and China, they returned, and found that, while we had been perpetrating the unspeakable horrors of Chusan, and blowing up towns and cities on the coast, the houses and property which these merchants had left to the mercy of the Chinese had been sacredly guarded, and that they were again in possession of what they had left behind them.

A work has recently been published, relating to the Punjaub. It is from the pen of the present political agent in that country, Major Lawrence. That officer records a conversation which he once had with a Mahomedan, who had been for nearly thirty years the principal minister of Runjeet Singh. It was on the subject of religion, and in

the course of it, the aged Mahomedan expressed his surprise that the English should live without any appearance of a belief in God. Major Lawrence assured him that the English did believe in God—that they had a religion—and that he would ascertain such to be a fact, if he sent to Loodianah and consulted the missionary there, who would also produce the book in which the English believed. The Sikh minister then apologized for his error, and said he recollected one Englishman who had deeply impressed him with a conviction of his goodness and his piety. Major Lawrence inquired who the Englishman was, upon which Azizudeen said his name was Ferguson, and he would relate under what circumstances he had become convinced of his piety: Mr. Ferguson, while on business at Lahore, was attacked by some fanatical Sikhs, called Akalees, and wounded; upon which Runjeet Singh directed Azizudeen to wait upon the English gentleman, and express his sorrow for what had happened, and his determination to punish the offenders. "I fully expected," said the Mahomedan, "to find him smeared with blood, and anxious for revenge. Instead of this, I found him on his couch, covered with a clean sheet, with a pale but sweetly forgiving countenance reading a book. On seeing me he said, 'Ah! my friend, you find me wounded and weak, but still very happy; I am deriving rich consolation from this holy volume.' I gave him the message of Runjeet Singh, and told him that his assailants would be punished; upon which he said, that he had forgiven them, and he hoped Runjeet Singh would also pardon their offence. Oh! he was a good man! The sheets around him were white, but not so spotless as his gentle heart. The memory of Mr. Ferguson is sweet. He was a good man." See, in the simple story, the mighty influence of the example of one man, redeeming the nation to which he belonged from condemnation, as without religion, and leaving an impression upon a casual beholder, which the lapse of years had been unable to efface. Would, there were more Fergusons in India; then, should we not have to send the inquirer to the missionary station, to ascertain the fact of our really having a religion, a Bible, and a God.

Sir, amidst the dreadful occurrences which have recently taken place on the banks of the Sutlej, there has been one of most pleasing description. We are told, that an English soldier, who had been severely wounded, was left for dead on the field of battle. In this state he lay helpless and bleeding, with a fractured limb, unable to move. He was dying of thirst, but

could obtain no water. In these circumstances, he was found by a man who was looking among the slain for some friend whom he had lost. This man no sooner found that there was life still remaining in our countryman, than he went to the river and brought water to refresh him. He then bound up his shattered limb, and then took him on his back, to carry him to the British camp, which was seven miles distant, across a plain of deep and heavy sand. Having carried him for more than three miles, he had to lay down his burden in order that he might rest. While they were thus halting, a party of British soldiers came up, and seeing one of their countrymen thus circumstanced, offered to place him on a litter, and send him in. The wounded man, however, replied, 'No, I will again mount the back of my good Samaritan, who shall finish the kind work he has begun, and deliver me up to the commander-in-chief.' The stranger, therefore, again took up his load, and kindly deposited the soldier safely in the British camp. Now, sir, who was the man to whom our countryman was indebted for his deliverance and his life? *He was a Sikh!* He was one of those with whom we had been at war—thirty thousand of whose countrymen we had slain—some of them most brutally; for, not content with defeating the Sikhs, and driving thousands of them into the river, we fired grape and musket shot among them while they were struggling with the torrent; and we have the testimony of Lord Gough, the commander-in-chief, that, in the whole course of his experience, he never beheld so terrific a sight, as that presented during the time when volleys of destructive shot were being poured upon the helpless multitude, who were trying to reach the opposite bank of the river. Now, let me ask, who imitated our blessed Saviour in the midst of these bloody transactions? Was it not the humane Sikh, who carried our wounded countryman safely into camp?

Sir, I have recently attended two meetings at the India House, called for the purpose of returning thanks to the army of the Sutlej, and on these occasions I have felt it to be my duty to enter my protest against the profanity and blasphemy of coupling the name of the holy and ever blessed God with the victory we have obtained. I have also been recently at Reading, delivering lectures, and I have felt happy in the opportunity afforded me of identifying myself with those who petitioned Parliament to withhold their thanks from men who had been engaged in the horrid work of wholesale destruction. If I am not wearying you I will say a word upon the Oregon question. We have heard many rumors of war with the

United States, and there are some, both in this country and on the other side of the water, who would not scruple to plunge the two nations into a sanguinary conflict. The majorities in both countries are, I believe, in favour of present, continued, and perpetual peace. Oh, it would indeed be a horrid spectacle to see nations like Great Britain and America at war with each other!—to see men who have sprung from the same stock, who claim the same ancestry, who speak the same language, who profess the same religion, and have been engaged in common efforts to enlighten and save the world, employed in cutting each others' throats! May God save us from beholding so fearful a scene as this! We who are assembled here to-night have it in our power to do something to avert this threatened calamity. I have been called upon by the Committee to move, that a friendly address from this meeting be sent to our brethren on the other side of the water, assuring them of our earnest desire to dwell at peace with them, and to draw still closer the bonds of friendship and good will that bind us together. I perceive that this measure has your entire approbation. I believe that your feelings are the feelings of the people of Great Britain generally. I have attended many meetings since the fears of a rupture with the United States first became prevalent, and I have been delighted to find, that at all these, the people of our country have been unanimously and enthusiastically in favor of peace. * * *

But I must conclude. Let us from this day forth labor to disabuse the minds of those around us on the subject of war. Let us strip it of its false glory, and exhibit it in its native deformity and guilt, as a system of murder and blood. Let us arm ourselves from the words of God with arguments to meet those who, on the subject of war as well as slavery, condemn the thing in the abstract, but plead for it in the concrete. Let us examine and weigh the arguments of my friend Wright, and if we find he has taken a sound view of the subject, as in my conscience and understanding I believe he has, let us support him in his holy mission of preaching against the systems that are deluging the earth with blood, and peopling the regions of woe with the victims offered to this modern Moloch. Let us not mock God by praying for peace, while we are practically diffusing the doctrines of murder; but be individually such, as mankind will be universally, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. I now move that a memorial to the people of the United States be adopted, and forwarded to the friends of peace in

America, for publication throughout the country. My friend, Mr. Reid, will lay that memorial before you, and my friend William Smeal, who has been so long known for his unceasing exertions in the cause of human freedom and universal peace, will second its adoption. May God in his goodness grant that this humble effort may prove in some degree successful in behalf of the friends of peace in the two countries together, and may the time never come that there will be any other strife between us than the holy emulation of each other in love and good works—each laboring to excel the other in efforts to scatter the blessings of peace, and freedom, and pure Christianity, over the face of the whole earth! Mr. Robert Reid then read and moved the adoption of a memorial addressed to the people of America, calling upon them to join with the people of this country in preserving peace.

The memorial was seconded by Mr. William Smeal, and unanimously adopted.

THE 'NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH 1, 1846.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.—This meeting was held during the week of the late Yearly Meeting in New York. Near the close of the afternoon sitting on Fourth day, notice was given by one of the clerks in both the men's and women's meeting, that a meeting of Friends' Free Produce Association would be held in the meeting house that evening. The weather was very unfavourable, but a large number of Friends attended, and a lively interest was manifested in carrying out in their daily practice the principle of abstinence from slave products, so clearly set forth in the minute issued by the Yearly Meeting last year to its subordinate meetings. The Board of Managers made a report which was directed to be circulated in all the families of the Yearly Meeting, and published in the Non-Slaveholder. We accordingly give it place in our present number.

The Managers propose to open a general Free Produce Store in the city of New York, and a circular was prepared soliciting donations and loans to accomplish that object. We trust that Friends throughout the Yearly Meeting will be disposed to contribute according to their means, and thus open a channel through which a supply of free labour products may be readily obtained.

In the Yearly Meeting the subject of using the produce of slave labour obtained serious consideration; many Friends expressed their strong conviction that our testimony against slavery requires us to decline the trading in and using such produce, and the concern of the Yearly Meeting as set forth in its minute last year, and exhibited in the practice of many of its members, was conveyed in a clear and unequivocal manner in several of the epistles addressed to other Yearly Meetings.

We earnestly desire that this important subject may deeply engage the serious attention of the Society at large, and that all may bear in mind the solemn truth, that a mere acknowledgement of a sound principle or a mere profession of bearing a testimony against slavery, will only add to our condemnation and injure the cause of righteousness, unless we endeavour to live in conformity with it.

THOMAS CLARKSON.—The letter of this distinguished pioneer in the cause of the abolition of slavery, which we offer to our readers in the present number, is in reply to some enquiries addressed to him by the Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and is published at their request. The letter indicates not only unabated interest in a cause to which sixty-one years of his life have been assiduously devoted, but also a degree of intellectual vigour which persons at the advanced age of eighty-seven years rarely exhibit; and which, considering his physical exhaustion, induced by a life of extreme toil of mind and body, is truly surprising.

"In a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season," our friend stands ready to be gathered home whenever it shall please the good husbandman so to take him. This letter, as a communication preceding it suggests, may be his "last tribute of love to the poor and needy." Whether such shall be the case or not, this contribution from his treasury of love ought to be a high incentive to us to fill up our measure of duty in the same cause, and to pursue, as an important means for its accomplishment, a thorough and perpetual abstinence from the productions of the iniquitous system whose overthrow we seek.

"TAKING A BOAT."—Four seamen of the whaling ship Caravan, of Fall River, were recently tried in the United States District Court in New York, on two indictments; one for endeavouring to make a revolt, and the other for larceny. The men, it appears, took a whale boat belonging to the ship, while she lay at Rio, and escaped to another port, taking sundry necessary articles from

the ship. They complained of not being well treated. The jury considered that the motive was escape, and not larceny, and *they were acquitted on both indictments.*

If seamen, with no motive but escape from oppression, may lawfully take a boat and sundry necessary articles to effect their purpose, may not a slave do the same?

OREGON TREATY.—The controversy which has long existed between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, relative to the Oregon boundary, and has also, at times, excited strong apprehensions of a resort to the ancient and barbarous "trial by battle," is happily settled. A treaty with Great Britain, on the basis of the 49th degree of latitude, concluded by President Polk, was ratified on the 18th of last month by the Senate of the United States, the vote being, it is said, 41 to 14.

THE LATE WILLIAM ALLEN.—The London Friend of last month contains a notice of "The Life of William Allen, with selections from his correspondence," the first volume of which is published, to be followed by a second and third. The editor of the Friend furnishes a few extracts from which we select the following:

"Before he was eighteen, the mind of William Allen was aroused to the iniquity of the slave-trade, and on the 22d of 2d month, 1789, we find this entry in his journal.

"When I reflect on the tyranny and oppression exercised by my countrymen towards the poor Africans, and the many thousands yearly murdered in the disgraceful slave-trade, I can but be a zealous opposer of slavery; and, indeed, I have been so for a long time, as far as lay in my power—yet one step farther may be taken by me, which is wanting to complete my testimony in this respect, and which, if universally adopted, would inevitably put a stop to this enormous evil, and that is, DISUSING THOSE COMMODITIES PROCURED BY THE LABOUR OF SLAVES. And as sugar is, undoubtedly, one of the chief, I resolve, through divine assistance, to persevere in the disuse of it until the slave-trade shall be abolished."

William Allen steadfastly adhered to this resolution for upwards of forty-three years, until the bill passed for the abolition of slavery in the British possessions, when abstinence from the use of West India sugar was no longer needful.

CRUELTY TO SLAVES.—We revert to this topic for the purpose of adding some views to those we expressed in our fifth number. We objected

to the frequent exhibition of cases of outrage practised upon slaves on the ground that such frequency of representation would be probably adverse to the object proposed by it. The mental impression which a statement of cruelty at first makes is unquestionably great in favour of humanity; but unless it conducts the mind to some conclusion in advance of the position it previously occupied, or confirms it in the prosecution of some present good undertaking, it tends, as do stimulants, unfollowed by the desired effect on the physical system, to exhaust, rather than strengthen the moral energy. Man was designed to act the part of a rational being—to perceive truth and pursue it. His sensibilities were given him in subordination to that end, but not that he should be the creature of mere impulse. The final effect of bringing these sensibilities into frequent excitement, without a result issuing in some mental determination, is to annihilate them. Nature does not allow of the useless exercise of any emotion which she gives to man. This is a thousand ways shown in surrounding life. The difference between the feelings of one who, for the first time, witnesses a case of surgery, and the practised master of that science, is one of the numerous evidences of this fact. If then the presentation of a case of cruelty does not stimulate the heart to some action, the apprehension may be well entertained that its converse effect, that of hardening its feelings, will necessarily ensue.

In the degree that we perceive slavery to be wrong, do we feel a connection with it to be wrong also; and the more prone we are to indulge in that connection, the more desirous are we of giving to slavery as lenient an aspect as possible. This desire leads us to consider cases of cruelty to slaves as sporadic, rather than as an essential part of the institution of slavery, and even to regard them as exaggerations and fabrications of the humane. Here is an additional reason for concluding that we more permanently subserve the cause of humanity when we prove that cruelty indispensably belongs to the system of holding men as slaves, than when we show its existence in particular cases, and thence infer that it may exist, under like influences, in numerous other cases. There is also economy of time in the process. The mathematician who perceives in the figure before him the relation which the several lines of that figure bear to each other, needs no measurement of the lines themselves to satisfy his own mind, or prove to that of any scientific person, that the proposition he is demonstrating is a true one. He may find it useful, however, to make those measurements for the

purpose of satisfying others of the truth of his deductions, who are strangers to the science. Thus it is of slavery: cases of practised cruelty are not requisite to the proof that slavery, as an institution, is of necessity cruel.

The highest evidence which needs be adduced that slavery is thus cruel, is the fact that the condition of the slave is wholly an unnatural one, and must be sustained by force. Whatever cruelty is necessary to the exertion of this force is inseparable from the institution. The master knows that the slave is deprived of his rights as a human being, and ought to recover them; and the slave, however stultified he may be in his moral conceptions, has, at least, a glimmering perception of these facts also. To restrain in the slave the outbreaking of this perception, the terror of punishment for any disobedience to the master's will must be constantly presented to his mind. There is cruelty in the infliction of this apprehension, whether the whip be upraised or not,—whether the instrument of torture be applied or merely threatened. But as the creation of this terror is an indispensable part of the slave system, and as the use of the whip and other appliances of torture involves neither master nor driver in any legal accountability for violated humanity, who can doubt the frequent, and capricious, and very copious exertion of those corrective and preventive agencies? To these inflictions in fact or expectancy is often added the reality or dread of distant separation, the husband from his wife, the wife from her husband, the parents from their children. In the threatening of this punishment there is a cruelty approaching that of its consummation.

If we want other demonstration than is afforded by the above suggestions that slavery is cruel in its inflictions, we have it in the abundant testimony of slaveholders themselves. None is of higher authority than Thomas Jefferson, whose language is quoted by our correspondent Logan, at page 36. His views of slavery may be considered as deduced alike from the facts surrounding him and the philosophy of the case.

The time was, when in many of our schools the rod was wielded by the teacher with an almost irresponsible authority. Who that remembers that by-gone epoch, and was especially the pupil in a school where the dynasty of the rod prevailed, does not recollect the tyranny and crushing oppression of it? What boy in such a school does not look back with feelings of horror to the scenes of passion and violence on the part of the teacher enacted against himself or some poor school-mate, dull of memory or apprehension,

innocent of intended wrong, or whose wrong, if purposely committed, was exaggerated by the distempered vision of the flagellator? In these cases there was on the part of the scholar an equality, or, probably, a superiority of social condition, which imposed a restraining influence on the pedagogue's mind and arm: but what, under such circumstances, would have been the treatment of a poor, defenceless, friendless slave? The same training—successive inflictions of punishment, each infliction increasing the appetite for administering it—which made the teacher a tyrant, makes the slaveholder one, but in a degree as much greater, as his power is greater, and as his interest is greater in sustaining that power.

It is not merely for the maintenance of the authority of the master over the slave that cruelty is exerted against the latter, but it exists for other purposes. On the slave is often wreaked the vengeance due to others, if due to any. A slave whose person was numerously marked by deeply indented scars, several of whose bones had been broken, and whose treatment had been obviously one of great cruelty, once told us that he was often the butt of his "master's" anger when some one offended "master" in the street. Characteristic of this passion for punishing the slave, though probably said in satire of slavery, was the declaration of John Randolph when some speech or proceedings in Congress offended him, "Now I will go home and flog Juba!"

The recital of some of the evils of Slavery has to be avoided in mixed companies on account of their intrinsic grossness. They ought not to be the less known. Such is what follows.

We were once told by a friend from the South, well informed on the subject, that a frequent source of domestic infelicity in southern families arose out of the connection which masters chose to establish between themselves and favorite slaves, and which, besides violating the conjugal relation, brought the slaves and their mistresses into constant collision. We give below an incident illustrative of this fact, and resulting in the *legal infliction of death* upon a female slave for raising her hand against her mistress! Much more aggrieved was this mistress, by the act which the law did not hold to be criminal, than by that for which it imposed the sentence of death; and infinitely more was the aggression of her own husband for whose infidelity the law had no terrors, and concerning which she had to be silent, than was any wrong done to her by the wretched slave.

While the article will itself show that cruelty to slaves is not an accidental but a legal appurte-

nant of the slave system, it will show also that "the tender mercies of the wicked" are ever "cruel."

From the Essex Transcript.

The Slave Pauline.—Many of our readers have probably seen a paragraph stating that a young girl was recently hanged at New Orleans, for the crime of striking and abusing her mistress. The religious Press of the North has not, so far as we are aware, made any comments upon this execution. It is too busy in pulling the mote out of the eye of the heathen, to notice the beam in our Christianity at home. Yet this case, viewed in all its aspects, is an atrocity, which has, God be thanked, no parallel in heathen lands. It is a hideous offshoot of American Republicanism and American Christianity.

It seems that Pauline,—a young and beautiful girl—attracted the admiration of her master, and being, to use the words of the law, his "chattel personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever," became the victim of his lust. So wretched is the condition of the slave woman, that even the brutal and licentious regard of her master is looked upon as the highest exaltation of which her lot is susceptible. The slave girl, in this instance, evidently so regarded it; and, as a natural consequence, in her new condition triumphed over and insulted her mistress—in other words, repaid in some degree the scorn and abuse with which her mistress had made her painfully familiar.

The laws of the Christian State of Louisiana inflict the punishment of death, upon the slave who lifts his or her hand against a white person. Pauline was accused of beating her mistress, tried and found guilty, and condemned to die. But it was discovered on the trial that she was in a condition to become a mother; and her execution was delayed until the birth of her child. She was returned to her prison cell. There for many weary months, uncheered by the voice of kindness, alone, hopeless, desolate, she waited for the advent of the new and quickening life within her, which was to be the signal of her own miserable death. And the bells there called mass and prayer-meeting, and Methodists sang, and Baptists immersed, and Presbyterians sprinkled,—and young mothers smiled through tears upon their newborn children; and maidens and matrons of that great city sat in their cool verandahs and talked of love and household joys, and domestic happiness,—while all that dreary time, the poor slave-girl lay on the scanty straw of her dungeon, waiting with what agony the dear and pitying God of the white and black only knows, for the birth of the child of her adulterous violator. Horrible!—Was ever what George Sand justly termed "the great martyrdom

of maternity"—that fearful trial which love alone converts into joy unspeakable—endured under such conditions! What was her substitute for the kind voices and gentle soothings of affection! The harsh grating of her prison-lock—the mocking and taunts of unfeeling and brutal keepers! What with the poor Pauline took the place of the hopes and joyful anticipations which support and solace the white mother, and make her couch of torture happy with sweet dreams?—the prospect of seeing the child of her sorrow, of feeling its lips upon her bosom, of hearing its feeble cry—alone, unvisited of its father; and then in a few days, just when the mother's affections are strongest, and the first smile of her infant compensates for the pangs of the past,—the scaffold and the hangman! Think of that last terrible scene—the tearing of the infant from her arms, the death-march to the gallows, the rope around her delicate neck, and her long and dreadful struggles (for attenuated and worn by physical sufferings and mental sorrow, her slight frame had not sufficient weight left to produce the dislocation of her neck, on the falling of the drop,) swinging there alive for nearly half an hour,—a spectacle for fiends, in the shape of humanity. Mothers of New England! such are the fruits of slavery. Oh, in the name of the blessed God, teach your children to hate it and to pity its victims.

Petty politicians and empty-headed Congress debaters are vastly concerned lest "the honor of the country" should be compromised in the matter of the Oregon boundary. Fools!—one such horrible atrocity as this murder of Pauline, "compromises" us too deeply to warrant any further display of their patriotism. It would "compromise" Paradise itself. An intelligent and philanthropic European gentleman who was in New Orleans at the time of the execution, in a letter to a friend in this vicinity, after detailing the circumstances of the revolting affair, exclaims, "God of goodness! God of justice! there must be a Future State to redress the wrongs of this. I am almost tempted to say there must be a future state, or no God!"

BRITISH FREE LABOUR COTTON MANUFACTURES. —Specimens have been received in this country of calicoes and muslins manufactured at Manchester, England, from cotton produced by free labour. They excel in fineness of texture, and equal in beauty of finish, any free goods yet manufactured in this country. This is the first public effort in England to make a distinction between Free and Slave grown cotton. We trust it is the opening of a new era, in the history of which will be written the downfall of slavery.

POETRY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

LITTLE LUCY'S DREAM.

For Evil is wrought by want of thought,
As well as want of heart. THOMAS HOOD.

I.

Little Lucy all the day
Smiling at her work or play,
Singing to herself—the while
Sitting on the footworn stile,
Stooping to caress a flower
Bent beneath the summer shower,
Playing with one baby brother,
Wreathing in her arms another,
Sewing by her mother's side
All her labor to divide,
Feeding puss, and patting Tray—
Thus glides swiftly every day.

II.

Little Lucy knew no sorrow;
Bright to her was every morrow;
Not a shadow lingered near
Her blue eyes so deep and clear;
Not a sigh her bosom stirred;
Left her lips no mournful word;
Pain and suffering knew she not;
Wealth nor want was in their cot;
But kind nature beauty lent,
And with sunshine beamed content.

III.

Little Lucy sat last night
Pensive in the moon's pale light,
With her eyes bent on her mother,
Hands clasped tightly in each other,
Listening with lips apart
Stories of a broken heart
That groped through its darkened way,
Hoping for no brighter day,
Looking back with shudder on
Chains and whips above it swung—
Looking forward parched with fear
That would yield no soothing tear.

IV.

Little Lucy said no word,
But her heart was strangely stirred;
Silently she crept to bed;
Heavily laid down her head,
And to Him, who everywhere
Is and loves, poured out her prayer,
Until on her soul there fell
Quiet with its holy spell,
And sweet sleep closed that young eye
That with tear-drops scarce was dry—
Ah, but in the sleepers's thought
How day's work will o'er be wrought!

V.

Little Lucy dreamed a dream,
That almost a truth did seem:
Far away 'mid bounteous showers
Of bright birds and golden flowers,
On the greensward, she reclined,
Fanned by summer's fragrant wind;
O'er her bent a leafy bower;
Forest trees around her tower;
Murmuring waters by her stole;
Summer sunshine bathed the whole;
But beyond this leafy screen
Parched and heated was the scene.

VI.

Little Lucy cast her eye
O'er the plain enquiringly;
Where the sun had baked the soil,
Men and women bent to toil;
Groups of children, hoe in hand,
Wander slowly o'er the sand;
And no shout of childish glee
Wakens Lucy's sympathy;
But a gloom is in each eye
Which she can too well descry.
Waiting not to think again
Tripped she o'er the sun-burnt plain.

VII.

Lucy soon amid the band
Gave to one her little hand,
On another dark-hued brow
Pityingly she placed it now,
And with laughter sweet and low
Prayed them in the woods to go.
Does your mother bid you stay
Toiling here the live-long day?
Ah, how weary are your feet,
And how cool the shade and sweet!
Come, I know that you may go!
But the children answered—no!

VIII.

Little Lucy scarce knew why
Tears were flowing from her eye—
Tell me why you may not stop?
Massa must get in his crop;
Day by day through heat and cold
Toil we all for massa's gold;
Bales of cotton for his store
Bring us not one comfort more;
While he rolls in silk and lawns
We scarce shield our dusky forms;
All our labor robes the free,
And we toil—in slavery.

IX.

Little Lucy's eyes were down,
Resting on her cotton gown.
Said the children, you can play
While we're toiling all the day;

That you may be neatly dressed
Oh how deeply we're oppressed,—
Fearing but the driver's crack,
Stinging on the toil-worn back,
All the good within grown dim,
Even our prayers denied to Him,
Young in years yet worn and old :—
Oh send massa no more gold.

X.

Little Lucy bent her head;
Bitter were the tears she shed;
The full burden of their woe
O'er her spirit seemed to flow,
So unconscious had she been
Her mite added to the sin;
And in that lone solemn time
With her heart rent by the crime—
Sleeping—waking—praying—weeping—
Pitying—loving—scarcely sleeping—
She craved faith and will and light
To uphold the bondman's right.

[The revolution of nearly seventy nine years may have made "dim" the eye, and "his natural force abated" of the much respected correspondent whose poetry we give below; but it has in no respect impaired his mental vision or moral energy. His perceptions of the truth are as clear and strong as ever, and his heart as warm in their advocacy. All hail to a good green old age!—and welcome the reminiscence of an instructive fable which belongs to the literature of a by-gone day!—EDITHS.]

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE CLOAK.

When very young, I used to look
In Dilworth's ancient spelling book;
And there I got, 'tis my belief,
My first idea of a thief—
Where two vile sharpers chanced to stop
Within an honest butcher's shop;
One stole a joint from off the hook,
And hid it 'neath his comrade's cloak—
The one that stole it had not got,
And he who had it stole it not.
The butcher did not understand
This cunning, dexterous slight of hand;
But thought, although he did not see't,
Between the two they had the meat.

Thieves now pursue a bolder plan,
One steals a free and living man;
Another buys him, cloaked by laws
Which sanction the unrighteous cause;
And then begins the sanguine battle—
To tame him to a passive chattel.
The buyer wields the sounding lash,
Deep cutting in the living flesh;
His streaming blood improves the soil,
And profit adds to unpaid toil.

Next we step in, and act a bolder
Part in the wrong, as prime upholder;
We buy, we wear, we eat the food
Tinged with the suffering negro's blood:
We clear our hands of woes untold
Within the slave-ship's dismal hold;
Lament the thousands dying there
By suffocation, in despair;
And all the deep unending woes
Inflicted till life's hopeless close.
The torturing whip we never crack
Upon the raw and naked back;
Or through the mangled flesh and fat
Tail foremost drag the sharp nailed cat;
When fainting with excess of pain,
Ne'er scourge him to his toil again;
With heated iron, in desperate hand,
The youthful female cheek ne'er brand.
We oft have plead the negro's cause
And sharply spoke 'gainst sanguine laws.

This is our cloak, 'tis broad and long,
Yet fails to hide the glaring wrong;
Being used so much, 'tis worn so thin,
Through its bare threads peeps out the sin.
We buy and sell, we eat and wear
The blood-stained produce of despair.
We own or hold no slaves, 'tis true,
But motive give to those who do.
If we would all refuse to buy,
Then slavery peacefully would die;
This simple, quiet, moral plan,
Would change the chattel to a man;
From his galled neck would fall the yoke,
And from our shoulders drop the cloak,
Which, from the old to present time,
Was worn, is worn to cover crime.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER

Is published on the first of each month, at one dollar per annum for one copy, or five dollars per annum for six copies in one order, payable in advance. Abraham L. Pennock, Samuel Rhoads, and George W. Taylor, are the Editors and Publishers; either of whom will receive subscriptions, payments, and communications. Letters and papers addressed to them, or endorsed Non-Slaveholder, directed to box 777, Philadelphia Post Office, will duly reach them.

By decision of the Post Master General, the Non-Slaveholder is subject to newspaper postage only.

FREE LABOR COTTON GOODS.—Bleached and brown 4-4 and 5-4 shirting and sheeting muslins, assorted colored cambrics, calicoes, and ginghams neat style fast colors, cotton twilled pantalon stuffs, apron check, cotton diaper and plaid table cloth stuff, assorted widths, manufactured from free cotton procured by the Free Produce Association of Friends, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. We have also in store India yellow and blue nankeens, seersuckers plaid and striped, white grass cloth, fine grass cloth hdkfs or cravats, and mull mulls. For sale by THOMAS S. FIELD & CO. Commission Merchants, 5th mo. 30th, 1845. No. 36 N. Front st. up stairs.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 1845.

[NO. 8.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

RESIST NOT EVIL.

There are three passages of scripture which afford an interesting and instructive comment on each other. The first passage contains the words of our Lord spoken in his sermon on the mount: "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil." The second passage is written by James, chap. 4: 7, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." To the young student of the scriptures here is an apparent contradiction; and it becomes a query in his mind what kind of resistance may be proper when resistance is forbidden. The third passage answers this query: Romans 12: 21 "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." What! says the young student, shall I do good to the devil? Yes, certainly. The devil cannot contend with the weapons of this warfare; he is at once vanquished and flees from this kind of resistance; but he is mighty and skilful when we use against him his own weapons—he loves the combat, and though he may retreat and give us some hopes of success, it is only an ambuscade—the prelude to his victory.

P. H.

Milan, (O.) 3d mo. 31, 1846.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

N C., 3d mo. 29th, 1846.

As regards the situation of matters pertaining to Slavery, I can offer nothing flattering. Many slaveholders are not ignorant of the evils of the system, both in a political and moral point of view. Yet they think it cannot be got rid of, and therefore calmly partake of its fruits; hushing their consciences with the belief that they can do no better. These are the avowed sentiments of those who admit that it is wrong, but I presume the secret motive of all, is self interest. The Methodists in this section are becoming somewhat awakened on the subject. Two prominent members have left the church on account of their permitting slaveholding; and at a certain meeting

house some ten miles from here, they have forbidden a slaveholder to preach. I am told however, that they cannot hinder it unless the whole Conference are in favour of the measure. And who can tell the horrors of the system? There is a woman living here who was once a slave. She has a great many brothers and sisters, many of whom are yet in bondage. Her husband was also a slave, but succeeded in buying himself, and afterwards her. Two weeks ago her youngest brother, W—, was here to see her for the last time. Some of the heirs of the estate to which he belongs live in Tennessee, and came on after him and eleven others, and this morning, when I was at meeting, I saw them pass along the road—truly a desolate looking company. W— has a free wife and two children, of whom he has taken a final leave I suppose to day. Moreover it is known to have been the desire of their old mistress, that W— should take care of his mother (who is still living) to the end of her days. But he is torn from her forever. Truly the condition of the slave is worse than the brute. He can look to no human tribunal for relief. The court which is held beyond the valley of the shadow of death, is the only one in which he need hope for justice. If he goes to the law for help in his despairing situation here he finds every door closed. Every statute is against him. It is true the law of this state now declares the killing of a negro to be murder, but it makes such provisions that, if a man whip his slave to death, he has only to swear that he died under moderate correction, or that he refused to submit to authority, and he is justified; and again the murderer walks the earth unharmed! Other acts of atrocity, which if committed against those to whom God has given "a form of fairer, whiter clay," would be visited by the death of the offender, or other heavy expiation, may be perpetrated with impunity on the negro, who can neither resist nor testify. "Oh," say I, in the language of Alvan Stewart, "sum of all human villainies, let the curse of God rest upon it, let every wind be charged with its destruction, every rising sun be its destroyer, the rolling seasons its executioner."

Moreover, if I should cause such a piece as I have here written, to be read and published to the slaves, or circulate it amongst them, the laws of my state would condemn me to be whipped on the bare back, and for a second offence death would be the penalty. Nay, if I were caught teaching a slave the alphabet, I should be subject to a heavy fine. It is thus they civilize them, thus they christianize them, by keeping them in the depths of ignorance lest they learn their rights.

Oh Liberty! fly from America—thou hast no foothold here. Fly to a land where thy name may be pronounced by lips less hypocritical, and where the shouts of freedom may not be deafened by the clinkings of the captive's chains. I fear, my friends, you will think me excited and enthusiastic, but it really seems to me as great an inconsistency, to talk about the United States being "a free country," or, "a land of liberty," as it would be to write "Love your enemies" in glaring characters on every cannon, musket, pistol, sword, and carbine ever used in war!

To the Editors of the Non Slaveholder.

Under the name of Friends are to be found those who differ widely one from the other upon the subject of slavery, the nature of it, and the evils produced by it; and also essentially differ in view on the subject of its abolishment; as to the proper means to be pursued, and the time when it ought to be effected as a matter of justice and right.

Some view slavery to be the robbing of the enslaved by fraud and force of all the various and high gifts that a beneficent Creator hath bestowed upon man, life excepted, thus embracing a composition of crime—that, in the aggregate, only stands second to the taking of life itself, and that the nature of the crime is the same in all times and places, only differing in degree and suffering according to circumstances; that the enslaved has at all times and under all circumstances the same valid claim to his liberty derived from the highest authority, which necessarily imposes a valid obligation on him who has invaded this heaven-born right to cease his aggression without delay, and that consequently the continuance of slavery is the continued practising upon the same principle upon which slaveholding was instituted, and evidently is a crime of the same nature.

Others again view slavery to be a less evil, and that its removal should be approached with caution, if at all—that the slave's liberation ought to be a subordinate and secondary concern, determined by expediency—that is, subordinate to the na-

tional compact; subordinate to all the relations and institutions embraced in this compact; subordinate to the peace and unity of the religious associations; subordinate to the interests of the master, who has paid his money for the slave; subordinate to the mercantile and manufacturing interests; subordinate to the privilege of trafficking in, and consuming slave labour products; lastly, subordinate to the circumstance of the slave's degradation and ignorance: and this last being deemed of itself an all-sufficient obstacle to the slave's being restored to his liberty, under existing circumstances, and the removal of this disability viewed as a work of a more delicate nature, than the abolishment of slavery itself. So that all the interests that come in for a prominent claim against abolition now, come in with the addition of the master's safety, with equal force, against the removal of the existing barrier to a preparation for liberty. He who is possessed of these latter views cannot be expected to be found labouring, except to keep others quiet who may feel constrained to "open the mouth for the dumb."

Now, how shall we account for this great disparity of views? Surely it comes not without a cause—and what is this cause? Is it the influence of self-interest, is it prejudice, is it pride, is it ignorance, is it tradition, is it custom, or is it all these combined?

What two persons, under our name, of common understanding, could they be entirely freed from these disabilities to forming an impartial judgment in the case, would not be prepared to unite in desire and practical labour to "undo the heavy burden, and let the oppressed go free?"

I am aware that there are many who are candid and well meaning, that are aiming to live an upright life—who are uninformed upon the subject of slavery and any mode of labour that should be pursued for its extinction—and view slavery to be an evil beyond the reach of their individual influence—have not clearly seen the intimate relation sustained between the master and the consumer of slave labour products in perpetuating the system of slavery—have not seen that the planter makes sale of the products of his slave's labour under no other but the same spurious title by which he holds possession of the person he styles his slave—have not been made acquainted how easily people in this part of the country may withdraw their share of that kind of aid upon which the system of slavery is absolutely dependant for its existence—have not seen that what they do by the hand of another they do themselves.

D. I.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ARE SLAVES UNFIT FOR FREEDOM?

The assertion is so often repeated, that slaves are unfit for freedom, that the sentiment has, like many other hacknied sayings which are incapable of being proved, received from many a tacit admission into their catalogue of postulates, as though no proof were necessary. So in reference to the danger of immediate emancipation, the assumption is made, by those opposed to the freedom of the blacks, that, as a matter of course, as soon as they shall gain their liberty, those poor people will set about doing all the injury they can to their white neighbours.

It is certainly very unreasonable, to say the least, that such uncharitable sentiments should be taken up, upon mere conjectural grounds, even against evidence, to the great injury and injustice of this deeply injured portion of mankind. The asserters of those dangers may safely be challenged to bring forward their proofs to sustain such sweeping charges, impugning the character, both moral and religious, of the whole slave population, numbering among them a large body of professors of Christianity, according to the testimony of Southerners. The fact is, there is no foundation for these declarations, but the reverse is true as well as reasonable. It is no uncommon thing for those who are implicated in sustaining any great social or national evil, to magnify the difficulties standing in the way of getting rid of it.

"The evil of yesterday's growth, may be extirpated to-day, and the vigour of society may heal the wound; but that which is the growth of ages, may require ages to remove. The Parliament of Great Britain, with all its philanthropic zeal, guided by the wisdom and eloquence of such statesmen as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, Canning and Brougham, has never yet seriously agitated this question, in regard to the West India possessions." So wrote a learned professor of one of our Southern Colleges in 1832. It is unnecessary to refer our readers to what has taken place in the British West India possessions within the fraction of an "age" since this vaunted sentiment and taunt of the "Parliament of Great Britain with all its philanthropic zeal," &c., were promulgated. Suffice it to say, that at this moment, not only are all the inhabitants of the British West Indies free, but the shackles of slavery have fallen from every individual throughout the extended dominions of Great Britain. And what have we heard of the unfitness of those formerly in bondage for the enjoyment of freedom; or, what evil deeds have we to accuse them of, as resulting from their emancipation? None of

those gloomy anticipations of Professor Dew and others like-minded, have been realized. But notwithstanding the extreme ignorance and degradation of the great body of West India slaves, they have maintained a peaceable demeanor, and are rapidly increasing in respectability, in knowledge, and in whatever ennobles and elevates our species. Just so, we may rationally infer, would be the consequences flowing from our rendering similar justice to the slaves of the United States. It is difficult to conceive that they could have any motive for pursuing a contrary course.

W—n.

SELECTIONS.

THE EPISTLE FROM THE YEARLY MEETING,

Held in London, by adjournments, from the 20th of Fifth Month, to the 30th of the same, inclusive, 1846; to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Through the goodness of the Lord, we have again been permitted to come together. He has been pleased to grant us renewed evidence of his fatherly care, whereby our hearts have been made contrite before Him. Under the sense of this, his unmerited kindness, we offer you the salutation of our love, desiring that we may all be united in the faith, the hope, and the fellowship of the Gospel.

The unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace is precious. This unity is in Christ: he is the ever-living head. He knoweth all the members of his body, under whatever denomination they may be found amongst men; and as their whole trust is in Him, he careth for them, preserveth them, and leadeth them safely along. It is in the knowledge of Him as the one Lord ruling in the soul, that the true brotherhood of his family is experienced.

Beloved Friends, it is our concern at the present time, that the unity which is in Christ may more and more prevail throughout our religious Society, in whatever part of the earth its members are found, whether in smaller or larger companies. It is a precious truth to us in our fallen condition, "that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." Christ, who knew no sin, who was a propitiatory offering for our sins and for the sins of all mankind, who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and who is ever present with his people, as 'their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and

their prophet to open divine mysteries to them,* was the foundation of our forefathers; and this foundation is ours. It was to this experimental knowledge of Christ that our early predecessors were engaged to gather all men, that they might really know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for him to dwell in. By one Spirit they were baptized into one body; and, rooted and grounded in love, they were, through the help of their Lord, united one to another in upholding an open and decided testimony to the Gospel in its primitive purity.

But we have, we trust we may say, a godly jealousy, that, although continuing to profess our ancient doctrine, we are not practically influenced by it as we ought to be. True faith in Christ leads into lowliness and into a continual watchfulness unto prayer. And we believe, that in this condition, we shall feel the accordance of those testimonies which distinguish us as a people, with the mind of Christ, and with the declarations of his evangelists and apostles. As each member of the church is thus brought under the divine power, he will be engaged to serve the Lord and his people, according to the measure of grace and faith bestowed upon him. They who have but one talent will not hide it in the earth, neither will they meddle with things too high for them; and they who have been entrusted with larger gifts, will use them, not as lords over God's heritage, but as the servants of Christ, labouring abundantly for the edification of the body in love.

Dear Friends, may we be kept in the fear of the Lord, out of the spirit of contention and of judging; but let every one of us judge this, that we put not a stumbling block or an occasion to fall in a brother's way. And whilst it is at all times the duty of the members of the church, faithfully to maintain the truth, and whilst some of them may rightly feel themselves called upon openly to oppose error, we believe that there is hardly anything more inimical to the growth of vital religion, than indulgence in the spirit of religious controversy. Satan triumphs when he can make the name of Jesus a word of strife and debate among the professed followers of their Lord. If he, our soul's enemy, can but introduce men into his spirit, he cares little how true may be their words. Let us, therefore, each of us mind our own calling by keeping our eye single to the Lord; and then shall we know that "the fruit of the Spirit" will, in the sight of others, be "in all goodness, righteousness and truth," and to ourselves, joy and peace.

* Journal of Geo. Fox, 8vo Ed. Vol. I., p. 163.

If the minds of all our dear friends were sufficiently alive to the duty which we owe to God, we should not continue to hear, as we do, of exceptions to the attendance of our meetings appointed to be held in the course of the week, for the worship of God. We desire at this time, to encourage those more especially who are much exposed to the spirit of the world, to be uniform in their endeavours to leave its many cares, and not only occasionally, but regularly to attend these meetings. We believe that those, who, under a weight of outward engagements, have pressed through them to meet with their friends, have often been rewarded for so doing by a renewal of spiritual strength. At the same time we affectionately desire that there may be a care to avoid, in coming to meeting, that hurry by which the mind is in danger of being disqualified for the performance of true worship, and for partaking of that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which is often mercifully granted, on such occasions, to the waiting soul. We would in much love apply this watchword also to the attendance of our Quarterly and Monthly Meetings for discipline. They are a provision which we believe has been remarkably blessed in our religious Society; but the benefit may be greatly lessened when the mind is not detached from worldly cares, and when the faculties are not offered to the service of the Lord, in the fulfilment of the duties which these meetings bring with them.

An earthly mind shows itself in various forms. At this day it is especially obvious in many of the lawful pursuits of trade and commerce, but it is by no means excluded from those of agriculture. The enemy of man's peace knows how to suit his baits to the various circumstances of human life. Markets and fairs may be lawfully frequented for the purchase and sale of produce, but they have their peculiar snares: and he who is seeking to live as a consistent Christian will in attending them, endeavour, as far as practicable, to avoid all those places of resort, and that association, which endanger the maintenance of either pureness, temperance, or integrity. And with regard to other modes of acquiring a livelihood, we feel concerned, amid the multiplied variety of these pursuits in the present day, to caution our dear Friends, how they enter into engagements which may subject them, by close and frequent intercourse, to the influence and example of individuals or bodies of men, whose minds are not under the regulating influence of the truth; lest thereby a worldly standard should be substituted for that true tenderness of conscience, which would not only preserve from injustice in dealing,

but would lead us in all things, to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us.

Nor is the leavening influence to which we have alluded, confined to occupations which are entered upon with a view to gain or personal advantage. It is not less insinuating or injurious in its effects on those who engage in affairs of a public, and especially of a political nature. We would affectionately recommend our dear friends to beware of entering into the spirit of party politics, and when they may think it right to exercise any political franchise which they may possess, to be on their guard that it be done in a temper and manner befitting the consistent Christian.

We have been at this time introduced into much concern with reference to the well-known testimony of our Religious Society against the attendance of places of diversion. Earnest have been our desires, that Friends everywhere, and particularly those in younger life, may seriously reflect on the injury, and in many instances, the moral ruin which pursuits of this description bring with them. And it is our conviction, that in proportion as the mind is renewed by Divine grace, all these vain amusements will be felt to be inconsistent with the restraints of the Gospel, and incompatible with that quietness and peace of mind which are the portion of the watchful Christian. Our attention has also been turned to the increased exposure of our young Friends to the temptations of music; which we believe to be, both in its acquisition and in its practice, unfavourable to the health of the soul. Serious is the waste of time to those who give themselves up to it: and what account can they render of those precious hours, which might otherwise have been devoted to the glory of God and the good of their neighbour. It does not, however, merely involve the absorption of time; it not unfrequently leads into unprofitable, and even pernicious association, and, in some instances, to a general indulgence in the vain amusements of the world.

We have, in usual course, received accounts of the sufferings of our members in Great Britain and Ireland in support of our testimony against all ecclesiastical claims, and the freedom of Gospel ministry. The amount thus reported, including the costs and charges of distraint, is about nine thousand three hundred pounds.

Epistles have been received and read in this Meeting from our dear friends in Ireland, and from those of the several Yearly Meetings of Friends in North America, and we afresh feel the comfort and the value of this epistolary intercourse.

We continue to deplore the wide-spread evils of the Slave-trade and of Slavery. They have for many years deeply interested the feelings of our religious Society; and we hear, with sorrow of heart, that they still prevail to a most affecting extent. We, therefore, again press it upon our beloved friends everywhere, to yield their minds to sympathy with the enslaved, and to a deep concern for the enormities of the traffic in the persons of men, whether on the coast of Africa or elsewhere.

Since we last met, much solicitude has been felt with reference to the threatened hostilities between this country and the United States of America. We cherish the fervent hope that so dreadful a calamity will, through the over-ruling mercy of the Almighty, be averted. Our testimony against all wars and fightings is truly a christian testimony. We rejoice in the belief, that a correct appreciation of the peaceable principles of the Gospel of Christ is spreading in our own and in other lands. We hail, as a symptom of this enlightened view, many instances of later years, in which disputes between nations have been settled by arbitration, and not by a recourse to the anti-christian practice of war. May a sense of the wisdom and true policy of arbitration increase, until it shall become the ultimate rule for the determination of such differences. And O! that all nations that take upon them the name of Christ, may be brought, by the light of his Spirit, to see that in having recourse to arms to settle disputes, and in gratifying the lust of conquest and power, they give occasion for his holy name to be blasphemed by Mahometans and Pagans.

And now, dear Brethren and Sisters, everywhere, we desire with reverence of soul, and with thankfulness to our Heavenly Father, to acknowledge that he has heard our prayer, and not turned away his mercy from us. His love has been shed abroad amongst us from one time to another, in which love we have enjoyed some sense of the blessed fellowship of the Spirit. May every one of us henceforward live unto Christ, and walk in love, as he also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering, and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour.

Signed, in and on behalf of the Meeting, by

GEORGE STACY,
Clerk of the Meeting this year.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

An anonymous and unknown correspondent severely reproves us for publishing an account of

the proceedings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and threatens to withdraw his name as a subscriber, if such things are to appear in future. We are sorry to have been the cause of such feelings to any one, but cannot help thinking that our correspondent will feel differently, when he has thought more carefully upon the subject. Under the head of general intelligence we notice such items of news, as we suppose may interest our readers. If a remarkable murder is committed; if there should be among us an insurrection, or an attempt to assassinate Gov. Briggs, we should give notice of it, and our subscriber probably would find no fault with us. Why, then, should the Anti-Slavery Society be singled out, as a subject about which no intelligence should be given? Are their proceedings so much worse than the crime of Albert J. Tirrell, that they cannot even be named in a brief abstract without wounding the moral sensibilities of religious men? If the Anti-Slavery movement is a trifling matter, such a notice as we have given can do no harm. If it be one of the great movements of the times, agitating this country from one extreme to the other, as no other subject does, and every year becoming more serious, we cannot wink it out of sight. Our silence will only cause its voice to be heard more loudly. It must engage the attention of the sober, thinking men of the community. It is well that they should watch its progress; that they should see the extravagant excesses into which it is bursting out; and strive not to stop it,—else it will overwhelm and crush them;—but to guide it, to bring to bear upon it the influence of wise thoughts and a Christian zeal.

It is idle to say, that it is a subject which does not concern us. It meets us at every turn. It is the great question of the age, throughout the whole civilized world. It is not the exclusive property of a few fanatical anti-slavery leaders in Massachusetts. It is engaging the attention of Christians and philanthropists everywhere, at the North and at the South,—in Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and even the Bey of Tunis has abolished Slavery throughout his dominions as inconsistent with his ideas of right. The doom of Slavery is sealed; and it must soon take its place with piracy and the Slave-Trade, both of which were once honorable employments. It must go down. The religion, the morals, the intelligence, the enterprise, and the selfish interests of the age, are conspiring against it. The only question is as to the time and the means. Shall it be left entirely in the hands of fanatics—the two extremes at the North and the South? Or

shall the ablest and wisest men of the nation give to it their profoundest thought, and devise the most peaceful and effective means for its entire removal?

The subject is altogether too solemn for levity or passion. Three millions of human beings, kept in bondage by a nation of Christians, whose great law of religious duty towards man is, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,—by a nation of freemen, whose first article of political rights is, that all men are born free and equal,—are an object, the thought of which may call forth tears of sorrow and penitence, may make us tremble lest the righteous judgment of heaven should fall upon us, and lead us to give up all our powers of thought and action to devise and carry out the means for its removal. But we cannot regard it with petulance or levity. Nor can we throw it aside as having nothing to do with us. When our ships are lying idle at the wharves, when we are spending three millions of dollars a week, to say nothing of the waste of life and morals;—when more than twenty-five thousand men are called out from the free States to shed their blood in an infamous war brought upon us by the influence and for the extension of Slavery, it is an insult to our intelligence, to tell us that we have nothing to do with the subject. We cannot escape it. It meets us at every turn. It is the controlling power in our political movements. It makes our laws, appoints our officers, and without our consent declares war. It is dividing and tearing in pieces our churches. It is threatening civil disorganization and disunion. All this it is now doing; and it will not do to close our eyes against it. The question is one that we must meet, calmly, deliberately, with our best thoughts and our most fervent prayers. In this way, by devising the most effectual means of removing a deep seated, and otherwise fatal disease,—in this way, and in this alone, shall we prove ourselves the true conservatives of the public peace.—*Boston Christian Register.*

EX-PRESIDENT JEFFERSON AND THE COOPER'S SHOP.

The following was related, many years since, by one of the parties, who was a very respectable citizen of Montgomery county, Pa., since deceased:

During the presidential term of Thomas Jefferson, two young men from Pennsylvania took a lease from him of his merchant mill at Monticello, one of the stipulations of which was that

the landlord should erect for their use, within a given period, a cooper's shop. The time for a meeting of Congress soon arriving, the President had to repair to Washington to attend to his official duties, where he remained a long time absorbed in national concerns, and the building of the cooper's shop was entirely forgotten by him. Not so with his tenants, whose daily wants constantly reminded them of the provisions contained in the lease; and finally they determined to erect it themselves, and charge the cost of it to their landlord. On the return of the President to his mansion, the parties met to settle a long account current, which had been running during his absence. The items were gone over and scrutinized one by one, and all were found satisfactory but the charge of building the cooper's shop, to which he objected, alleging that he could have erected it with his own workmen. Several attempts were made to effect a settlement, but they always failed when they came to the cooper's shop. The young men became warm and zealous in the affair; and the parties, instead of getting nearer together, found themselves at every interview wider apart.

In this state of affairs, the father of the young men, who was a mild, affable, conciliating gentleman, possessing some knowledge of the world and its ways, arrived on a visit to his sons, who informed him of their difficulty with their landlord. He requested them to leave it to him, observing that he thought he could effect an amicable settlement in the case. This course was accordingly acceded to, and in due time he waited on the President with the account. It was scanned and agreed to, except the charge for building the shop, which, he said, with some firmness, he should not allow for reasons stated. His opponent, observing his apparent decision on the subject, very gravely remarked: 'Well, friend Jefferson, it has always been my practice through life, to yield rather than to contend.' Immediately on this remark being made, the president's chin fell on his breast for an instant, when raising his head in an erect position, he observed in a very emphatic manner, 'a very good principle, Mr. Shoemaker, and I can carry it as far as you can: let the account for the cooper's shop be allowed.' Thus ended the difficulty, and the parties continued their friendly regard for each other till death separated them. And the cultivation of a similar disposition, 'to follow peace with all men,' would terminate thousands of difficulties, add much to the happiness of individuals, and tend to promote the general harmony and order of society.—*Christian Non-Resistance, from Farmer's Cabinet.*

ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BELFAST SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS SINCE ITS FORMATION IN 1836.

As ten years have elapsed since the Society was formed, the Committee think it a fitting period to take a brief retrospective view of their operations, and thus show how the Divine blessing has accompanied their humble labours. The first effort that was conceived necessary, on the formation of the Society, in March 1836, was to endeavor to get the English Act of Parliament, 5 and 6 Wm. IV., cap 59, extended to Ireland. After twice petitioning Parliament, corresponding with the Government and with several members of the Legislature, and obtaining petitions from other towns, in favor of the object, a Bill was at last introduced, by the Irish Secretary, Lord Morpeth, M. P., which finally became a law, July 15, 1837, being 1st Vict., cap. LXVI. This point gained gave great encouragement to the Committee.

The sufferings of horses standing with loaded carts next called their attention; and, by application to the Police authorities, a notice on the subject was printed, and, on the re-modelling of the bye-laws, a fine of Five Shillings was ordered for that offence. The Committee subsequently published a handbill on this subject, of which they have circulated many thousands, in the hope of gaining the moral influence of the community.

A few months after the Society commenced their operations, and previous to the Act above referred to being extended to Ireland, a bear was baited in a yard near the Newmarket, and all the exertions of the Society were then totally unavailing to oppose any check to that cruelty, which was greatly lamented at the time, both by the authorities, the Committee, and the humane public. This offence has never been repeated in this town.

In order to bring the law against Cruelty into practical operation, 1839-40 the Society commenced a plan of paying a reward of Five Shillings for each case to such Day Constables as might obtain a conviction for cruelty to the lower creation. The consequence was, that several persons were convicted and fined, for using horses with galled shoulders, and other species of cruelty. This mode of proceeding was found too expensive, as in one month-£7 were paid as rewards.

The interest in favour of the humane treatment of animals having greatly increased, the Society, in 1841 resolved on making an extra appeal to the public, which proved most successful; and, in September of that year, they were enabled to adopt the plan of the Parent Society—of having a paid Con-

stable, who, although under the general superintendence of the Police authorities, is left entirely to the direction of the Committee as to his duties. His regular written instructions were submitted to, and approved of, by the Magistrates, and he systematically visits the whole town once a week, and attends the whole of the markets on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Much cruelty is thus checked, and thousands of the Society's documents are distributed to those in charge of cattle. Through the friendly assistance of the authorities, he is regularly supplied with the uniform of the Day Constables.

In 1840 the Committee were most anxious that the horses employed in town should have a supply of water, in the want of which these useful animals suffer most severely, more particularly in summer. Several unsuccessful applications were made to the authorities, but the supposed expense and other difficulties entirely frustrated, for a time, the wishes of the Committee.

In 1843 the Society most unexpectedly received two donations, of £5 each, for the express purpose of assisting in the erection of water-troughs for horses in Belfast. The Committee renewed their application to the Police authorities for permission to erect a water-trough, as an experiment, at the expense of the Society, which was granted. The Water Commissioners, co-operated in the most friendly manner; laid an additional main-pipe, at their own expense, from the south corner of Donegall-quay to the head of Limekiln-dock, the spot selected for the trough, and granted the supply of water gratuitously.

The trough has now been in use two years, and is found to be extremely useful.

Since 1844, large open boxes, at the expense of the Society, continue to be used in Smithfield, regularly on market days, for the reception of young calves. Before this plan was adopted, these young and helpless animals were literally trampled underneath the feet of both men and cattle.

The Society circulated the printed information respecting the improved harness and saddle invented by Mr. Bencroft, of Barnstaple, and recommended by the Parent Society, as these inventions have a direct tendency to lessen the sufferings of that useful and noble animal, the horse. For the same reason, they have used their influence in recommending the improved patent axle of Rowan & Sons.

On two occasions the Society were enabled to grant silver medals, and four prizes in books, for Essays by the young in the schools of Ulster, on the Humane treatment of Animals; and they endeavour to introduce publications of a suitable na-

ture into all the Sunday-schools in town; they have particularly called the attention of the Commissioners of National Education, in Dublin, to the subject.

On one occasion, regarding a case of cockfighting, in which the parties appealed against the sentence at the Police Court to the Quarter Sessions, the Society employed Counsel; the sentence was reversed in favour of the offenders; on which, the cause was carried by the Society before the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, and finally the original sentence against the offenders was confirmed.

The Committee have met 69 times during the 10 years.

The Society feel thankful that their efforts have been owned by a superintending Providence; and, although much remains to be done, they have been enabled to commence the good work in calling the attention of the public mind to the rights of the lower creation; and, since the formation of the Society, they are glad to notice that, in general, horses of a better description are in use in the jaunting-cars for hire at the different stands in Belfast.

In conclusion, the Committee beg to add the following summary of facts:—

- 12 Petitions have been presented to Parliament.
- 3 Memorials to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 15 Memorials to the local authorities and public bodies in Belfast.
- 20 Sermons on the sin of Cruelty to Animals have been preached in Ulster, of which 12 were in Belfast, at the request of the Society; 2 in Newtonards, 1 in Downpatrick, 1 in Saintfield, 1 in Lisburn, 1 in Connor, 1 in Ballymoney, and 1 in Larne.
- Prizes—viz., 2 silver medals, and 4 prizes in books, granted for Essays on the humane treatment of the lower creation.
- 1 Water-trough erected in Limekiln-dock.
- 200 Cards reprinted from the London copy, recommending kindness to post-horses hired for gentlemen's carriages.
- 9000 Bills have been printed, recommending the use of rests for loaded carts.
- 8000 Extracts from the Act of Parliament 5 and 6 Wm. IV, cap. 59 (against cruelty.)
- 3000 Copies of a tract, written by the Rev. Isaiah Steen, one of the Honorary Secretaries.
- About 3000 Tracts, purchased from the Parent Society, and about 12 copies, annually, of their Report, for circulation among the friends of the cause in this country.

329 Convictions in Belfast (to Dec. 31, 1845) for Cruelty to Animals.

Previous to the formation of this Society, in 1836, there were only two other auxiliaries to the Parent institution in London—the Bath and Somerset, and the Leeds Societies; since which, we are happy to state that the following have been instituted, and are all advancing the cause in their different localities:—

- In 1838, Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse Society;
- " 1839, the Scottish Society at Edinburgh;
- " 1840, Norfolk and Norwich Society;
- " — Liverpool Society;
- " — Dublin Society;
- " 1842, Bristol and Clifton Society;
- " — Exeter Society;
- " 1843, Gloucester Society;
- " — Bury St. Edmund's Society.

So that, now, there are twelve auxiliaries, thus proving a considerable advance in public opinion at home; and it is hoped that, ere long, every large town in the Empire will follow these examples. The cause is likewise gaining in foreign countries.

FRENCH EMANCIPATION.

Emancipation, immediate et complete, des Esclaves. Appel aux Abolitionistes. Par G. DE FELICE. Paris: Delay, 1846. *Immediate and complete Emancipation, &c.* By G. DE FELICE. Paris, 1846.

Here is a book worthy of the great subject of which it treats, and of the reputation of its distinguished author. Masterly in conception, in argument, and appeal, it cannot fail to make a profound impression on its readers. It is just such a production as the times require, and most fervently do we hope that its circulation will be as great as its merits. The temporising Abolitionists of France, to whom it is specially addressed, cannot, we think, resist the force of its principles, the array of its facts, or the suavity of its spirit. Converted to immediate abolition, they will, we trust, lay aside all their schemes for meliorating the condition of the slaves, with a view to their ultimate emancipation, and devote themselves with conscientious earnestness and zeal to the great work before them. But in order that consistency may be given to their efforts, and that success may attend their well-directed labours, they must organize on the principle of immediate and entire emancipation. It is not enough to admit the doctrine; it must be practically applied. Hitherto the friends of the slaves in France—and,

we rejoice to say, there are many such—have been divided on the question of immediate emancipation. Each has had some scheme of his own for hastening the downfall of slavery; but the schemes of each and all have been successively rejected, and the Government, taking advantage of this state of things, first delayed the settlement of the question, and when public opinion would no longer endure its procrastination, concocted a measure which can never be worked out, and which must end in failure. In the meantime the poor slaves will have to endure all the horrors of their dreadful condition, aggravated by the feelings of their masters, who have been exasperated by the interference with their authority, contemplated by the act of July the 18th, 1845, and the ordinances which have been recently issued for giving it effect. The attitude assumed by these masters is one of hostility. They have determined to render every measure which curbs their power a dead letter. Our advice then is, deal with these men boldly, cut the ground of controversy from under their feet, deprive them at once of the right of property in their fellow-men, and adopt the principles which Professor de Felice recommends with so much eloquence and force. Among Frenchmen we have no doubt there will be, generally, a hearty response to his urgent appeals; and will they not find an echo in the Chamber of Deputies? The Count de Gasparin, the Marquis de Tracey, and M. Ledra Rollin, representing as they do different political sentiments, can render immense service to the cause of human freedom, by combination on the principle of immediate and entire emancipation. Let them do this, and this great question, which involves the liberty of two hundred and fifty thousand slaves, and, so long as it shall remain unsettled, the honour of France, will receive a speedy and satisfactory solution. To M. de Felice we offer our warmest thanks for this well-timed and admirable production, and respectfully tender to him our cordial greetings on the courage he has displayed in grappling with the prejudices, the false principles, and the false reasonings of the pro-slavery party, and the success with which he has disposed of the hesitations and timid policy of the friends of the anti-slavery cause. We intend hereafter to give some specimens of this valuable contribution to anti-slavery literature.—*A. S. Reporter.*

PROGRESS OF ABOLITION.

From the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery for 1846.

The anti-slavery cause, though far from having accomplished its great work, the universal ex-

tion of slavery and the slave-trade, has nevertheless been so signally successful in its past labours, as to leave no doubt, under the divine blessing, of its final and complete triumph.

To the State of Vermont, in the United States, belongs the honour of having first abolished slavery, by its constitution, in 1777. Vermont was followed in the work of abolition by Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, in 1780; by Connecticut and Rhode Island, in 1784; New York, in 1799; and New Jersey, in 1804. In all these states, with the exception of Vermont, slavery was gradually extinguished, and in one of them, New Jersey, a few hundred slaves still remain in bondage.

Mexico, on the anniversary of its freedom from the dominion of Spain in 1829, issued a decree by which all its slaves were declared free, as "an act of national justice and beneficence."

The first of the South American Republics which abolished slavery was Buenos Ayres, in 1816; Columbia and Chili followed in 1821, Bolivia in 1826, Peru, Guatemala, and Monte Video in 1828, and Uruguay in 1843. With the exception of Uruguay, slavery still lingers in these Republics, but it is in progress of gradual extinction, and it may be affirmed, that if the laws be faithfully executed, it will soon completely disappear.

In Haiti, formerly St. Domingo, slavery was abolished by the French Commissioner, in 1793; but an attempt was made by Buonaparte to re-establish it in 1802, which was defeated, and since the declaration of its independence in 1804, it has been in the possession of its freedom.

Great Britain did not follow the example thus set her until the year 1833, when the imperial parliament abolished slavery throughout the whole of her colonies in the West Indies, South America, southern Africa, and the Indian Ocean, or, to speak more strictly, substituted for it a system of apprenticeship, which was finally terminated in 1838, amidst the rejoicings of the emancipated slaves, and the congratulations of their exulting friends. In 1843, the Supreme Council of British India abolished slavery throughout the vast territories subject to its control; and during the same year, liberty was proclaimed at Malacca, Singapore, Penang, province Wellesley, and Scinde. To this may be added that, in 1843, the imperial parliament, terminated the system of slavery, which prevailed at its settlement on the gold coast, Western Africa. In 1844, the Governor in Council at Hong Kong abolished slavery; and, finally, at the close of the same year, the Queen issued an order in council which destroyed the last vestige of slavery in Ceylon. Nor do the more civilized nations stand alone in this great work. The

Bey of Tunis finally consummated the work of abolition, which he began in 1843, at the commencement of the present year; and this, to use his own words, he has done "for the glory of mankind, and to distinguish them from the brute creation."

Such is a brief view of the triumphs of freedom over slavery during the last seventy years.

In reference to the African slave-trade the following facts will be found interesting. The first Power which abolished that dreadful traffic, was Denmark. This she did in 1792, and was followed by the United States and Great Britain in 1807, by Sweden in 1813, by the Netherlands in 1814, by France in 1815, by Spain in 1820, by Buenos Ayres in 1825, by Colombia in 1825, by Mexico in 1826, by Brazil in 1829, by Sardinia in 1834, by Portugal in 1836, by the Hanse Towns, Tuscany, Bolivia, and Peru in 1837, by Naples in 1838, by Haiti, Venezuela, Chili, and Uruguay in 1839, by Texas in 1840, and by Austria, Prussia, and Russia in 1841.

With all these powers Great Britain has treaties or conventions, more or less perfect, for the suppression of the African slave-trade; and with the exception of Portugal, Spain, and Brazil, especially the two latter, it may be said to have ceased, though the flags of many of them are still prostituted by the slave-traders to cover the nefarious traffic.

By many of these countries the African slave-trade has been declared piracy, and by all of them, with the exception of Brazil, a highly penal offence. But none have gone so far as Great Britain in her efforts to destroy it. Her laws not only prohibit her subjects from aiding and abetting the slave-trade, but from the purchase and sale of slaves in foreign slaveholding countries, under any pretence whatsoever. This enactment was intended, among other things, to prevent the investment of British capital in slaves for the purpose of working plantations and mines.

In referring to the treaties of Great Britain with foreign states for the suppression of the slave-trade, the committee would not be understood to approve them, as a means of overcoming that gigantic evil, but as indicating, that its defence as a legitimate mode of supplying their respective colonies and dependencies with labour, has been abandoned; and as showing that it is generally regarded with the abhorrence which its criminal character so richly merits.

[Further portions of this valuable Report will appear in the next number of the Non-Slaveholder.]

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH 1, 1846.

LONDON EPISTLE.—The Epistle from the late Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London contains so much salutary advice, that we thought our readers generally would be glad to have the opportunity of perusing it. We have accordingly inserted it in our present number.

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.—A book under this title, written by Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, Massachusetts, has been recently published by James Miller McKim, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia. It forms a duodecimo volume of 240 pages, at the price of 37½ cents. The author rests his argument for Christian non-resistance, primarily, upon the doctrines of the New Testament, and is careful to distinguish the non-resistance he advocates from that which is merely philosophical, sentimental, or necessitous, though he satisfactorily shows it to be in perfect accordance with the laws of nature, considered in all their developments. He derives the term Non-Resistance from our Saviour's injunction "RESIST NOT EVIL." Matt. 5: 39. This direction, in his view, requires us to abstain from all personal injuries, either as a means of retaliation, self-defence, or suppression of wrong, whilst it leaves us in the unimpaired right, and under the unimpaired obligation of offering the utmost moral resistance in our power to every manifestation of evil among mankind. He does not consider non-resistance as identical with absolute passivity, but cautiously admits of an uninjurious physical force in cases where it would really benefit the party to whom it is applied. He carries out the doctrine of non-resistance to the extent of inhibiting our voluntary connection with any political compact, civil or military league, covenant or constitution which requires, authorizes, provides for, or tolerates war, blood-shed, capital punishment, or any kind of absolute injury, offensive or defensive. He believes, however, that Governments may be constituted upon just and non-resistant principles, with unquestionable safety to the communities they represent, and will be thus constituted whenever the mass of the people, the exponents of whose intelligence governments are, shall really embrace Christian principles. Till then, he defers the right of Christian non-resistants to participate in them. About one-third of his book is occupied with special and highly interesting illustrations of the efficacy of non-resistance, as a defence against wrong, taken from

real life. We select one of these cases for our present number, and may offer others to our readers at a future time.

We have read this work with deep interest, and concur with its obviously benevolent and intelligent author in most of his statements and conclusions. In some respects, however, they transcend our views; chiefly in his doctrine of non-participancy in civil government. We can readily perceive that he who votes for a slaveholder or warrior, or for the friends of slavery and war, as much ratifies the principles in which those wrongs exist, and as much involves himself in a responsibility for all acts done by his agents in those relations, as does the buyer and user of the products of those wrongs endorse the principles, and become accountable for their practical enactment: but we are not prepared to assert that it is inconsistent with a pure christian morality to seek the elevation into political office of men imbued with Christian principles and competent to their exemplification, nor of such men to accept office, whose influence and votes would sometimes procure the adoption of proper measures and sometimes prevent the adoption of improper ones, and whose whole career would always reflect upon the nation the light of those principles.

Our difference of views does not preclude us from commending this book to the attention of our friends, and of all inquirers into the peaceful Truth. They will find in it the Christian doctrine of non-resistance ably explained and defended, and the objections to it, and evasions of it, as ably examined and exposed. We think the lover of Truth will rise from the perusal, delighted and improved; and however he may reserve his approbation from some of the extreme points taken by the author, he will not regard them as intrusive, but as being well entitled to his further serious consideration.

DUTY OF ABSTINENCE AND APOLOGIES FOR ITS NON-OBSERVANCE.—That slavery is a wrong practised on the slave—having for its object to rob him of the productions of his labour; that this wrong depends for its existence on the demand for those productions, and that the persons who make the demand occasion and sustain the wrong, are facts too apparent to admit of denial. The doctrine founded upon them is equally clear, that to give this occasion for the continuance of slavery is as criminal as is any other participancy in any moral wrong. We venture the assertion that if selfishness were banished from the bosoms of professing Christians, no doctrine would be more quickly received, acknowledged and acted upon than the

above. As it is, no doctrine is more earnestly resisted by persons who ought to eschew all connection with wrong, and who aim to do so in relation to all other wrongs than that which gives strength and sustenance to slavery.

These views are expressed in the spirit of charity not less than of candour. We offer them in no feeling of crimination towards those who occupy the same position which we held, in common with them, but a few years since. We have had our own experience in the matter, and speak from that experience—condemning our past participation in the wrong just as severely as we condemn the present participation of others. We know the facility with which we seized upon any plea, however frail, for avoiding the cross which abstinence would variously impose on our interests and enjoyments.

We were led to these reflections by a letter from a correspondent in Ohio. The writer advises us of a prevalent apology in his vicinity for the use of slave-produce, contained in the following propositions, to which he requests our answer.

1. That the persons who sell to the slaveholder the productions of free labour, do as much sustain slavery and are as much guilty of its support, as are those who buy of him the productions of extorted and unremunerated toil.

2. That those who object on principle to the use of the products of slavery, and do not object to sell their goods to slaveholders, have inconsistent views, and that such inconsistency of the avowed champions of the doctrine of abstinence must be taken as evidence that the doctrine is itself unsound.

In making our reply we do not stop to inquire how many advocates of this doctrine do actually sell their honestly procured goods to slaveholders, or to disprove that *two wrongs*—if there be a wrong in selling to the slaveholder as well as in buying of him—can ever make *one right*: but we proceed to show the fallacy of the propositions by stating them in more general terms, in which position it will more readily appear; reminding the reader that the slave has by natural right a property in the product of his toil, which follows it wherever it goes, and none in the free goods sold to the slaveholder, or in the money—the artificial equivalent—which the slaveholder pays for them.

By the first proposition, if any person who has for sale in an open market honestly acquired goods shall incidentally sell them to another person guilty of robbery, he as much sustains robbery, and is as guilty of supporting it, as the person who buys the goods which were the subjects of the felony!

By the second proposition, if the person objecting to the use of goods taken by any process of robbery shall sell his honestly acquired goods as above, his act is to be regarded as evidence that the doctrine against the buying of goods feloniously taken is unsound!

The axiom in morals, without which this world would be a chaos of fraud, that "the receiver is as bad as the thief," includes the buyer of the goods which were feloniously taken, but not the individual who sells his honestly procured goods—even to a robber. We do not mean to imply that in the latter case no offence can be committed, but we deny the parallelism and equality of the cases. There are doubtless many circumstances under which he who sells to another his justly procured goods becomes the aider and abettor of crime; and he obviously is so, when he knowingly furnishes any facilities for the perpetration of the great wrongs which belong to slavery and the slave trade. The honest abstinence will be always on his watch against all occasions of doing this.

When the sentiment was expressed to the late William Allen that, with respect to supplying slaveholders from the stores, it was not the business of the managers of the Sierra Leone Company, to inquire what the things were wanted for, he observes—"I maintained, that admitting it was not their business, yet, when a man comes and says, I want a supply of articles for the purpose of buying slaves, or where we have every reason to believe that things are wanted for that purpose, they cannot be supplied without a degree of participation in the guilt. I stated my own case, in which a merchant, with whom I had done considerable business, sent me a large sea-chest to refit. I suspected from the nature of it, that it was destined for the slave-trade, and, on inquiry at the merchant's counting-house, found that it was so. I then told him that I could not, consistently with my feelings and principles, derive profit from, or at all aid or assist in such a business. They of course sent for the chest, and I lost their custom. T. F. Foster quite agreed with me, as did Thomas Harrison."

"On a subsequent occasion of a somewhat similar character," say the editors of his "Life and Correspondence," "William Allen pursued the same consistent course. The Emperor Alexander urged him to undertake the supply of drugs for the Russian armies—an offer which he gratefully but firmly refused, and the Obituary of the Royal Society, after stating this circumstance, adds,—'To his honour be it spoken, he resisted a temptation, the value of which it would be difficult to

estimate. At the end of a long life he could say, that he had never compromised his public usefulness for private interests.'"

THE SLAVE PAULINE.—The London "Pictorial Times" of June 6th, 1846, introduces, with the remarks which we copy below, the article published in our last number, relative to the slave Pauline, and also accompanies it with a picture representing the officers of the law, armed with clubs and whips, in the very act of tearing her new born babe from her bosom, preparatory to her own execution:

"Slavery in America."—When the Americans were talking loudly about going to war with England for the Oregon, the journalists on the other side of the Atlantic were, of course, divided upon the question. There were war articles and peace articles, the one appealing to the passions and vanities of the mob, and the other addressing the better judgment of the people, and exhorting them to pause before joining in the outcry of blood, waste, and misery. Fortunately for both nations and for humanity, the latter section have, for the present at all events, got the best of the argument, and we are to have it seems a fire of protocols instead of broadsides of cannon shot. The American writers who supported the cause of peace availed themselves most ably of the many powerful arguments to be found in support of a peaceful policy; they appealed to the Christian feelings of the religious—to the economic interest of the trader—to the fears of the timid, and to the good judgment of the generous and reasonable. But they forgot to lay full stress on the reason why the United States should avoid war as they would avoid destruction. It would seem as though those who live in that country were so familiar with this reason, that the very familiarity closes their eyes to its potency; as if near neighborhood to the danger had robbed it of its terrors, and made that seem harmless which sooner or later threatens to overwhelm the 'model republic' of the New World in intestine struggle, bloodshed, and misery. Should the United States ever be involved in a general war, she has undoubtedly, within herself, the elements of certain defeat. This weakness for war—this plague-spot on her body-politic—this disgrace to her name and lineage—this scandal upon her religion, is SLAVERY.

Republicans deal in flesh and blood—republicans forge chains for the slave—republicans, so free and generous, declare it death to teach a negro to read—republicans so brave, dare not

trust with a book a black man whom they affect to despise.

This is, indeed, a melancholy spectacle, and it is one that strengthens the argument of those who pronounce the heart of man to be originally and irreclaimably vicious. With a rich country—a vigorous population—a public literature, and a thrilling future before them, the citizens of the United States have yet the cowardice to encourage slavery. There is too strong a suspicion that, for Slavery's sake, Texas was annexed; and now, for Slavery's sake, slave-owners would coerce Mexico—a land which, if worse governed and less fortunate in native energy than its northern neighbors, has yet had the national courage and the natural humanity to abolish slavery.

How frightfully the system of Slavery works in the United States, let the following narrative tell. It requires no commentary. It is a tragedy of Sin and Crime and Cruelty, as deep as ever ink was called upon to chronicle, or soul of man to grieve for. This one case is surely enough to make every American who has a heart cry aloud for the extinction of a system which gives birth to such iniquities—enough to make every face in the whole Union crimson with the blush of shame and sorrowful indignation.

Much more in sorrow than in anger are such cases read and spoken of, and commented upon, in England. It required a long and arduous struggle to repeal the slave laws in our own dominions, and the tardy act of justice is too recent to allow us to forget that, under the sanction of British law, the negro was the property of his purchasers. But England *has* done justice—though she paid dearly for it—and Englishmen of all degrees, classes and conditions are anxious to see their brethren across the Atlantic wipe the stain from their country. Where there is English blood it should work against the tyranny of slavery; where there is English courage, it should scorn the cowardice of slavery; where the English tongue is spoken, it should denounce the injustice of slavery."

FREE COTTON GOODS.—We have received letters from various quarters, desiring information relative to the progress of the Free Produce Association in manufacturing goods. One of the Manufacturing Committee has furnished us with the following list of articles, which are now ready for sale, and can be furnished wholesale and retail, at nearly the same price, and in some cases at the same price as slave cotton goods. Orders should be directed to Thos. S. Field & Co., 36 north Front street, Philadelphia.

4-4 and 5-4 shirting and sheeting muslins, brown and bleached.

Assorted colored Cambrics.

Calicoes and Gingham, neat styles and fast colors.

Diaper and plaid table cloth stuff—assorted widths.

White and coloured Canton Flannels.

Long and half hose of superior quality.

Knitting cotton.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—Nearly eight pages of the London Anti-Slavery Reporter are occupied with an abstract of the Annual Report of this Society for 1846. We have room in our present number for that part only which shows the progress of the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade. It is interesting in itself, and will be valuable for future reference, especially on account of its dates.

PREVENTING CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.—We are indebted to a valued correspondent in Belfast, Ireland, for a copy of the tenth annual report of "The Belfast Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals," and we regret that our limits will not permit us to insert it. We find, however, in the appendix an "Abstract of the Society's proceedings since its formation in 1836," which we give to our readers, and cannot but desire that similar means may be adopted in the large cities of this country, to accomplish the same benevolent purposes.

The act 5 and 6 William IV. cap. 59, imposes fine and imprisonment in various cases of cruelty to animals, but the Belfast Society has always acted on the principle that "prevention is better than cure," and has only resorted to the infliction of penalties when milder means would be likely to be ineffectual. Amongst the means in operation are these: "1. The circulation of suitable tracts, gratuitously or by cheap sale, particularly among persons entrusted with cattle, such as drovers, coachmen, carters, &c. 2. The introduction into schools of books calculated to humanize the minds of youth. 3. Frequent appeals to the public through the pulpit and the press, and by every mode tending to awaken more general attention to this important and interesting subject. 4. The employment of inspectors in the markets and streets. 5. The prosecution of persons guilty of any flagrant cruelty, and giving publicity to the same."

The parent society in London, was instituted in 1824, and appears from its last annual report to be successfully engaged in prosecuting its

benevolent objects. The constables of the Society visit other cities, and the total number of convictions obtained during the last year for cruelty, including those in the metropolis, was 230. Some idea may be formed of the extent of their operations from the fact that the contributions for the year amounted to about seven thousand dollars.

One pleasing feature in the efforts of these Societies is, the erection of water troughs at carriage stands and other public places. The constable of the Belfast Society attended at a water trough for one hour each day, during forty-six different days, varying the hour, and ascertained that the greatest number of horses that used it during any one hour was 53, and the least 15, and the average of the whole was 27 per hour.

BRITISH MINISTRY.—Late arrivals from England bring us information of an important change in this department of the British Government. On a question being taken in Parliament upon a measure introduced by Sir Robert Peel, and which he and his coadjutors deemed to be necessary to the preservation of order in Ireland, they were left in a considerable minority: their resignation was the consequence; and an administration under Lord John Russell, representing in that respect the views of the successful party, or rather combination of parties, has followed.

With the name of Sir Robert Peel is associated those great events of the age—the repeal of the British Corn Laws and the introduction into British policy of a system having for its ultimate purpose the abolition of all restrictions on a free commerce in free goods. He retires from office with an amount of personal popularity which, probably, no other minister has ever taken with him in leaving this distinguished station, especially when, in carrying out his schemes of national policy, he has had to cross as well the path of friends as foes. The enthusiastic reception which his retiring speech in Parliament received, even from his opponents, is evidence of this. His policy in favour of Free Trade and in opposition to all monopolies in behalf of agriculture, trade, or commerce, will be probably followed by his successor, with the fatal difference to bleeding humanity that no distinction will be maintained between the productions of free labour and those of an opposite character—a distinction which formed an important element in the late Premier's theory of free trade. We deplore then the event which has brought into power an individual prominently opposed to that distinction, though not selected, we hope, on account of this difference

POETRY.

"MOVING BEFORE THE BODY."

There is a pure inspeaking voice and competent to teach,

Whose counsels if thou wisely heed, thy inmost need will reach!

There is a light—observe it well—no ignis-fatous ray—

Mistake it not—it came from Heaven and shews thy heavenward way!

And yet when light beside is given, and Duty's course is clear,

And Selfishness alone creates what obstacles appear, By seeking miracles to teach what was already known,

Or waiting further light, were want of Faith's obedience shown.

'Twere weak, presumptuous, vain, to seek a special revelation

To shew what stands in bold relief and courts thy observation.

Oh bring not thou in disrepute the doctrines we revere,

By pleading them for selfish sloth—mere pretexts insincere!

There's deference due to those who long have walked in Wisdom's ways,

Whose feet are beauteous in those Courts, whose entrance gates are praise;

But if on man too much thou lean,—pierced by the broken reed—

The Lord may take away thy staff* in thy extremest need.

With reverence view the Church and own with awe its holy Head,

Its counsels never yet have erred, when He those counsels led!

Wholesome and binding its decrees forth in His power when given;

What thus is bound or loosed on Earth is bound or loosed in Heaven.

But take not for the Church's voice *their* dictum whose example

Was money changers of old time or venders in the Temple;—

Nor with the mystic body that associate mass confound,

Who, on a catalogue enrolled, by common rules are bound.

The Body owned by Christ the Head, in Him alive remaineth—

A Church composed of names enrolled, some halt and blind retaineth.

Isaiah, iii: 1.

of sentiment. The abolitionists of England, we are glad to be advised, will make a powerful rally, and, we trust, a great moral impression on the British nation, in favour of the distinctive policy, should the attempt be made to open the ports of Great Britain to the admission of Brazilian and Cuban sugars upon the same terms as those produced by free labour. They perceive truly that the opening of the trade with Brazil and Cuba will be to open new flood-gates of blood to already greatly bleeding Africa, by the large increase it will give to the market for the products of slave cultivation, and thus to the importation from Africa of the cultivators necessary to that hateful market.

We give below an extract from a circular recently addressed to members of Parliament, on the subject of the sugar question, and in anticipation of its being introduced to the consideration of the present Parliament.

"The question then arises, shall this great country which has relieved itself from the guilt of continuing the slave-trade, which has emancipated millions of slaves in its distant dependencies, so legislate now, as to stultify its own most glorious acts, and build up a system of atrocious wrong and cruelty in other countries, which it would not tolerate in its own? The Committee trust they value the interests of legitimate commerce as highly as the most ardent of its advocates; but, in their judgment, it would cease to be legitimate were it carried on at the sacrifice of human liberty and human happiness. The Committee would rejoice in the financial prosperity of the country, but they never could be parties to any measure which would connect that prosperity with the uncompensated toil of slaves; and they have too much confidence in the humane feeling and Christian principle of their fellow-countrymen, to believe that they would ever willingly consent to advance their personal interests at the expense of the freedom of their fellow-men. They hate slavery. They love liberty. They laboured long, and, at length, successfully, to establish the rights of humanity in every part of the British empire; and now their mission is, in the use of all honourable means, to extend their principles, and diffuse their spirit throughout the world. To you, sir, as one of their representatives, is now presented the alternative of sustaining a system which brutalizes and destroys human nature, which robs innocent men, women, and children of their most precious rights, which degrades them to the condition of things, and derides and defies the authority of Heaven—or of crippling, where you cannot absolutely annihilate, its power."

And if supinely thou should'st lie at earthly Temples' porches,
It may be thou wilt miss the voice which speaketh to the churches,
Accountability to God must ever be direct—
It is not through the medium of society or sect.

Summon up the ghost of Luther with Melancthon at his side!
The Vaudois and the Waldenses for Truth who testified!
And Fox—from the blind teachers of the blind who nobly turned—
From the true and living witness the way of Life who learned—
And Woolman, who in gentleness pursued the narrow way,
Nor for the fellowship of man, nor for the church could stay,
Who bore the bondman's burden upon his prayerful heart,
Till in his exercise of soul the Church at length bore part;—
Ask these if Truth would dictate that you close your eyes on light,
Till a great unwieldy body can perceive the true and right!

Beware the enthusiast's ultra zeal! unbidden haste beware!
In overweening confidence may lie thy fatal snare.
But let not bonds of sect keep back thy spirit from its goal,
Restrain thy feet from Duty's path and manacle thy soul!
Reposing on thy Church's breast, forget not those who dwell
In Slavery's shades, and look to thee their tale of woe to tell!
By word and deed continuous plead the outraged bondman's cause
Nor implicate thyself in wrong for profit or applause.

Bind to thy heart the principles of thy most holy faith!
Swerve not from them in Fortune's beam or Persecution's wrath!
Bring all thy actions to the test of duty and of right—
Let all thy steppings, day by day, be taken in the light,
But fail not when thy course is clear advancing steps to make,
Because a body too supine unreal rest may take.
Had Luther waited for the Pope and all his Priests to own
The truths which burned within his breast, where then were Luther's crown?

He who would act a faithful part the path of some must cross:
Had Woolman waited for the church, the church had suffered loss!
But moving in the light of Truth the enlightening influence spread,—
The sluggish body followed on, where faithful ones had led.
They waited for the opening-way—but when the way was clear,
They pressed right onward steadily in meek yet bold career.
Brave pioneers, like Joshua and old Jephunneh's son,
Exploring realms of principle, to them by Faith made known,
And, walking blameless in those paths they ventured to explore,
Abundant fruit like Eshcol's grapes back to the camp they bore.
Press on thy individual course of duty and of love,
With conscience pure—after, before, or with the body move!
Act not from whim, caprice,—but well persuaded in thy mind—
Nor harbor one ungenerous thought toward those who wait behind.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

LIFE OF WILLIAM ALLEN.—The subscriber, having received from London the first volume of this most valuable and delightful biography, proposes to reprint it as soon as he obtains a sufficient number of subscribers. As there will be no other edition, it is desirable that those who wish to have the life of this noble Philanthropist sent in their names immediately. There will be three volumes for the low price of four dollars, about half the price of the English edition. Any one forwarding twenty dollars for five copies, will be entitled to one gratis.
HENRY LONGSTRETH,
Bookseller and Publisher, 347 Market street, Philada.

FREE LABOR STORE.—The subscriber having purchased the stock and fixtures of the store at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, of Lydia White, would respectfully inform his friends and those who prefer using the produce of free labor, that he will continue the business as heretofore, and hopes by attention thereto, to merit and receive a continuance of the patronage bestowed on the former occupant.
JOEL FISHER.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER

Is published on the first of each month, at one dollar per annum for one copy, or five dollars per annum for six copies in one order, payable in advance. Abraham L. Pennock, Samuel Rhoads, and George W. Taylor, are the Editors and Publishers; either of whom will receive subscriptions, payments, and communications. Letters and papers addressed to them, or endorsed Non-Slaveholder, directed to box 777, Philadelphia Post Office, will duly reach them.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 1846.

[NO. 9.]

COMMUNICATION.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

SATSBURY, 7th mo. 18th, 1846.

After hearing, and seriously and candidly considering, all the opposing arguments, I am fully convinced of the duty of refraining from articles the produce of slave labour. We are frequently told that slave produce has become so general and so mixed and complicated, that it cannot be analysed, and that in some things, at least, it is impossible to get entirely clear of the productions of slavery; and from these premises the conclusion is drawn that because we cannot do everything we may do nothing. The fallacy of this mode of arguing is readily admitted when applied to our testimony against using the prize goods of war. No consistent Friend tells us that if these goods became so general in the market as to render it impossible totally to avoid their use, we would be excused from exercising a religious care to abstain from purchasing or using them in cases where they could be distinguished from other goods.

Our Society, in its connection with slavery, did not with one great step get from slavery to freedom. The first step it took was a very short one—"to buy no slaves," still keeping what they had—and the Society had to ascend by many steps before freedom was granted to its slaves. The same may be said of the action of Society, respecting spirituous liquors. But I need produce no more examples to prove the weakness of the argument, for they may be found in every business and in every duty.

For a considerable time past I have been induced to fear that a falling back or apathy has prevailed in our Society, in latter years, respecting slavery. A comparison of our present state with the lively sentiments and feelings of active members, forty or fifty years ago, I think warrants this conclusion. A relative of mine, recently deceased, told me a few days before he died, that when he was young, he lived a short time with James Jackson, a worthy and active Friend of Hockessin,

who mentioned to his family in the hearing of my relative, that he had come to a fixed conviction of mind not to wear blue stockings any longer, and wished the disuse of indigo in the family, because the poor down-trodden slave had to toil to produce it. About that time such a feeling prevailed that the blue stocking was nearly excluded from Society, although the colour had been general. Another friend informed me that a noted family of Marlborough, having exchanged the blue for walnut brown, not only in stockings, but other clothing, some person, unfriendly to the change, gave to the walnut brown the name of Bernard Blue!

"To stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance," is as much a duty now as it was in the days of the Apostle Peter; and this, I trust, is my object in writing. The Apostle Paul says, "The love of money is the root of all evil," and I think it may be applied to slavery as correctly as to most other evils. If the Apostle, then, be correct, to abolish slavery we have only to separate or keep away its root, that from which it has its constant supply for existence or life. Separate the root from the great trunk and branches, and the *upas*, whose shade spreads far and wide, impoverishing many fair and fertile States, and poisoning the happiness of millions of mankind, will fall—must fall. Surely every one who wishes this great evil to exist no longer, is in duty bound to examine carefully where the money comes from, on which the very existence of the system depends.

The traders to Africa for slaves must have money to induce them to become pirates, and carry on all the treachery, violence, and murder connected with the business; they must have money to pay the cost of vessels and seamen employed in the nefarious traffic. If nothing could be got for the slaves when brought to America—if no purchasers, no money, could be obtained for them, would the pirate go immediately back to Africa for another cargo, with no prospect of selling those he already had? No man in his senses would continue such a losing business. The traffic with all its concomitants, would at once cease.

Like a tree that had lost its roots, it must die—it must fall. So with slavery itself; the slaveholder could not keep the system from sinking without his supply of money. Where does this money come from? ought to be a serious question with every one who is sincerely opposed to slavery. If the slaveholder could get no money for the produce of his slave's labour—and if there were no purchasers or consumers, there would be no market, no sale, no money—would he, against his interest, uphold the system or attempt to sustain the poisonous, overgrown tree without its roots? No, it would fall—it must fall.

Where, then, does the money come from, that produces and upholds the whole system of slavery from first to last? I answer, from the consumers of the productions of slavery; and each one who purchases such goods, contributes his part to sustain the evil, and must be accountable for the guilt, if conscious of what he does.

To illustrate the subject over again:—Suppose a slaveholder had purchased a cargo of slaves and made them plant a district with tobacco, and after the process of preparing it was completed, it was taken to market and offered for sale, and no one would buy it, because no one would use it—the community having simultaneously agreed to expel the poisonous weed and give no more of their money for the ill-gotten luxury—then there would be no sale, no money for it, and the tobacco might lie and rot. Would the slaveholder set about planting his district over again with tobacco? No, the business must cease. From which it may be clearly deduced, that if every other article of slave produce, as well as tobacco, found no purchaser, there would be no cargoes of slaves for sale—no slavery.

You are at liberty to publish whatever of the foregoing you may think proper, with my name attached.

WM. KIRKWOOD.

SELECTIONS.

PROTEST AGAINST THE PROPOSED INTRODUCTION OF SLAVE-GROWN SUGARS INTO THE BRITISH MARKETS.

A crisis has arisen in the history of the anti-slavery cause of so grave a nature as to require the instant attention, and the prompt and vigorous action of every friend of liberty and humanity throughout the United Kingdom.

It is understood that the first great measure which the new Government intend to submit to the consideration of Parliament will have for its object the introduction of slave-grown sugars into

the British markets. The grounds on which this step is attempted to be justified, are those of political expediency and commercial advantage. It is intended thereby to augment the quantity of sugar for home consumption, to increase the revenue from the duties leviable thereon, and to complete the series of free-trade measures which have already received the sanction of the Legislature and of the Crown.

These grounds would be perfectly legitimate, did not the plan contemplated by Government injuriously affect the rights of millions of mankind; and involve the violation of those high moral considerations which should always influence the conduct of Governments and Legislatures, as well as that of individuals.

That the measure proposed by Government will have the effect of strengthening the system of slavery, of stimulating the slave-trade, and of adding to the horrors of both, admits of no doubt with most, if not all, who have maturely studied the question. And it is because, in the deliberate judgment of the undersigned, that the proposed measure would lead to these dreadful results, that they enter their solemn protest against it; and call most urgently on the friends of the anti-slavery cause, in every part of the country, to follow their example.

First:—With respect to slavery.—It is assumed by those who advocate the proposed measure for the equalization of the duties on foreign sugars, without regard to origin or country, that from 70,000 to 80,000 tons of slave-grown sugars will be annually required to meet the increased demand in the British markets. These sugars will come principally from the Spanish West India colonies and Brazil, where, it is notorious, slavery assumes its most degrading and terrific forms. Of the slaves employed in the cultivation of sugars in Cuba, one-tenth perish annually, and the whole are killed off in ten years. In Brazil the mortality on the sugar estates is admitted to be five per cent. per annum, in some cases more, which would destroy the population in twenty years. Now this takes place under the present demand for sugar. But with the increased demand contemplated by the new arrangement of the sugar duties, that murderous mortality will be fearfully increased, or new slaves must be imported to meet the exigency. At present neither the Brazilian nor the Cuban planters possess more labourers than they require. They have no unemployed slaves, no hands in want of work, no superabundance of population. On the contrary, all hands are now worked to excess. It follows, therefore, that the very same people who are thus

murdered by wholesale to make the quantity of sugar now exported from Cuba and Brazil will have to make more—that is to say, they must be forced by the lash to a new excess of labour, at which they will be more wretched while they live, and under which they will more rapidly die. Where the labourer is free, every augmentation in the demand for the produce of his toil increases his means of subsistence and comfort; where the labourer is a slave it as certainly diminishes them, and destroys him.

That slavery will be strengthened must be obvious from the fact that additional capital will be directly employed in sustaining it, and thereby rendering it more profitable than it is at present. A great mercantile House at the Havana whose authority is quoted in the last slave-trade papers, states that whilst “they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market open to the produce of the island,” they were convinced that “if this could be effected—even at a rate of 50 per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they could obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present.” If such be the fact, who can reflect on the consequences without a shudder?

Secondly:—With respect to the slave trade.—No one can believe for a moment that the Brazilian and Cuban planters will let their stock of slaves diminish. To fill up the gaps created by the vast mortality which is incessantly going on among them, they have recourse to the African slave-trade. By this horrid means they recruit and increase their gangs; and, beyond all doubt, this traffic will be pursued with greater desperation and atrocity in proportion to the growing urgency of the demand and the eagerness of planters to purchase. At present, the enormous profits derived from the contraband slave-trade present an irresistible stimulus to the traffickers in men; but it will receive an additional and enormous stimulus should the proposed measure take effect. Under existing circumstances the slave-trade cannot be put down; under the additional incentive, it must be not only perpetuated, but increased. If more sugar is to be made in Cuba and Brazil, there must be more hands to make it; and these hands must be fetched by slavers from desolated and bleeding Africa. On the supposition that these countries will supply 50,000 tons of the assumed quantity of sugar, 50,000 new slaves at least must be obtained to prepare it for exportation; and to meet the wastes of mortality that will be occasioned by the severity of the system under which they are placed, a

large additional number of Africans must be imported, to join that host of human beings who are every year torn from their native homes by the slave-traders, and compelled to surrender up their liberty to the tyrant task masters of Brazil and Cuba.

The proposed measures will, in the opinion of the undersigned, as certainly, and almost as directly increase the slave-trade, as if this country had given a premium for every kidnapped negro forced on board the slavers, and carried from Africa through the unutterable horrors of the middle passage, to interminable bondage.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the accumulated horrors of slavery and the slave-trade. They are too well known, and too sorely lamented by the friends of humanity to need specification. Yet it should be remembered that the slave populations of the Spanish colonies and Brazil, are innocent men, women, and children, who have been despoiled of their most precious rights, and subjected to the most atrocious discipline, to satiate, if it were possible, the spirit of Mammon. It should be recollected also that the murderous system of slavery prevalent in Cuba and Brazil, is preceded by one still more terrible in Africa and during the middle passage. It may be asserted that for every African slave landed in these countries, two perish in the original capture, and during the subsequent stages of the infernal traffic. And, further, it should be borne in mind that the greater portion of the slaves in Cuba and Brazil are entitled to freedom by virtue of the treaties of those countries with Great Britain, and are only debarred from the enjoyment of liberty by the disgraceful violation of solemn compact. But instead of demanding their liberty, a splendid bribe is about to be offered in order that commercial intercourse may be facilitated with people whose crimes against humanity merit the execration of all men, and cry aloud for the vengeance of Heaven.

But besides the increased sacrifice of human life, and the augmentation of crime and suffering which will, undoubtedly, be the fruits of this measure, the undersigned contemplate, with the deepest sorrow, its destructive effects upon all that is done, and is doing, for the civilization of Africa. The noble efforts which have been made, and are making, for the introduction of Christianity into that continent, will be paralyzed by the increased impetus given to the slave-trade. The enlightenment of men, and the spread of the gospel, cannot co-exist where the crimes of the slave-trade are perpetrated and fostered.

It is the chief glory of this country, that in the exercise of a high and noble policy, it has, through

its legislature, declared the slave-trade to be piracy and felony; and the system of slavery to be inherently and essentially unjust. It has, moreover, sanctioned a vast outlay of the national treasure in the attempt to suppress the former, and for the abolition of the latter. To promote, then, their extension in foreign countries, either directly or indirectly, or to countenance such enormous crimes, or to seek to increase the revenue from sources so polluted, will be flagrantly inconsistent with its own solemn decisions embodied in acts of Parliament.

In 1840, a measure similar in principle to that under review was proposed to Parliament. Then the Government gave it a decided negative. The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Labouchere,) said:—"No one could entertain a doubt, (in the event of the motion being carried,) that the great mass of foreign sugar imported into this country would be from the Brazils. In Brazils no sugar was produced, except by slave-labour. He felt it to be a painful duty to oppose the motion, but the question he had to ask himself was this, whether he would consent to give such a stimulus to slave-labour in the Brazils as would be produced by throwing open the market of this country to the reception of their sugar. He was not able to make up his mind, that this was a course which he ought to recommend to the house. He did not believe that it would be agreeable to their constituents, WHEN THEY UNDERSTOOD THE FACTS OF THE CASE." He would not be a party to a measure which, he added "would inundate the British market with sugar the produce of slave labour." The introduction of slave-grown sugar, opposed by such reasons, was at that time successfully resisted by those who now propose to introduce it.

In seeking the exclusion of slave-grown sugars from the British market, the friends of the anti-slavery cause design to uphold no monopoly, to strengthen no class interests, to promote no sordid or selfish views, much less any party purpose; but their aim is to lessen the sum of human misery and degradation, and to advance the sacred cause of freedom throughout the world.

Thomas Clarkson,	Benjamin Seebohm,
Stephen Lushington,	Alfred Harris,
Edward N. Buxton,	John Crofts,
George Stephen,	Thomas Beaumont,
Samuel Gurney,	Richard Peek,
George Stacey,	William Cross,
George W. Alexander,	Thomas Catchpool,
Joseph Cooper,	Samuel Carr,
John H. Hinton,	James Haughton,
John Scoble,	Henry Russell,

Jabez Bunting, D. D.,	Samuel Capper,
Robert Munro,	Joseph Eaton,
Henry Sterry,	Matthew Forster,
James Carlile, D. D.,	James Finlay,
Edmund Pace,	William Beaumont,
Jacob Post,	George Richardson,
Gurney Barclay,	Henry Richardson,
Samuel Gurney, jr.,	Joseph Ogilvie,
Samuel Sturge,	F. A. Calder,
Lewis F. Bellot,	Maxn. Sanders,
Josiah Forster,	Jas. Stanfield,
Robert Forster,	T. Cunningham,
Samuel Fox,	Anthony Wigham,
William Ball,	David Macallan,
Joseph Sturge,	Alexr. Jesup,
Richard T. Cadbury,	Philip Thompson,
John Dunlop,	Henry Taylor,
Edward Cruickshank,	John Beaumont,
R. K. Greville,	John Brown,
Robert Jowitt,	Edward Palk,
Thomas Scales,	Joseph Clark,
W. E. Forster,	A. Mordaunt,
Joseph J. Gurney,	George Laishley,
William Forster,	James Clark,
Joseph Geldart,	John Rice,
Frederick Mackie,	F. Russell, A. M.,
Charles Horsnaill,	James Thomas Davies,
William L. Crewdson,	William Sims,
Isaac Braithwaite,	C. S. Fanshawe, M. A.,
Joseph Fergusson,	Joseph Hingstone,
G. H. Head,	Richard Luney, A. M.,
Joseph T. Price,	John Nicholson,
Samuel Bowly,	Wm. Spencer,
E. O. Tregelles,	J. H. Johnston,
John Budge,	John Dymond,
R. Wardlaw, D. D.,	William Lee,
William Smeal,	Edward Hemming,
John Murray,	Thomas Hartley,
W. T. Blair,	John Candler,
James Bardinell, M. A.,	Edward Brewin,
John Allen,	John Woodwark,
Edward P. Smith,	Robert Alsop,
	H. S. Rice,

SUGAR DUTIES.

The following letter is a reply to one from G. R. Porter, of the Board of Trade, which appeared in the Times of the 24th inst. [July.]—*A. S. Reporter.*

To George R. Porter.

DEAR FRIEND,—I observe in the Times of yesterday a letter from thyself, addressed to me, in reference to a protest against the proposed measure of the present Government for the admission of the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil into the British market; and to which, in conjunction

with a number of the friends of the anti-slavery cause, my name was attached. My regret that I am opposed in opinion to one with whom I so cordially unite on many great public questions, is lessened by the conviction that it will not disturb the cordiality of feeling which has long subsisted between us.

Though I do not admit the accuracy of thy conclusions with regard to the facts and reasoning on the protest, I will not now advert to them; as it is far more important, at the present moment, that the attention of the public should be confined to the question of the justice and sound policy of excluding slave-grown produce, than to the consistency or inconsistency of any of its advocates. And it is to this point I propose to confine my few remarks.

I affirm, to the fullest extent, the principles of free trade in all legitimate commerce; but it is universally admitted that stolen property cannot come under this description, and that both individuals and nations who recognize Christian equity as the basis of their conduct, must refuse to participate in the guilt of the thief by receiving or using the stolen property. Now, the great point at issue, as a question of principle, probably turns upon whether it can be proved that the known produce of slave-labour ought to be treated as stolen property. To come to a just conclusion upon this subject, it is necessary briefly to advert to the system by which tropical slave cultivation is carried on. The victims of this system it is well known, are innocent human beings, who have been torn from their native land in violation of every law, human and divine, or are the descendants of those who have been so torn, and that they are compelled to uncompensated toil by brutal coercion. If the victims of this system were English men and women, and especially if they were the wives, the sons, the daughters, the brothers, the sisters of our legislators, who had been kidnapped, and, after enduring the horrors of the middle passage, were toiling and bleeding on the sugar estates of Cuba and Brazil, we should not only have a unanimous vote in Parliament against taking into the consumption of England the produce of their labour, but vengeance would probably be taken not less fearful than that formerly inflicted upon Algiers, for holding a few Europeans in slavery. Now, those who affirm that Christian brotherhood is not confined to clime or colour, contend that a similar rule of action should be applied to the African race, as though the sufferers were our own countrymen or our own kindred.

The advocates of this position are told of the

inconsistency of keeping out slave grown sugar, while slave-grown cotton, coffee, &c., are admitted; they fully admit and lament this inconsistency; and, were it in their power, would prevent it, but all they can at present do, is to exert themselves to support those who would check the extension of the appalling consequences resulting from the use of slave-grown produce, and they are sorry to see honest and enlightened men, with the awful facts before their eyes, of a free trade in cotton in the space of fifty years adding about 2,000,000 to the slave population of the United States, and fostering a great and most revolting internal slave-trade, and yet supporting a similar course with regard to sugar. The abolitionists, as a body, are not only no parties to the sanction of colonial monopoly, but many of them signed a protest against the grant of \$20,000,000 to the slaveholders in 1833 from the national resources, as unjust to the people of this country, and also as giving a sanction to the unrighteous principle, that man could hold property in his fellow-man.

It has been asked if we would now stop the imports of American cotton and throw millions of our fellow-countrymen out of employment; but the question now before the public is, whether, with the fearful consequence of the trade in slave cotton before us, they are prepared to take the national guilt of pursuing the same course with respect to sugar.

It is assumed by a part of the public press, that the voice of the industrious unrepresented portion of the people of England is in favour of the admission of the slave-grown produce. From some knowledge of them, I can, with great confidence, express quite a different opinion, as far as the facts have been fairly brought before them. This has not as yet been generally done; but at a recent public meeting at Birmingham, which was numerous attended, the following resolutions were passed without a dissentient voice:—

"That this meeting, considering that to open the British markets to the importations of the sugar of Cuba and Brazil would strengthen and extend the atrocious system of slavery which prevails in those countries; aggravate, to a fearful degree, the sufferings of their slaves; and greatly stimulate the slave-trade; feel it to be their duty to offer every measure that would have that effect their most strenuous opposition.

"That nevertheless they feel it to be equally their duty to recommend to Parliament the propriety and necessity of opening the ports to the reception of sugars the *bona fide* produce of free labour, whether from the British colonies and territories abroad or from foreign countries on equal

duties, so that they may come into full competition with each other, and advance the cause of human freedom throughout the world."

It is an unjust imputation upon our labouring population to suppose that they have not sufficient sympathy with those who are in misery and suffering to make them willing to submit to any reasonable sacrifice rather than be supplied with articles watered with the tears and stained with the blood of the slave. The sacrifice, however, is not necessary, for I need scarcely say that a slave-population are the least consumers of manufactures; and that if a small portion of the money spent in the fruitless and impolitic, and, as many hold, unchristian attempt to put down the slave-trade by armed cruisers, had been directed to the encouragement of the products of free labour in Africa, and if a fraction of the treasure which has been spent in the destruction of human life in India were applied in doing justice to her population, and encouraging the cultivation of her soil, and in the improvement of her means of communication, and if we placed the slaveholder, as he ought to be, on the same footing as the slave-trader in a moral and commercial point of view, by refusing to take the fruits of his guilty traffic, the day is not far distant when all the world would be cheaply supplied with the products of free labour, and slavery would sink for ever from its own inherent weight.

It is from a conviction, on deliberate consideration of the subject, that the principles of free trade are so trampled under foot by slavery, that the known consumption of its productions is a violation of the law of "doing unto others as we would that others should do unto us," and that our government, by the course they are adopting, are offering a bribe to the receiver of the stolen man at the same time that they send armed cruisers to treat those who steal him as a pirate; and that as the immediate effect of the admission of the sugars of Brazil and Cuba for consumption into Great Britain, will be an enormous increase to the extent and horrors of the slave-trade and slavery, some of us have felt bound, uninfluenced by party or personal considerations, to use every legitimate means to oppose the proposed measure. We shall thus have the consolation of reflecting that if it be carried—which we fervently hope may not be the case—the crimes and miseries which result from it were evils we could not avert.

I am, with unabated esteem and respect,

JOSEPH STURGE.

London, 7th month 25th, 1846.

REDUCTION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.

The blow has been struck. The House of Commons has decided, by a large majority, that the blood-stained sugars of Brazil and Cuba shall be admitted into the British markets. Had this great question been discussed on its merits, and in view of those appalling facts with which it is associated, we feel persuaded that the decision of the House would have been the reverse of that which we have occasion to lament. But it was not so decided. The interests of party have been allowed to predominate over the interests of humanity; and by a political manœuvre, disgraceful alike to those who counselled, and to those who submitted to it, the resolutions of the Government have been carried. The slave-masters and slave-trafficers of Brazil have won a triumph in the British Legislature which will fill their hearts with joy, whilst the poor Africans who toil on their plantations, or suffer the extremity of human anguish in the holds of their slave-ships, will send fresh cries of woe to Heaven for the new miseries which will be inflicted on them, to meet, what are called, the necessities of commerce, and to add another half million of pounds sterling to Her Majesty's exchequer! Surely, it was enough that our commerce with foreign nations was already polluted with the guilt of slavery, without adding this new ingredient to deepen and blacken its character. We ought, in all conscience, to have made a stand here; and then earnestly and zealously have sought the means of supplying our markets with the free productions of free countries. And who, with a competent knowledge of the subject, would have denied the practicability of this being done?

By some, the proposed measure is designated as one of free trade. We utterly deny this. Let the principles of free trade be applied to it, and it will not bear the test. Free trade, as we understand it, is freedom of commerce with all nations, without restrictions or imposts, in all things honest and honourable. But the principle of this measure not only imposes duties varying from three-halfpence to twopence farthing per pound on sugar, but sanctions the principle of dealing in articles which bear the imprint, too legible to be mistaken, that these are THE PRODUCE OF PIRACY AND FELONY. Yes, we affirm that the sugars of Cuba and Brazil are stolen goods—stolen under circumstances the most atrocious and revolting; and, however much it may be attempted to be softened down, every bale of cotton, every bag of coffee, every hogshead of tobacco, and every box of sugar imported from slave countries, is the produce of rapine and murder most foul and heart-rending.

Let any one who doubts this, examine the evidence which the system of slavery everywhere presents. Let them but cast their eyes over the statements drawn from recent official documents contained in the present number of the Reporter, and deny it if they can.

By others, it is affirmed, that the effect of the proposed measure will be the reverse of that which we contemplate. They gravely tell us that the letting in of the slave-produced sugars of Brazil and Cuba will annihilate both the slave-trade and slavery; that, so far from extending and stimulating these infamous crimes, it will so increase and stimulate the production of free industry, as to render the former unprofitable, and the triumph of the latter inevitable. They go upon the assumption that free labour is, *under all circumstances*, cheaper than slave-labour; and, on this assumption, for which they have no proofs, they support the policy recommended by the Government. We hold that free labour is cheaper than slave-labour, *the conditions being equal*; but beyond that, no abolitionist of any name has ever gone. That warm friends of the anti-slavery cause have adopted the view to which we have referred, sincerely and conscientiously, we have no doubt. Their views and ours are now to be tested, or, at least, when the duties on British colonial and foreign slave produce are fully equalized, will be tested; and the result will prove whether the freedom, civilization, and happiness of the African race is secured by the new measure; or whether that unhappy race is still doomed to be the victims of European and American cupidity. In the meantime we would remind our friends, that every relaxation of duties on slave-produce has hitherto been followed by an increased demand for it, and a consequent increase in slavery and the slave-trade. The United States is a pregnant example of this fact. In 1790, the exports of cotton wool were 189,316 lbs., and the slave population, 657,582; in 1845, the exports exceeded 560,000,000 lbs., and the slaves had reached the fearful amount of 2,500,000. In 1790, it was seriously believed that the period of general emancipation was near—that slavery was not only criminal, but unprofitable; whilst, in 1845, it is clung to by the southern statesmen as a cherished institution, the chief corner-stone of the American republic, and a great source of wealth and power to them and their adherents. So far are they from feeling the force of the arguments adduced against slavery, that they scorn them, and laugh at the doctrine of moral suasion, whilst you make the system profitable to them. They pocket your gold, and with that are enabled to perpetuate the huge iniquity, and to extend its

dominion over the newly-acquired province of Texas.

By others, it is stated, that our fiscal policy in relation to slave-grown sugars has not abolished slavery, nor suppressed the slave-trade; and that, such being the case, it were wiser and better to let Cuban and Brazilian sugars enter into the general consumption of the country than to continue their exclusion. We admit the fact, but cannot adopt the conclusion. Had our fiscal policy been one which should have embraced the entire exclusion of slave-produce, there can be little doubt that slavery would long since have tottered to its fall; but such has not been our policy. Nevertheless it is unquestionably true that the exclusion of slave-grown sugars has tended very greatly to weaken the system of slavery, by reducing its profits, and has so embarrassed the operations of Cuban and Brazilian commerce, that the parties interested therein, were willing to come to terms for the complete cessation of the slave-trade, and for the gradual, if not immediate, abolition of slavery itself. Mr. Consul Cowper, in a despatch addressed to Lord Aberdeen, four years ago, says, "In this sugar-growing province (Pernambuco), the policy of Her Majesty's Government is a matter of the utmost interest amongst the proprietors. I have taken considerable pains to inform myself of their feelings upon the subject, and I find all the most intelligent anticipating that Her Majesty's government are awaiting the negotiations for the renewal of the treaty, and will then demand from Brazil, as *quid pro quo* for the admission of her sugar, the specified mention of some time for the emancipation of her slaves. The proprietors not only seem prepared for, but satisfied with such an arrangement. I have mentioned this with the view of informing your lordship of the popular impressions on this deeply interesting subject." Last year Mr. Consul Newcomen, in a despatch to Lord Aberdeen, writes as follows:—"The subjecting of free-labour sugar to an unequal competition with that produced by slaves, is to be deprecated on many grounds. I have already stated, that the admission of Brazilian sugar to the English market at a low rate of duty, in the actual state of things, would indubitably give an impetus to the slave-trade." And he adds, "I know many of the best informed Brazilians entertain the opinion expressed on a late occasion in no very private manner, that the Imperial Government must, sooner or later, not only concede to England all she requires towards the full and effectual suppression of the slave-trade, but must also bind herself down to the final abolition of slavery throughout the empire at a future

period; and that it would be much more politic to do so now, when she may hope for corresponding concessions from Great Britain, than to wait till driven by necessity into granting what she had refused to the dictates of humanity." The concessions have now been made without the *quid pro quo*; and the slave-masters and slave-traffickers of Cuba and Brazil will exult over the defeated exertions and hopes of British philanthropy, and add new bitterness to the sorrows of their oppressed slaves by telling them that, henceforth they are to be lacerated by the whip, and toil under the yoke, in order to produce sugar for the humane legislators and Christian people of Great Britain.—*A. S. Reporter.*

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

From the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for 1846.

The duties which the committee have had to discharge towards the emancipated classes in the British West Indies, during the last year, have been highly important. They have been grieved to observe a decided tendency on the part of the principal colonial legislatures, to increase the stringency of the laws, and so to alter and modify them, as not only to bring the labouring population more and more under the power of the governing class, but to ensure the administration of the laws to themselves. To this the committee add, that a system of oppressive taxation has been resorted to, the proceeds of which are applied to the most exceptionable purposes. It would occupy too large a space in the report to specify the various laws which either have been enacted, or attempted to be enacted, of an objectionable character. The committee would remark, however, that they are intended to affect the relations between masters and servants, in the matter of contracts for labour, vagabondage and police; the constitution of inferior, civil and criminal courts, which are to be presided over by planter magistrates, with power to inflict heavy punishments for light offences, and from whose decision there is no appeal; the creation of appeal courts on the other hand, from the decisions of the stipendiary magistrates, whose removal from the important and independent position they occupy, is most earnestly desired; tariff ordinances and laws, by which the food, clothing, and various other articles in common use among the labourers are heavily taxed, whilst those required by their masters are subjected to comparatively light duties; and loan ordinances for the purpose of raising large sums of money in this country, to be repaid, both principal and interest, out of the colonial taxes, which loans are

to be applied to the introduction of large masses of immigrants for the ostensible purpose of adding to the labouring population, but whose real object is to reduce the price of labour; and thus to inflict a double wrong on the more helpless and unrepresented portion of the population.

The facts connected with these various points have been laid before government, and not, the committee trust, without producing some effect, though they wait to see when the papers shall be laid before Parliament, relating to them, to what extent the government have yielded to this species of legislation.

The committee cannot leave this part of their subject without expressing their satisfaction that a vigorous attempt is being made by the inhabitants of British Guiana and Trinidad to secure for themselves the benefits of a representative legislature. They heartily wish them success, and counsel them to persevere in their efforts until they shall have obtained it.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH 1, 1846.

WILLIAM ALLEN—The first volume of the life of this remarkable man is before us; presented, through the medium of his diary and private correspondence, in such a form, as to awaken feelings very nearly resembling those of a personal interest in a living friend. We welcome it to our table as we would an honored guest, of whom we had heard something, but wished to know more: and we rise from its perusal with the words of the Queen of Sheba, "the half was not told me."

Whatever may be said of the practice of publishing to the world the diaries of individuals, who mark their own spiritual progress, and who would otherwise be unknown; of throwing off, as it were, the veil which conceals from mortal eye the soul's wrestlings before God; yet where a man has occupied a position in which he has exerted an influence upon the world at large, in religion, in morals, in science, or in letters, such an exposure is only its due. It is good to become acquainted with those whom we reverence, in their temptations and weaknesses. We can form a juster estimate of their strength, if we know something of what they have resisted and overcome. In the present instance, the instruction we have derived from the contemplation of William Allen's religious and moral elevation, has been greatly deepened, as we have counted the steps by which he reached it; and we are grateful to his surviving relatives and friends, who have

generously surrendered, for a common good, what they might not unreasonably have kept as exclusively their own.

The character of this eminent Christian is one of interest and delight, from whatever point we review it; in its separate parts, and as an harmonious whole. Benevolence, appears to have been its distinctive and prominent feature. Love to God,—and to mankind, shines conspicuously, running like a golden thread through the whole tissue of a long and useful life. We mark, in the boy, those strong and ardent natural affections, which, under the discipline of early sorrow and disappointment, were directed, we doubt not, by an All-wise and unseen hand, out of himself, to become in the man a broad flowing stream of philanthropy. In its onward course, it not only watered and enriched his own being, but left fertility and greenness on all the barren projects and waste places through which it was appointed to pass; until, as we reverently believe, it was finally lost in the ocean of illimitable Love.

His mind was of extraordinary capacity and vigour; and was early attracted to the investigation of scientific truth. The Editors of his "Life" give the following incident of his boyish perseverance in the attainment of means to pursue the study of astronomy.

"At the age of fourteen, he had himself constructed a telescope with which he could see the satellites of Jupiter. In describing the circumstance, he said, that 'not being strong in cash,' he was obliged to go economically to work; he accordingly purchased an eye-piece and object-glass, for which he paid one shilling; he then bought a sheet of pasteboard which cost two pence; and having made his tubes and adjusted his glasses, he found to his great delight that the moons were visible."

Natural Philosophy and Chemistry were also favourite pursuits; and the proficiency he attained, in the latter branch especially, introduced him to the notice of Sir Humphrey Davy, with whom he afterwards formed a close and intimate friendship. Wm. Allen is indeed best known to many as "the great Quaker Chemist." He does not appear to have been, like Davy or Dalton, a discoverer in science; but as an industrious and accurate investigator, his name stands conspicuous. He was long associated with these and other distinguished scientific men, privately, in the pursuit of philosophical knowledge, and publicly, in its dissemination, as one of the lecturers at Guy's Hospital, and in the Royal Institution.

The volume opens upon his boyhood; and from his eighteenth year down to the period of its close

in 1819, we have a connected history of all his philanthropic labours. In this character he is so well known to the public, that perhaps our limited space will be best occupied in bringing before our readers such extracts as will indicate the spirit which pervaded his movements.

From his diary before he was eighteen: "Fifth month 6th.—It gives me great satisfaction to see so many of my countrymen warmly pressing the abolition of the Slave Trade, and I have great hopes that their endeavours will prove effectual. May the Lord Almighty, the God of Mercy, strengthen their hands, and open the eyes of men in power to see the true interest of this nation."

"First month 25th, 1790.—The affairs of the slave trade came before Parliament this day."

Following this notice, is an account of the speeches and debate, during a part of which W. A. was present, which our limits will not permit us to extract. He thus describes his feelings upon hearing afterwards that the measure was lost.

"* * * The intelligence struck me to the heart; I was seized with tremor all over, but endeavoured to conceal my emotion, and inquired after particulars." * * *

"Sixth month 27th, 1793.—Dear Samuel Emlen came to lodge at Plough Court last night. This evening, after supper, * * he exhorted me to run with patience the race set before me, looking unto Jesus." * *

"30th.—Yesterday, Samuel Emlen, in his kind solicitude for my best interests exhorted me to dare to do right!" * *

After a year spent much in study:

"22d.—It was a remark of the deceased T. Finch, that 'when things were in their right places, best things would be uppermost.' Beware lest chemistry and natural philosophy usurp the highest seat in thy heart."

"25th.—Whatever knowledge thou mayst obtain, let it not excite any degree of self complacency or pride, but rather humbly rejoice that thou art favoured with an opportunity of being beneficial to mankind."

1798.—William Allen had been successfully engaged, with others, in the formation of a soup society, for the relief of the poor in Spitalfields and its neighbourhood. He records his great satisfaction in being on duty at the house, and in giving his time to the scheme.

"15th.—At the Soup Committee I hurt myself by being too tenacious of the form of the tin vessels; was partially relieved, by acknowledging my error, but it stuck by me all the evening—a sweet time in supplication before I went to bed."

There is much to be gained by observing the habits of mind of persons who accomplish a great deal.

W. A. says: "Occupy every spare minute for 'standing jobs,' not infringing upon the fixed time for certain things. Much time is lost in desultory indecision; when this comes on, catch up the first thing that comes to hand of those that *must be done*."

"First month 8th, 1803.—I took the chair at Guy's Hospital as President, for the first time, and was favoured to keep my place as a member of our Society. For this I felt thankful. What is the smile and the applause of the world, compared with one beam from thy countenance, O my God!"

"Third month 29th.—Made temporals give way to spirituals, in putting off my lecture this morning, on account of the Quarterly Meeting, and was glad I did, having a favoured time, and a stronger feeling of divine good, than for a long season."

In 1805, W. A. writes:—"To deny ourselves of gratifications which we believe to be inconsistent with the divine will concerning us, and to refrain from them, through love to our Heavenly Father, and a fear of offending Him, is the great work to which we are called, but which we shall be unable to accomplish without the assistance of his Holy Spirit: and this is to be earnestly and reverently sought for; herein consists the Christian's strength."

"Second month, 10th, 1807. The abominable slave trade is falling at last. The Bill, for its extermination, passed the second reading in the House of Lords on fifth day night, or rather sixth day morning. For it, one hundred; against it, thirty-six: majority, sixty-four! A glorious triumph!"

On sixth day night it was committed, and the blanks filled up with 1st of first month, 1808, but no more ships to be fitted out after fifth month next. O Lord! bless the supporters of this righteous cause!"

"Fifth month, 23rd.—Yearly meeting. The minutes of the meeting for sufferings were read, and a minute was made expressive of thankfulness to the Almighty for the abolition of the slave trade. The following is the substance of it:—

"We are inclined to express our thankfulness for an event which concerns not us only, but incalculable multitudes of our fellow creatures, our fellow possessors of the faculty of reason, our fellow objects of the redemption which comes by Christ,—we scarcely need name the abolition of the slave trade. We view it as one of the most

important acts of public national righteousness, which ever dignified the councils of any government; and our minds have been directed in secret prayer to the Almighty Parent of the universe, that he may be pleased to regard this kingdom for good; and direct its future councils to such further acts of justice and mercy, as may promote his glory, in the harmony of his rational creation."

J. W. afterwards knelt down in supplication. A heavenly time, in which thanksgiving ascended from this large assembly as with the voice of one man."

In 1808, with Basil Montague, Frederic Smith, and others, he agreed to join a little Society formed to endeavour to diminish the number of capital punishments, and adds, "every thing, however small, which we do under a sense of duty, tends to nourish the spiritual life."

To a sentiment expressed in conversation that "departure from truth was not only warrantable, but our duty, in certain cases," W. A. replies in a letter as follows:

"The question is, not whether truth is lovely and of divine origin—not whether our lives should be regulated by it—not whether it be calculated to secure the happiness of mankind. On these points, I conceive there can be no question between us; but ask me whether it be allowable to depart from truth, to answer particular purposes, and I shall answer, no! He, who has declared himself the God of Truth, and that deceit and falsehood are his aversion, can never, in my opinion, have rendered the latter necessary in the intercourse of his creatures. His system, as revealed in the sacred writings, is complete without it, and as well might we attempt to reconcile light and darkness, as truth and its opposite. We find in the Bible, that one of the recommendations of the Lord's people was, they are 'children who will not lie,' and then follows, 'so he was their Saviour.' I am always alarmed when I see the symptoms of that false philosophy, (unhappily too much acted upon at the present time,) whose avowed maxim is, that 'the end justifies the means!' Think what would become of society, were it universally adopted, and it certainly is so, in a degree, wherever we set up our limited conceptions of what may be useful, as a sufficient warrant to depart from that line of rectitude, pointed out by Infinite Wisdom, for the government of his creatures. In this case, there would be no standard of right, and every man would be at liberty to adopt his own."

The nobleness of William Allen's mind is nowhere more conspicuously manifested than in his

connection with Joseph Lancaster, and 'The British and Foreign School Society for the promotion and extension of the Lancasterian system of education.' The establishment of the society was the result, indeed, of Lancaster's incompetency to extend his operations upon the plan his own genius invented. W. A. became so thoroughly interested in the system, that, with his beloved friend and colleague, Joseph Fox, he laboured indefatigably for a long series of years to promote it, at home and abroad.

The following extract of a letter to ——— explains his position with J. Lancaster.

"I have no doubt thou art fully convinced that the cause of morality and virtue is always promoted by the diffusion of knowledge. But even in our highly favoured country, the well informed philanthropist must deplore the wretched ignorance of a very large proportion of its inhabitants. With these sentiments, I have directed my attention to the plans of Joseph Lancaster, and although I thought I had observed in his conduct some things which I could have wished otherwise, yet upon a close inspection, I am so fully convinced that his great outline is correct, and if properly filled up, is capable of producing incalculable good, and that his intentions were always honest and honourable, that it has excited in me no common interest in the subject.

In the first place it was obvious, that although the man has a peculiar talent for this work, he is deficient in some of those minute qualifications, which are nevertheless essential to the final success of any measure in which property is concerned. I saw that this was the chief bar to the attainment of the great objects embraced by his plan, and laboured to prevail upon him to commit all his financial concerns to persons acquainted with business, and upon whose honour and friendship he might depend, and by this means he would be more at leisure to bring his plans to perfection, and thereby convince the public more generally of their importance. In this, with the assistance of my friend Joseph Fox, I have happily succeeded."

"Sixth month 8th, 1812.—On occasions of public calamity, Friends' post must be the care of the poor and the relief of distress."

Our space will allow of one more extract; from p. 246—in a letter to Robert Owen.

"If a man will believe nothing which cannot be mathematically demonstrated to him,—nothing which is beyond the reach of his limited capacities and powers, he must remain in darkness, so long as it is impossible for *finite* to comprehend *Infinite*: and with respect to the

operation of real religion in the world, I will take my own sect for an example, because none more strongly evince their belief in the divine origin of the Holy Scriptures, and the immediate communication of the Supreme Being with the soul of man, than we do; and what is the conduct of the *consistent* members of our Society? They hold it a duty to abstain from persecuting any man for a difference of opinion;—they hold, that as God is love, he wills the happiness of all his creatures, and that therefore it is their duty to love and do good to all mankind; hence they abstain from taking any part in war; they think that truth and sincerity are essentials of Christianity, and therefore, and because their Great Master has enjoined it, they abstain from oaths. Mark the whole lives of these men, influenced by the firmest belief in revelation, and then say whether the miseries of mankind are at all referable to such a source. I could give numerous instances of individuals, not members of our Religious Society, who have been guided by revelation, and who have been models of philanthropy and virtue. So much for the effects of that religion, which infidels hold in contempt, merely because they do not, and in their disposition they cannot, understand it. The lives of true Christians, whatever particular denomination they might bear, have always been uniformly the same;—they have been marked by love to God and good will to men; they have been assisted by a strength beyond that of their natural faculties, which, however exalted and improved, cannot, of themselves, produce steady and uniform virtue."

Perhaps no part of his life will be pondered with deeper interest than that which portrays the good man's walk with God. The tenderness of his conscience kept the avenue to his heart wide open, and we observe the consequent susceptibility to reproof, whether inwardly felt, or outwardly administered, which may be said to lie at the root of all religious progress. For this he was largely indebted to the unceasing care of his excellent mother, who watched over him when near, and followed him when absent, with the tenderest and most appropriate counsel. She perceived that he was entrusted with great gifts, and she feared for his spiritual growth, under even the legitimate use of them. She was jealous of the things which might cast a shadow between his soul and heavenly light. But the love of the faithful parent was blessed to the dutiful child; and we have rarely, in any book, met with passages of more touching interest, than those in which the Editors give us the picture of their intercourse and union. The deep pathos and

heartfelt earnestness in the letters of the mother, are not more touching than the beautiful reverence with which the son leaned away from the world's offers of homage, to receive it.

Following him as a public lecturer, in the midst of admiring and applauding audiences; as a philanthropist, giving his wonderful energy of mind to the promotion of various plans for the relief of human suffering and the moral elevation of man; as a preacher of the Word, in courts and palaces; through all the temptations which might be supposed to wait upon the doing of great errands, we find him keeping the watch with his own heart; seeking, and obtaining God's preservation in that humility, which

"Becometh all men—but the Christian most;
For he doth know how poor and bare he is,
Save as God clothes and feeds him."

At Petersburg, on a Gospel mission with Stephen Grellett, he writes thus: "We feel, as it were, shut up in prison here, seeing no way out. I think I have never felt so inwardly tried in all my life as since I came to this city. Yet we both feel in our right place, and I have since seen the necessity of these dispensations; for we have free entrance to persons in the highest station wherever we come, and it requires ballast to keep the vessel steady. Our course would be very unsafe for any to follow unless the Great Pilot were at the helm."

To Christians of every denomination the "Life of William Allen" will be welcome; and to the Society of Friends, invaluable. It will be a rich addition to its records of faithful laborers, of earlier and later times, whose course may be traced by their beautiful footprints upon the earth; and whose claim to be called followers of the Lord Jesus, rests, with that of the subject of this sketch, upon their imitation of His example, who went about doing good.

Leaving the cause, we must admit, that it has not given to the world its due proportion of burning and shining lights. In many places it has split up the noble principles of its founders into fractions. The great truths which it was appointed to carry out, have not been promulgated in their breadth and fulness. Its testimonies have been borne, without reference to the doctrines which resulted them; its usages have been adhered to, without an intelligent examination of the grounds upon which they were originally adopted; hence, it has halted and stumbled in its progress: one-sided views of Christian truth have produced their natural fruits in a partial and superficial apprehension of Christian duty. As the life of a Friend, then, who "kept the faith" as it was found and

adopted by his fathers; who earned his acquaintance with it by self knowledge, and won his title to it by self denial; whose life was a testimony to its completeness, and whose death was as a seal to its sufficiency; the record of his course will be of permanent value and benefit.

We are aware that such gifts as William Allen's are not bestowed upon all; that few indeed are called to move in such a conspicuous sphere of usefulness: but the faithful occupancy of his gifts and time, serves for a lesson of equal importance to the man of ten talents and to the man of one. He, whose comprehensive vision takes in the whole compass of human obligations and duties; and he whose observations are limited by a narrower capacity, may be alike instructed and invigorated by the record of a life, spent in obedience to the injunction, "Occupy till I come."

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing, leave behind us,
Footprints on the sands of time;

Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

ADMISSION OF SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR INTO GREAT BRITAIN.—In our last number, we announced a change in the British Ministry, and expressed our apprehensions that an attempt would be made by the new Premier, Lord John Russell, to abolish the high duties by which the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil have been excluded from the British market. We deeply regret that these apprehensions have not only been realized, but that the House of Commons has decided by a very large majority in favour of the admission of those sugars. The measure was not carried, however, without strong opposition, and, as the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter remarks, "had this great question been discussed on its merits, and in view of those appalling facts with which it is associated, we feel persuaded that the decision of the House would have been the reverse of that which we have occasion to lament." It will be seen from the documents which we present to our readers, that many of the friends of the slave came forward nobly and earnestly to plead in his behalf, and we rejoice to recognize the names of a large number of the members of our religious Society amongst those who issued the "Protest against the proposed introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British market." For the present, however, the efforts in the cause of

humanity have failed to secure for it the co-operation of government, and a selfish policy has triumphed. We turn, therefore, with intense interest and hopeful anticipations to the course which may now be pursued by the philanthropists of Great Britain. They have declared that the measure adopted by Government "will have the effect of strengthening the system of slavery, of stimulating the slave trade and of adding to the horrors of both;" that "it will, as certainly, and almost as directly increase the slave trade as if this country had given a premium for every kidnapped negro forced on board the slavers, and carried from Africa through the unutterable horrors of the middle passage, to interminable bondage;" that "besides the increased sacrifice of human life, and the augmentation of crime and suffering, which will, undoubtedly be the fruits of this measure, they contemplate with the deepest sorrow its destructive effects upon all that is done and is doing for the civilization of Africa;" and that the slaves who are "murdered by wholesale to make the quantity of sugar now exported from Cuba or Brazil will have to make more—that is, to-day they must be forced by the lash to a new excess of labour, at which they will be more wretched while they live, and under which they will more rapidly die."

In view of these deplorable consequences, we would most seriously press the question upon our friends in the British isles—what is it that will alone give effect to the measure which they so justly deprecate? The answer is obvious—the consumption of the slave-grown sugars! They say truly that "when the labourer is free, every augmentation in the demand for the produce of his toil increases his means of subsistence and comfort; where the labourer is a slave, it as certainly diminishes them and destroys him." But this augmentation in the demand for slave-grown sugar, and the demand itself, are consequences, not of any governmental measure, but simply of the individual consumption of the article. If the act of the Government in permitting slave-grown sugar to be landed at London or Liverpool is wrong, because such sugar is stolen property, we know of no process by which its character can be afterwards so changed that the merchant, the grocer and the consumer may rightfully purchase it. How plain then is the path of duty which now opens to every consistent British abolitionist. It will not do to plead that they cannot distinguish between slave-grown and free-grown sugars. In every town and village and hamlet of England, they may readily make arrangements to procure sugars unstained by the blood

of the slave. It is only needful that they should realize their own individual responsibility in the case, and arouse the people also, as did Clarkson and his coadjutors when labouring for the overthrow of the Anglo-African slave-trade. We say then to the British abolitionists, let pamphlets, such as that which Clarkson asserts occasioned the general abstinence from sugar in England in 1791 and 1792, be placed in every family of your kingdom—let all be made to feel that "the consumer is equally guilty with the planter;" proclaim in every ear that "so far as our means extend we are to combat evil, as if its extirpation depended on our individual action,"—carry out thus your individual duties as Christians, and you will need no laws to prevent the introduction of slave-grown sugars over your threshold.

But while we urge the paramount importance of convincing the public of their moral and individual responsibility, we would also encourage renewed and persevering efforts for the exclusion of all "slave produce" by just laws. When the House of Commons in 1791 threw out the Bill for the abolition of the slave-trade by a vote very similar to that which now threatens its increase, the noble band who then laboured in this great cause, were not dismayed; but inculcating abstinence from West India products as a moral duty, so great was the effect upon the public mind that it was believed 300,000 people gave up the use of them previous to the next session of parliament, when a resolution passed the House of Commons that the slave-trade should cease in 1796. It is true the abolitionists of that day were disappointed in the results which they anticipated from the act for the abolition of the slave-trade; for they thought they saw in the measure the speedy extinction of slavery itself, and when after a long period of apathy, the champions of emancipation came forward, and, year after year, asked for the gradual abolition of slavery, they accomplished nothing. Public sympathy for the slave declined; the subject became irksome to the people; instead of advancing, the great cause of emancipation seemed to be retrograding, and the prospect was almost hopeless. At this crisis Elizabeth Heyrick issued her powerful appeal in favour of immediate emancipation, and illustrating the duty of abstaining from the use of the productions of slave labour. The leading abolitionists, both in Parliament and out of it, and a large portion of the people, were convinced not only of the national but of their individual responsibility in supporting slavery; they were thus aroused to renewed exertion, and slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions.

We think these instances, amongst many which might be cited, prove the necessity of enlightening the public mind, and convincing the judgment and interesting the feelings of the people, preparatory to the adoption by government of any great measure of reform—more particularly when their pecuniary interests seem likely to be affected.

Another crisis in the great work of emancipation has arrived, and if the same means which have heretofore been successful when only partially exerted, be now faithfully carried out, we cannot but anticipate a great and final triumph.

CONGRESS.—The first session of the twenty-ninth Congress was concluded on the 10th ultimo. Its history is characterized by the following important events:

The admission of Texas into this Union as a slaveholding state, under a Constitution which divests the legislature of any power to abolish slavery:

The commencement of a war with Mexico, in which will probably be sacrificed a great number of human lives from the two-fold causes of the battle field and disease—with the super-addition of a vast expense of treasure, and having for its great object to fortify the interests of Slavery:

The pacific settlement of the Oregon question on terms alike honorable to the United States and Great Britain, and greatly to the interest of humanity; and to which the ruling South gave a ready assent, though in doing so it had to recede from its pledge to its allies in the free West, when it asked their aid for the admission of Texas, that it would consent to receive at the hands of Great Britain nothing short of the whole of Oregon:

The reduction of the Tariff of 1842 to a revenue standard, making such a difference, and that instantly, in the value of manufactured goods, as will involve in great injury the industrial interests of the North, but leading as is supposed to a greatly increased foreign demand for the productions of slave labour. This measure, in whatever degree a gradual reduction of the Tariff to a revenue standard may find its justification in sound views of political economy, which we forbear now to examine, was accomplished in violation of pledges given by the executive officers of the nation, previous to their election, and is therefore denounced largely and severely, and we think with good reason, as an act of treachery towards the numerous persons at the North who voted for those officers, on the faith of those pledges.

The last day of the session was marked by a somewhat unexpected incident. Stung to

the quick by the punic faithlessness of the South in several of the measures above adverted to—more we fear than from any inherent sense of right and justice, though we are ready to give much credit to this also—the spirit of freedom seems to have burst out into a vivid flame just as we supposed it had wholly expired. We relate the incident in the language of the New York "Tribune;" and from it the reader will gather full evidence, if he before doubted, that it is the settled purpose of the South in concluding our differences with Mexico, whether by negotiation or the sword, to extend the domains of slavery into regions now enjoying personal liberty. The virtue of the North may yet baffle this purpose.

The Tribune says:—"The bullying gasconade about Oregon, '54° 40'—the whole or none,' 'our title, clear and unquestionable,' &c., finally tapered off into the meekest of all possible dispositions, and the dispute is finally settled, not very creditably nor advantageously for us, but still far better than to have it remain unsettled. We believe this is the only good thing of moment accomplished at Washington since last December, and this with every possible drawback on the mortification with which it would naturally have been regarded.

"No, there has been one other good thing effected at this Session—not designedly nor thoroughly, but yet a result of great and beneficial import. We allude to the arousing of a NORTHERN sentiment—a FREE STATE feeling, among those who have capered submissively to the slave-driver's lash for years, until it seemed that no degradation could be too much for them. But it is always darkest just before day, and a soul was at last created under the ribs of Death. The Tariff break-down touched the raw of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and a part of the Loco-Focos from our own State; the Mexican war, two Vetoes, etc., performed the like wholesome operation upon others. On the last night of the Session, Mr. Wilmot of Pa. (a Free Trader as well as Loco-Foco,) moved the following rider to Mr. Polk's Two Million Mexican Bribery bill:

"Provided, That, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any Treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, *neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.*"

"This proposition would have been kicked under the table a few years ago, if any man could have

evinced the hardihood implied in offering it; and it created an intense excitement even now. Mr. Dobbin of N. C., insisted that it was out of order, but the Chair decided against him. He appealed, and the Committee of the Whole sustained the Chair—93 to 37. Here Mr. Wick, of Indiana, the meanest of dough-faces, (who has declared in Congress the Mexicans must be enslaved if their country is annexed to ours,) moved to qualify by inserting 'all North of 36° 30' (the line of the Missouri Compromise) so as to leave all South of that line to Slavery. But this, which would have been carried even last winter, was voted down now—89 to 55. And Wilmot's amendment was then CARRIED: eighty-three to sixty-four. This being in Committee, yeas and nays were not taken, but the character of the vote is sufficiently indicated below.

Every vote from this State (and nearly every one from the Free States) was recorded against the tolerance of Slavery in any territory which may hereafter be added to the Union, by any sort of acquisition. A few craven recreants dodged the vote, but that is nothing. For once, the North united and looked the spirit of eternal Slavery, which pretends to speak for the South, fully and fearlessly in the face. The old spirit which thrilled every freeman's heart in the days of the Missouri controversy was displayed. The result was a triumph, as it always would be if Northern Representatives would assert and maintain the right of Freedom to be at least as frank and zealous in our National Council as Slavery.

"The bill thus amended became a nuisance and a horror to its authors. Tibbatts of Ky., moved to lay it on the table. This was defeated by a fair vote of North against South—only Chipman, of Michigan, Craston, of R. I., (from hostility to the bill any how,) Douglass, of Ill., Ficklin, of do., Hoge, of do., McClelland, of do., Petit, of Indiana, Schenck, of Ohio, (like Craston,) Woodworth of this State, voting with the South, which went solid, of course. Even McKay, of N. C., who had reported the bill, voted to kill it. But the motion to lay it on the table was defeated, ninety-five to seventy-eight—and the bill engrossed and passed—97 to 54. Many Whigs voted for it who would have gone strongly against it but for the addition of Mr. Wilmot's rider aforesaid.

"The bill went to the Senate on Monday morning, and there died a natural death; Mr. Lewis of Ala., moving to strike out the anti-slavery provision, which Mr. Davis of Mass., rose to oppose, and spoke against till the Session was on the point of closing. He supposed the proviso would be stricken out if it came to a vote, but we understand that he was

mistaken—that it would have been retained. No matter—the moral force of the vote of the House remains. It is a solemn declaration of the United North against the further extension of Slavery under the protection of our Flag. It will stand, too! Let us see what candidate for Congress from a Free State will venture to avow himself in favor of receding from the position thus taken!"

NEW HAMPSHIRE FREE.—The enactment of the following excellent law, by large majorities, in the Legislature of New Hampshire, may be regarded as a result of the remarkable revolution in the political parties of that State. Most of our readers are probably aware that this revolution arose from an attempt, by the democratic party, to expel John P. Hale from its ranks for voting in Congress against the annexation of Texas. So far was this attempt from being successful, that he has been elevated from the House of Representatives to the Senate.

A similar law was passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts a few years ago, and, if we mistake not, by Vermont and Rhode Island, also: the Supreme Court of the United States having decided that state officers are not obliged, unless compelled by state laws, to act under the law of Congress passed in 1793 relative to "fugitives from labour," and that the several states may prohibit their officers and citizens from aiding in the arrest or detention of such persons.

Let all the, so called, free states do this, as they are in duty bound, and one of the links would be weakened in the chain which binds the slave. Pennsylvania has not only not passed such a law, but has repeatedly refused to repeal one which makes it obligatory on its officers to act, when called upon, under the law of Congress. Further than this, a law of Pennsylvania permits slaves to be brought into the state and held six months; thus, by simply changing the individuals, a person may hold slaves constantly in this state.

Has Pennsylvania "nothing to do with slavery?" and has she no duty to perform to relieve her citizens from the responsibility of actively upholding the unchristian system?

"In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

An Act for the further protection of Personal Liberty.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court convened:

SECTION I. No judge of any court of record of this State, and no justice of the peace, shall take cognizance, or grant a certificate in cases that

may arise under the third section of an act of Congress, passed January 12th, 1793, entitled, "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters;" to any person who may claim any other person as a fugitive slave within this State.

II. No sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, constable, jailor, or other officer of this State, or citizen thereof, not holding a commission from the government of the United States, shall arrest and detain, or aid in the arrest and detention of any person for the reason of his being claimed as, or suspected of, being a fugitive slave; or shall imprison or aid in the imprisonment of any such person in any prison, jail, or other building within the limits of this State.

III. If any of the aforesaid officers, or citizens of this State, shall offend against the foregoing provisions of the law, by in any way acting, directly or indirectly, under the provision of the third section of the aforesaid act of Congress; or by any way acting as the agent of any person thus claiming another as a fugitive slave, he shall forfeit a sum not more than one thousand, or less than five hundred dollars, to the use of the county where said offence may be committed; or shall be imprisoned in the county jail not more than twelve or less than six months, according to the discretion of the court."

DISCONNECTION FROM EVIL A GOSPEL DUTY.

—A respected correspondent writes to us thus:—"The other day I bought half a barrel of molasses, which, for aught I know, may be the produce of Slavery. Since I began to write this letter, I have mixed several jug-fulls of switchel and carried them to the men and boys in the field. I would greatly prefer to use an article, the produce of free labour, and would be willing to pay more for it; but I would not compromise any part of the whole, pure, true gospel of Christ, our dear Saviour, for all the abolition and temperance causes that men can get up."

Our friend seems to regard a testimony against slavery and intemperance as distinct, if not antagonistic, to the gospel of Christ, and to think that a Christian may fulfil the "whole gospel" whilst he is consciously supporting a system which debars his fellow man from the pursuit of happiness in this life and in that which is to come, and annihilates the marriage and parental relation, and the right of conscience. He would seem to make the gospel a something too pure and sublimated to be applied to the every-day affairs of men—an error which we believe contributes largely to prevent the practical adoption of the principles of

Christianity, and to prolong war, slavery, intemperance and a multitude of sins.

We advocate abstinence from the productions of slave labour as a duty connected with and resulting from obedience to the gospel of Christ, and not merely as an expedient or a means to abolish slavery.

We believe the spirit and the principles and direct commands of the gospel require us to withhold our support from a system which embraces within its horrible enclosure, every evil to which the heart of man is prone. Far more accordant, in our apprehension, would it be with pure Christianity, that the men and boys in the harvest field of our correspondent, should quench their thirst with water as it came from the hand of God, than that they should be supplied with molasses at the expense of the rights, the happiness, and the lives of their fellow men. King David, a man of blood, refused, when faint and weary, to partake of water brought to him by three of his mighty men, because it was done at the risk of their lives. Shall we, professing to live in obedience to the Holy Spirit, and in conformity to the precepts of the pure gospel of Christ our Saviour, enjoy the luxuries of life brought to us by the sufferings and the blood of millions of those for whom He died?

ADVERTISEMENTS.

MATHEMATICAL AND CLASSICAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS.—The undersigned proposes to open on the 1st of next month, at the N. E. corner of Sixth and Pine streets, opposite Washington Square, a Mathematical and Classical school for boys.

Being fully convinced that small schools possess many important advantages over larger seminaries, he intends so to limit the number of his scholars that he may give all the literary instruction himself, and at the same time bestow upon each pupil a large share of individual attention. He has had between 4 and 5 years' experience in teaching. PENMANSHIP and DRAWING will be taught by regular teachers of those branches.

Price of tuition in the common branches, \$25 per term of five months; in the higher branches, including Latin and Greek, \$35; Drawing \$5 extra. Circulars containing further information may be had at the school, or of G. W. Taylor, No. 50 N. 4th street.

CHARLES J. ALLEN, Residence 146 Pine street, Philadelphia, 8th mo. 17th, 1846.

REFERENCES.—Enoch Lewis, Dr. Samuel Jackson, Henry Cope, Samuel Alsop, Dr. Caspar Wistar, John M. Whitall, Thomas C. Garrett, Dr. Joseph Thomas, Uriah Hunt, Isaac Pugh, E. C. and J. Biddle, Earl Shinn, John Richardson, Needles and Watson.

TEACHER WANTED.—A Friend residing near Philadelphia wishes to engage a young woman as Teacher in his family. Application may be made to George W. Taylor, No. 50 North Fourth street.

FREE LABOR STORE.—The subscriber having purchased the stock and fixtures of the store at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, of Lydia White, would respectfully inform his friends and those who prefer using the produce of free labor, that he will continue the business as heretofore, and hopes by attention thereto, to merit and receive a continuance of the patronage bestowed on the former occupant.

JOEL FISHER.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.]

PHILADELPHIA, Tenth Month, 1846.

[NO. 10.]

SELECTIONS.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

From the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for 1846.

This execrable traffic still continues to desolate and degrade Africa. Its activity is unabated. Not all the efforts made by the British government, seconded by other powers, have affected to any considerable degree, if at all, this gigantic evil. The demand for slaves in Brazil and the Spanish colonies increases with the demand made by foreign countries for their productions. Such being the case, the slave-traders, who are usually men of wealth, offer the greatest inducements to the worst class of maritime adventurers to aid them to carry it on. The enormous profits they derive from a single successful voyage, compensates them for many failures. Besides which, the authorities of these countries either openly or covertly connive at their transactions; and the subordinates in office, receiving their accustomed fees, allow them to land their cargoes of human beings without molestation or hindrance of any kind.

From private sources of information the committee learn that there were brought before the Mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone in 1844, 27 slavers, nine of which were captured with 2,523 slaves on board. During the year 1845, the number of slavers condemned by these courts was 36, having on board upwards of 6,000 slaves, and there yet remained 6 which had been captured, for adjudication.

The committee further learn, that, from the beginning of April, 1844, to the middle of May, 1845, the squadron of cruisers stationed on the western coast of Africa captured 59 slavers, thirteen of which had on board upwards of 4,500 slaves. In tracing the history of these slavers, the committee find that one of them had been captured and condemned eight times, one seven times, two six times, three five times, seven four times, twelve three times, eleven twice, twenty-one once, and respecting one no particulars are given.

This striking fact shows clearly that the slave-dealers have agents residing at the seats of the Mixed Commission Courts, particularly Sierra Leone, who regularly purchase such of the slavers as cannot be destroyed under treaty; and as regularly send them forth to carry on anew the dreadful traffic. The committee deem it highly probable that many of these vessels are used as decoys to attract the attention of the British cruisers, while the real slavers, taking advantage of their being thus employed, run into the slave haunts, load their cargoes, and sail off to Cuba and Brazil.

The number of slaves imported into Cuba in 1843, the commissioners estimate at about 12,000, though they confess their inability to give an exact account from the mystery cast over all the transactions of the slave-dealers. In the years 1844 and 1845, the number of slaves imported must have been considerably greater, though the actual extent of the trade can never, for the reasons already given, be fully known.

In spite of treaties, in spite of cruisers, in spite of remonstrance upon remonstrance, the Spanish colonies have, during the last quarter of a century, been filled with African slaves; and fresh supplies of these unhappy beings are still poured in to meet fresh demands created by the mortality which decimates them, and the active demands of commerce.

And the case is even worse in relation to Brazil. In the report of her Majesty's commissioners stationed at Rio de Janeiro, on the state of the slave-trade for 1843, they say—"We have been assured that nearly 40,000 have been landed within these provinces in this period. This sudden augmentation during the past year is attributable to the continued encouragement and protection afforded by the Brazilian administration to all slavish adventures. The greater number of slave-ships which have affected the landing of their cargoes, have escaped our vigilant observations in consequence of the novel system recently followed by the slave-dealers, which has proved eminently prosperous."

The reports of the consular agents at Bahia and

Pernambuco confirm those of Rio de Janeiro, as to the activity of the slave-trade. The consul at Bahia, writing to Lord Aberdeen, under date Sept. 30, 1844, says, "Your lordship will perceive that nearly 3,000 slaves have been landed in this vicinity during the last three months, besides others of whom accounts may not have reached the consulate." The perfect impunity with which the slave-trade is permitted to be carried on in every part of the empire of Brazil is so notorious, as to have convinced the British functionaries residing in that empire, of the utter uselessness of confiding in the good faith, humanity, or honour of its government. The Africans, introduced since the year 1830, form probably one-third of the whole slave population of the country.

The stimulus to this dreadful trade is its profit. What they are may be gathered from the following extract of a despatch addressed by the British minister residing at Rio to Lord Aberdeen, dated 18th May, 1844, viz: "It is my belief, my Lord, that this increased activity on the part of the pursuers of this nefarious trade will not be relaxed; that however decided the success that may wait on the new system resorted to by her majesty's government, these individuals will not be wanting on their part in exertions still greater, nor hesitate one moment more at incurring any description of risk. The safe return here of one venture alone, with a full cargo of slaves, out of six despatches to the coast, countervails all the loss suffered by capture of the remainder."

With respect to the eastern coast of Africa, it is clear from the reports of her majesty's commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope, that the slave-trade is carried on with great vigour. Slave barracks are found, both to the north and south of Quillemane, in each of which from 200 to 300 slaves are sometimes kept ready for shipment on the arrival of slavers from Brazil. The river Macuse was, however, by the latest accounts, the principal point of embarkation. The Governor of Quillemane is reported to have received not less than 60,000 dollars in fourteen months in fees, for permission to ship slaves from the district under his jurisdiction. The commissioners further state that in a period of about ten months, eighteen vessels had been captured for being engaged in the slave-trade, and brought to the Cape of Good Hope for adjudication.

Every year's experience convinces the committee that it is in the abolition of slavery alone that any reasonable hope can be indulged of the extinction of the slave trade; and they would add, that it is their firm conviction, arising out of long and painful experience, that this enormous evil

can never be overcome by means of an armed force. They would, therefore, hope that the energies both of the government and of the country may be henceforth directed to the universal extirpation of slavery by those means which are of a purely moral and pacific character.

FREE LABOUR CULTURE.

From the same.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist among public men, on the expediency of discouraging the growth of tropical productions by slaves, by fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, there happily exists none as to the importance of encouraging the cultivation of those productions to the greatest extent, in British India and the British colonies. Statesmen, merchants, manufacturers, and philanthropists, are agreed in opinion on this point. At present one great branch of our national industry and commerce, is almost entirely dependent on the United States for the supply of the material required for its successful prosecution. Cotton wool is not only in great demand, but the demand is enlarging from year to year. Any sudden interruption of the requisite supplies would be felt as a great calamity, and hence all whose interests are bound up with our gigantic cotton manufactures, are anxious to draw them from quarters, where such interruption is not likely to occur. It is not on this ground however that abolitionists direct the attention of the public to the growth of cotton in India. To them it would be a matter of comparative indifference whence the supplies came, if they were produced by free-labour. One fact will show how greatly the demand for cotton-wool in this country has increased the extent of slaves in the United States. In 1790 the slave population of that country was 657,437; and the exports of cotton wool were 189,316 lbs.; in 1843, the number of slaves amounted to 2,847,810; and the exports of cotton wool were 1,081,916,136 lbs. The committee rejoice, however, to be enabled to state that the supply of slave-grown cotton has not kept pace with the demands of commerce. British India has interposed a check. In 1825 that country exported to this 39,657 bales; in 1844, 239,718 bales. During the five years ending 1841-2, the quantity of cotton-wool exported from British India to Great Britain was 330,619,830 lbs.; to China 452,795,315 lbs.; the average export to this country per annum, 66,125,966 lbs., and to China, 90,559,063 lbs. The effect of this has been to keep the price of cotton-wool down to a very low figure; and looking forward, as they confidently

do, to the improvement of India cotton-wool from superior cultivation, clean picking and ginning, and superior packing, the committee feel persuaded, that the time is not distant when it will not only come into competition with the lower kinds of American cotton, but with the finer qualities also, and by its superior cheapness, drive it out of the market. The committee have given their close attention to this subject; and, in the course of the year, have laid before her majesty's government a summary of facts bearing upon it which they trust has not been without its influence. The committee are happy to add that the government of Bombay have caused the lands in that presidency, to be valued, with a view to a fixed instead of a fluctuating land-tax, much to the satisfaction of the cultivators and with advantage to itself; and the committee trust the same equitable principle will be applied to the whole of the presidencies. The committee believe they may also congratulate their friends that the government have determined to abandon the tax upon tools, agricultural implements, &c.; and, by relieving the labourer from these imposts, stimulate his industry, and tend to secure to him the fair reward of his toil.

In connection with these points, the committee may state that it is expected one of the great lines of railway now contemplated for India, will traverse the principal cotton districts, and by reducing the cost of transit from the interior to the coast, say, from £20 to £4 per ton, give the purchasers an additional advantage, and greatly promote the growth of cotton wool, a circumstance not less to be desired for the general interests of humanity, than for the benefits it will confer on the country at large.

The committee are pleased to be able to report that some of their friends have devoted their attention to the feasibility of promoting the use of articles manufactured exclusively from free-grown cotton. They most earnestly desire, that having begun this good work, they will vigorously prosecute it; and they have no doubt that Christian philanthropists generally, will aid them in their laudable enterprise. In the United States, a kindred effort was commenced several years since, and the committee are pleased to learn that it is attended with many tokens of success.

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

From the same.

The committee are gratified in being able to report that, upon the whole, the progress of the emancipated classes in knowledge and character, and a

just appreciation of their position as free men, is extremely cheering. That they are rapidly increasing in number is placed beyond doubt by the census of 1844, which, though extremely imperfect, shows a very remarkable increase of births over deaths. The habits of the women, both personal and domestic, have greatly improved. The purchase of small freeholds, the erection of houses, and the formation of villages and towns still goes on, though the means of the people are much less than formerly, owing to the reduction which has taken place in their wages, and the heavy taxation to which they are now subjected. This circumstance, the committee regret to say, has led to a considerable withdrawal of children from the schools, and, in other respects, has been found to operate injuriously.

The latest official reports from the colonies indicate a great decrease in crime, especially among the Creole or native population. The immigrants are chiefly chargeable with the violation of law, and the more heinous offences against person and property.

The committee have no reason to believe that any considerable portion of the emancipated classes have abandoned themselves to idle or dissolute habits. On the contrary, it is quite clear that they are industrious, and will work for moderate wages, when they are honorably used and their just rights respected. The following tabular statement of the exports of sugar from the British West Indies will prove this:

	Hhds.	Tierces.
1841 sugar exported	121,295	12,225
1842 " "	135,910	15,985
1843 " "	141,100	13,640
1844 " "	138,150	16,395
1845 " "	157,200	20,075

In reference to the exports of the colonies, it should be remembered as a gratifying fact, that the emancipated classes are now great consumers of the produce which they raise.

In reviewing the state of the British colonies, the committee have come to the conclusion that it is capital, not immigrants, which they want; and that with a resident proprietary, improved modes of cultivation, a fair system of taxation, just laws, and a pure administration of justice, so great an impetus would be given to the cultivation of tropical produce as to remove all fears of their future prosperity, and of their capability of supplying their fair share of sugar to meet the ever-increasing demand in the British market.

It is a cheering circumstance, that whereas but a few years since the markets of the world were supplied almost exclusively with tropical produce

wrung from the uncompensated toil of slaves, that now no inconsiderable portion of the demand is supplied by the labour of freemen. On the continent of Europe indigenous sugar produced from the beet root, enters largely into the general consumption; and in this country, all the sugar consumed, and a considerable quantity of other produce required for use or manufacture, is free from the taint of slavery. The quantity of free labour sugar imported into Great Britain during the last year was 5,069,678 cwt., of which 168,180 cwt. were the produce of foreign states; Molasses, 528,238 cwt.; Rum, 4,807,512 gallons; Coffee, 23,151,602 lbs.; Cocoa, 4,917,907 lbs.; Indigo, 90,388 cwt.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH 1, 1846.

THE BRITISH SUGAR DUTIES LAW.—We announced in our last number the passage of a bill in the House of Commons removing the distinction which had previously existed between the blood-stained sugars of Cuba and Brazil and the free sugars of other countries, by admitting all foreign sugars, however cultivated, at the same rate of duty. This bill was adopted in the House of Lords by a considerable majority, and on the 18th of 8th mo. last received the sanction of the Crown, and thus is the law of the British realm. With our friends in Great Britain, we deeply deplore this event, and believe its effects on the general welfare of the human race will be most deplorable and revolting. The measure was met in its progress by repeated efforts to enlist the humanity of both houses of Parliament against its passage, but the fanaticism of free trade appears to have been resistless. We make extracts below from several of the speeches in the House of Lords on the occasion.

LORD STANLEY said: He listened with astonishment when he heard his noble friend deny that an increased demand in this country would have a tendency to stimulate slavery. Were they to be told that it afforded no stimulus to the slave-trade when they increased a demand which would call for an increased supply to be attained only by means of increased slave-labour, thereby increasing the value of slaves? They were going to add £5 per ton to the net profit of the slave-proprietors and importers in Brazil, and thereby they would increase the profit on every slave engaged in the cultivation of sugar. Although by the great stimulus of higher wages and greater encouragement of industry they might induce the free labourer to increase his exertions, yet no such motive could act on the mind of the slave labourer. By this system they would add to the punishment of the

slave. The deficiency of 25,000 tons, which would follow this measure, in their supply from their own colonies, would have to be provided by 10,000 slaves from the coast of Africa. Were they prepared, with their eyes open, for the purpose of reducing temporarily and immediately the price of sugar by a small fraction, to incur a moral guilt and responsibility, and to involve themselves in all the consequences of a certain increase in the exportation of slaves to the amount of ten, or perhaps twenty, thousand, from the coast of Africa, for the purpose of increasing the produce of Cuba and Brazil? Great horrors, and loss of life, followed the pursuit of obtaining slaves from the coast of Africa. He agreed with the noble lord who expressed an opinion that, when they considered the loss of life that was consequent on the attempt to suppress the slave-trade, it was enough to make one hesitate in deciding whether their philanthropy had or had not been misdirected. He saw the other day an account of the slaughter of several slaves on the part of a slave-trader, in order to avoid the effects of the vigilance of their cruisers on the coast of Africa. They should not on the one hand, at the expense of the lives of many brave men, enter into an agreement with foreign nations, to suppress the slave-trade, while on the other hand they afford a stimulus to the avarice and the cupidity of the slave-trader. They should not adopt a measure which was justly characterized as a most extreme folly, and almost laid them open to the charge of being guilty of systematic hypocrisy. He was perfectly convinced of this, that if they were called upon to sacrifice one of two measures, the suppression of the slave-trade, by means of cruisers, on the coast of Africa, or the exclusion of slave-grown sugar for the same purpose, they ought, for the sake of humanity, to withdraw their cruisers from the coast of Africa. After having given £20,000,000 for the emancipation of slaves, they would, by passing this measure, put themselves up as a laughing-stock, and an object for the contempt and ridicule of the world. His noble friend said that he was ready, for the purpose of putting down the slave-trade, to make any sacrifice; but here he was called upon merely to make a sacrifice of a half-penny in the price of a pound of sugar. Did the noble earl opposite read the report made last year by Her Majesty's commissioners with respect to Havana? He said that it was not the cruisers on the coast of Africa that caused the decrease in the amount of slavery that existed there, but that it was the exclusion of slave-grown sugar from the British market that prevented the importation of slaves. That single check on the slave-trade was what the Government were now about to remove.

LORD DENMAN said he felt it his duty, to himself and to all with whom he had been connected in political life, to declare his direct and irreconcilable hostility to the principles upon which this bill was founded. Its immediate and necessary consequence would be—what had been stated in 1841 by the noble lord now at the head of the Government—to encourage and stimulate the trade in human beings. The very object of the measure was a sufficient proof of this; because,

unless the number of slaves was very greatly increased, how could an increased production of sugar take place? No one could speak of slavery and the slave-trade with any degree of moderation, or any other feeling than the most perfect abhorrence of the principle and all its details; and, accordingly, the noble earl who had opened this debate with such great ability, and in so very lucid a manner, had found it necessary to express his abhorrence of it. But it was rather difficult to believe that those evils were so regarded by those who produced a bill the direct tendency of which was to increase them. It seemed impossible for the world to believe that those who now said, "I want cheap sugar at the expense of slave-labour," were the natural descendants, politically speaking, of those who, at all events and all hazards, were determined to abolish the slave-trade. If there was not to be an immense increase in the number of slaves, he was at a loss to understand how the vast supply of sugar expected from this measure was to be produced. The great argument for the measure was derived from the inconsistency of dealing with different slave-grown commodities in a different manner. But if there was such inconsistency—if our policy was in one part good and in another bad—we are not, for the sake of consistency, to sacrifice the good and take the bad. Before this measure was introduced, the resources of the East Indies and the Mauritius should have been considered. When it was said that the principle of free trade was all-powerful and irresistible, was that principle to be applied to a traffic of bloodshed, piracy, and murder? He had thought it to be his duty to protest against this measure; and when their lordships heard of the advantage of settling this question, he maintained that a measure like this, founded upon an unjust principle, could not settle the question; and it would be a benefit to the country that it should not be settled. If we must submit to the domineering principle of free trade, he wanted to know why our own subjects should not be permitted to engage in the slave traffic. He believed that the people of England would willingly give up their share of any advantage they might derive from this measure, sooner than abandon the principles on which they had so long contended against slavery. He protested against this measure on the general principles which he had always supported. It was not by any means a settlement of the question—brought forward in so hasty a manner, at so late a period of the session, and founded on unjust principles, it could not be a settlement of the question; and it was to the advantage of the country in general that it should not be considered as a settlement of the question.

LORD ASHBURTON thought that they might do away with their colonies, if they passed this measure; for the withdrawal of all protection from the colonies would be letting all the other countries of the world, with their hostile commercial regulations, in upon them, and exposing the West Indies to competition with Cuba and the Brazils, where slavery existed in all its horrors. He feared that the slave-trade would revive in full force. It had abated in Cuba under the government of Gen. Valdez, a man who had conferred benefits on

humanity, but since his time so many as 16,000 slaves annually had been imported into that island. Now, as the computation was that only one cargo in five reached its destination, 80,000 must have been embarked on the coast of Africa to supply this number. Were we, then, after all our expenditure of men and money, to encourage such a state of things? As to the argument that we already imported slave-cultivated produce, they were imported from slave states, but not from slave-importing countries. If the question were, whether we should import copper ores, for instance, from Cuba, he should give it his determined opposition. As to the importation of cotton it had existed for years, mighty interests had grown up under it, and, besides we were not called on to deal with it at this moment. We were called on to deal with slave-grown sugar, and he for one should not consent to its importation.

The Bishop of Oxford said he could assure their lordships it was not without a feeling of great diffidence that he addressed himself, even for a few moments, to support a cause which in his eyes, at least, had a character of peculiar sacredness. It was because he believed that the question was not a mere question of finance, but one most deeply and directly affecting the moral character of the country, her character for justice and integrity, as well as for humanity, that he felt compelled to obtrude upon their lordships that evening. But it was peculiarly painful to be opposed to the present Government on this particular question. He knew that they had been the friends of that cause in those days when it was not in favour, and that they were not its mere summer friends. He first knew the name of the noble marquis as one to be regarded with honour and admiration, from its connection with that cause, and he was aware that the second who bore the title of the noble earl who sat next him (Earl Grey) moved in 1807 for the total abolition of the slave-trade in the other House of Parliament. But he begged to say at once that he intended to convey no covert insinuation whatever that those noble lords who took another view of the question, were one whit less humane, or one whit less earnest to prevent the slave-trade and slavery than himself. The deficiency in the supply of sugar in the English market did not arise from the fact that we were not able to command the article, but that the whole production of sugar in the sugar-growing countries was comparatively small. It was stated by Sir James Hogg, in the other House of Parliament, that there was not produced a sufficient quantity of sugar to fill the sugar market as it was required to be filled; and he added that the only great article of consumption in which three months' supply was not left on hand at the end of every year was sugar. He (the Bishop of Oxford) therefore might assume that there must be an increased power of production in Cuba and Brazil to supply the increased demand which England was about to require. And how was that to be produced? Not by machinery, because that would imply an amount of civilization which was not compatible with the slave-trade, which had no connection with civil-

zation, but wrung its produce from the sinews of men. They could not bring in machinery to aid the blacks, but we must obtain from the manual labour of the Brazilian and Cuba slave a greater amount of sugar than we now got; and a greater quantity of sugar could not be obtained from the existing labour. The lash had done its utmost; already death trod hard upon the heel of those exertions by which the human frame of those unhappy men was already taxed. The Cuba slaves were being killed off at ten per cent. per annum; so that in ten years the whole stock was annihilated, and they were obliged to get a new importation from Africa to supply their places. It was, therefore, evident that the proposed measure, by causing an increased supply of sugar, must increase the slave-trade. The labour of one negro was equal to nineteen cwt. of sugar; so that for every additional nineteen cwt. of sugar which was produced over the present supply, their lordships, if they passed the bill, would directly and necessarily, knowingly and with their eyes open, cause the increase of one additional negro labourer. And it must be remembered that before they were made slaves, war and rapine must ensue in Africa, and they were, therefore, by the proposed measure, carrying back to that country all the cruelty and oppression which must be perpetrated before a slave could be bought on the coast of Africa, and subjected to the horrors of the middle passage, the waste of life on which, and in the subsequent seasoning, was dreadful. He repeated that the necessary effect of this measure must be to increase that greatest of crimes, the capturing of men by violence, and violently and cruelly transferring them from the condition of freemen to the condition of slaves. This argument was incontrovertible: no direct answer had been given to it; but it had been met by a series of objections; one of which was that the number of negroes imported into Brazil had not kept pace with the increased production of sugar. He denied the verity of the figures upon which this statement had been made by the noble earl (Earl Grey); they did not know either the quantity of sugar produced, or the number of slaves imported, and it could not set aside the fact that sugar could not be produced without labour; and if the quantity was increased, the labour must be increased also. A great deal of time took place in breaking up the virgin lands and fitting them for the production of sugar—six years at least—and provided in the year 1840 there had been a great importation of negroes, the effect would extend over the five years to which the noble earl had referred; and he found that in the year previous to that which the noble earl had referred, in the port of Rio alone no less than 30,000 slaves had been proved to have been landed. But there was another argument used—namely, that other articles produced by slave-labour were allowed to be introduced, and that we were receiving Carolina cotton whilst we would refuse Cuba sugar. He hoped the noble marquis would not charge him with hypocrisy, for he had been ready to encourage all the proper objects of free trade. But was it to be tolerated in a grave assembly of reasoning men that because they could not undo one evil,

they must consent to do another; because they could not stop housebreaking, they must legalize murder; because it was impossible to prevent people from dealing in American cotton—which had been commenced before this country said it would have nothing to do with slavery and the slave-trade—was he to be told that because this could not be suppressed, he was a hypocrite if he would not allow another evil to be introduced? * * * * * And now he would say a few words as to the third objection—viz. that it was necessary for the English people to have this increased supply of sugar. He denied, in the most emphatic terms, the truth of the principle, that the people of England had a right to have any mart supplied by injustice, cruelty and rapine. They had a right, he would admit, that the law should be made as light as its burdens could be made, that the Government should facilitate the means of obtaining from all parts of the world everything which the people needed, provided it came in by the lawful channels of commerce; but they had no right to demand to be supplied with luxuries, or even with necessities, which were earned for them by the blood of those who, if Christianity was not a fable, were their very brothers. * * * He was convinced that her Majesty's Government, if they believed as he did, that the passing of this bill was a direct sanction of the slave-trade, would not have proposed it. That sanction, however, was given directly, though ignorantly on their part, because they were going to import in great abundance the produce of slave labour. They were giving up all their principles. This was a fearful step they were called upon to take, and he could only say, in conclusion, that he had the firmest conviction that if they took that step they would take a step more adverse to the opinions, the principles, and the convictions of the mass of the people of England than any step that they had ever taken within his memory. He believed that the history of their whole lives would prove that it was the simple announcement of the great truth that this traffic was contrary to the law of God that enlisted the sympathy of the people of England, and that the battle was won by the Christian principles and the Christian energy of the people of England. It was said that their energy had since failed in its object; he would answer that that was a political and a sectional, rather than a Christian argument. He would ask them to pause before they rushed into that great crime, which the indignant voices of their ancestors, and of some still alive, abolished when they found it existing. In this respect the question differed; for when the former battle was fought it was fought at a disadvantage, for those who fought it did so to put down an existing evil. They were now called upon to take a direct step in the opposite direction. He first called it an act of retrogression. They were now called upon, for the first time, to pledge themselves on opposite principles, to renew what, on conviction, they abolished, and to encourage injustice by leaving it in the power of others to perpetrate the most cruel injustice. * * * * * It appeared to him that they were taking a step in the wrong direction. They were now called upon to retrace their

steps in that course, in which they were making a tardy compensation for a long course of crime committed by their ancestors. It was pretty clear that, if they were to have a large increase in the importation to this country of slave-grown sugar, a larger number of slaves must be employed to cultivate it. They must recollect that they were by no means to judge of the number of slaves that were taken from the coast of Africa by the number that were imported into the slave-growing countries; for every slave that arrived safe two died on the passage. If they were to have an increase of 30,000 or 40,000 cwt. of slave-grown sugar, it was evident that it should be produced by the labour of 30,000 or 40,000 slaves. When those 30,000 or 40,000 were imported into the slave-growing countries, not only was the liberty of that number taken away, but they should recollect that for the purpose of obtaining that amount, some 60,000 or 80,000 were hurled into eternity by the most cruel torments. He felt firmly convinced that the increase of their supply would be bought at too great a price, if it were only at the cost of the liberty of ten men. There were no temporal, secular, or canonical benefits which could be said to be cheaply purchased at the expense of one crime. He for one would decidedly acquiesce in opposing a measure which would fix a stain on the escutcheon of this country, which he doubted whether the legislation of future years could ever effectually remove. He had some hope of having this measure postponed, in order that it may receive the full consideration which the great moral and religious principles which it involved loudly called for. He looked upon this question as one altogether distinct from political economy, and as one widely apart from the question of protection, except so far as that protection went which they were bound to afford to those unhappy beings who were now, after enjoying for some years the advantages of protection, to be handed over to the cruelty of those who would now be made more interested in this abominable traffic."

Amid the great discouragement we feel from the undeniable fact that Great Britain has now made an important retrogression in her policy regarding slavery and the slave-trade, to be followed, we fear, by other relaxations in it, we are cheered by the belief that it will lead our brethren in Great Britain to renewed exertions on behalf of the slave, and to the adoption personally, where they have not already done it, of that policy which they have in vain asked of the nation to maintain. Those efforts and that example may yet enable them to recover their lost ground.

THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY DEPENDENT ON A COMMERCE IN ITS PRODUCTIONS.—Other important subjects have precluded our earlier notice of a criticism on "The Non-Slaveholder" which appeared a few weeks since in a cotemporary journal devoted to the abolition of slavery by exclusively moral instrumentalities. The article bears the aspect of

an editorial, and, for that reason especially, the error of its suggestions ought to be corrected.—The writer, commending where he thinks he may, objects much to our supposed subservience to, and undue exaltation of *one division* of the great anti-slavery movement—the disuse of slave produce—and accuses us of entertaining but "a fragment" of the "ONE IDEA" charged upon abolitionists, when we over-rate, as he judges we do, the duty of abstinence, and its efficacy as an agent in effecting the overthrow of Slavery. He proceeds to some extent in an effort to show that were the use of the products of slave-labour to be discontinued by all but slaveholders, still, under the mere influence of the vulgar and despicable pride which disdains labour, of sensual lust, and of love of uncontrolled dominion, slavery, though financially unprofitable, would continue to exist to the extent at least of retaining a moiety of its present subjects.

In appearing before the public as the humble advocates of the outraged and down-trodden slave, we felt that our mission was prominently to proclaim the doctrine that abstinence from any participation in the fruits of the wrong done to the bondman was an appropriate, and even necessary preparative to the full demonstration of that moral power which we desired to see wielded against slavery; at the same time we held ourselves ready to promote by all means, which were just and pacific, the overthrow of that evil. Thus far our practice has been accordant with these views; and if there is to be attributed to us any offence, we believe it must consist in this, that we have expanded the "one idea" beyond the capability or convenience of others to receive it; not that we have derogated from it in any particular. We have asked abolitionists to do, what they and we have asked slaveholders to do—RELINQUISH YOUR CONNEXION WITH THE WRONG.

Can any one doubt that a renunciation of the profits and comforts which two hundred and fifty thousand American Abolitionists now contentedly derive from slavery, would do more to seal on the minds of slaveholders a conviction of the real iniquity of the system, and prepare them for a voluntary surrender of *their* proportion of its emoluments, than all the arguments showing its abstract wrongfulness which could be presented to them, unaccompanied by the evidence that they proceeded from honest hearts, seeking to be clear of the wrong, and disdaining to derive advantage from it?

The South demands at our hands the testimony which only can be afforded by a life of practical conformity with our high pretensions to Justice and Humanity, that we are sincere in our abhor-

rence of Slavery. Till then we may not expect her to surrender, at our persuasion, her millions of vassals, and hundreds of millions of dollars which she claims to hold in them. Pharaoh-like, when she receives from us this proof, she may refuse to give liberty to her bondmen; but on her, and her allies, not on us, will in that case be the burden of her injustice.

If Slavery, as our reviewer supposes, would continue to one-half its present extent, or if it would continue to its whole extent as others might assert, notwithstanding the withdrawal from it of all external patronage, still the obligation of each and all to make this withdrawal, in order to show their moral dissent from the wrong it practices, would not be the less clear. We admit that the duty would receive a further confirmation if the truth of the assertion at the head of this article were shown. We proceed to show it; and, in doing so, to demonstrate the error into which our commentator has fallen.

It is more than three centuries since the first importation into America of slaves from the African Continent. During most of this period unlimited authority has been conceded to the Slave power to do what it pleased in order to make its system availing and permanent. We may then conclude that in all this time its capabilities and disabilities have been fully developed. We present the following facts as the result of this development.

1. Slave labour, with the restrictions on intellect, skill and enterprise which the protection of the slave system necessarily imposes, cannot be used in the mechanic arts or applied to the manufacture of goods to an extent commensurate with the wants of a community, or to any extent, as cheaply as free labour can be used and applied in free States to the production of the same articles.

2. Free labour, from the unalterable fact that in Slave communities all manual industry is held to be servile and ignominious, is only to be obtained in such communities at a cost which it is supposed will compensate for the degradation suffered, as well as for the labour performed. Thus free labour, as well as slave labour exerted in any of the arts, in a slave State, is a dear power.

3. Slave holding communities are not, and, from the facts shown, cannot be manufacturing communities, but must rely on importation for the supply of most of their wants dependent on artificial production.

4. In the branches of agriculture now common to free and slave labour, free labour, with wages, is more productive of profit than slave labour without wages; but where slaves are not grossly overworked their natural increase forms a new in-

crement of profit which compensates in some measure for the deficiency in the avails of their labour. It is the slave market, then, which the demand for slaves, where their labour is more productive, creates, which continues slavery in States pursuing the branches of culture adverted to.

5. Slavery in the household is less economical than compensated help, where the latter can be obtained, and has other comparative disadvantages. Nothing retains it in the kitchen but the repulsion of free labour which the out door existence of slavery occasions, and the fact that slaves are a merchantable commodity, and the kitchen a convenient nursery of those articles of commerce.

6. The love of power, including the several motives for its exercise which our reviewer describes, however it may influence men to cling to slavery while yielding even an inferior emolument, cannot induce them to forego wholly the consideration of profit. The wealth must be endless, or its possessors fatuous, that would allow the continuous indulgence of such a feeling. With the mass of slaveholders, profit must form an indispensable consideration.

7. Slavery finds its great strength and essential vitality to consist in furnishing to the world productions which free industry cannot, or does not supply—not in competing with the skill, intelligence and assiduity of voluntary labour in its ordinary application. In this view it has seized on large domains fitted by a prolific soil and congenial climate to the culture of a few agricultural productions, in general demand; chiefly rice, tobacco, cotton and sugar. With the results of this cultivation it unites in a minor degree the products of the forests, mines and other natural advantages found within its limits, and seeks a market for nearly the whole quantity in foreign parts. It does not await the slow progress of population for obtaining its supply of labourers, but looks abroad for adult cultivators; whence results a vigorous inter-state and foreign slave trade. It cannot manufacture its own goods. It does not even stop to cultivate many of its articles of food. Its goods and much of its aliment are supplied by importation. Thus there is written on the system the fact of its dependence on commerce.

It is evident from what has been above shown, that slavery, but for the slave trade, would quickly disappear from portions of the country under the dominion of the slave power in which the branches of agriculture are common to free and slave labour. On the disappearance of the export trade in the productions of slavery, the slave trade, and thus the slavery it locally sustains, would disappear. Let us see what would be the

effect of a discontinuance of this export upon the great residue of slavery.

The exports from Brazil in productions of slavery are rated at sixty millions of dollars; of the Spanish Islands in the West Indies at fourteen millions; of the French Islands at nine millions. Of the other slave Islands and of the European slave possessions on the contiguous continent, we are without information. The exports from the United States to foreign countries in such productions in 1840, were seventy-five millions, and the consumption of the free states estimated at fifty millions more. In round numbers we may safely state the export production of six millions of slaves at the annual sum of two hundred millions of dollars, or thirty-three and one-third dollars for each man, woman and child held in American bondage. Most of these exports are returned to the countries whence they emanate, in commodities indispensable to the comfortable well-being of those countries, embracing almost all species of manufactures and a large amount of provisions and bread stuffs.

Recurring to the facts which the long experiment of slavery has furnished, we perceive it impossible that the amount of labour now issuing in those exports could be so diverted into home channels as advantageously to absorb that labour and supply the wants of slaveholding communities. True, a portion of the labour would have to be directed to the cultivation of agricultural products previously furnished by foreign nations. But to what could the remainder be applied? We have shown that it could not be to manufactures and the mechanic arts with such benefit to the masters as would make a continuance of the slaves in bondage desirable. Under these circumstances a general emancipation appears to us to be an inevitable consequence. That effected, there would be a return of the foreign trade, in productions no longer wrung from wretched slaves, but cheerfully proffered by contented remunerated freemen.

It is not necessary for us to determine the question whether the world would have virtue enough to reject the advantage it now derives from its great existing commerce in the productions of slavery, or discernment enough to perceive the still greater advantages which would ensue to it from a temporary suspension of its commercial interchanges with slave communities. It is sufficient for us to show, that with that suspension the downfall of slavery is certain.

In ascertaining what is the aggregate action proper to the removal of a moral evil we discern also what is the required individual duty. Faith-

ful to it ourselves, the wrong will be at least corrected in the lesser world which we govern, and from it will proceed a sphere of influence which will operate on the greater, and in process of time may wholly remove the evil from it also.—Our obedience or disobedience may promote or retard the coming of that day when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.—We are glad to learn that a few Friends have associated under this title, and propose to issue an address to their fellow members inviting them to attend a meeting to be held in Mount Pleasant.

Friends in Ohio are annually required to answer whether they maintain a testimony against slavery. At their recent Yearly Meeting the answers to this query were very full—there was no exception or doubt of the testimony being faithfully maintained. We will not call in question the honesty of these answers, because we are not able to say how closely Friends in Ohio scrutinize their own conduct and practice, nor what they consider as constituting a testimony against slavery. This testimony cannot be simply refusing to hold slaves, nor can it mean a mere testifying in words against slavery to those who are engaged in holding slaves. In this case, as in many others, "acts speak louder than words," and "example is stronger than precept."

Does he who purchases goods of a smuggler bear a testimony against contraband trade? Can the purchaser of stolen goods say he maintains a testimony against robbery? Is a testimony against murder upheld by the hirer of an assassin? Can he be said to bear a testimony against war who contributes to its support and participates in its plunder? Slavery is not only closely allied with war, but is itself a perpetual war; it depends, in several countries, for its existence on a contraband and piratical trade,—the African slave-trade; it is a system of murder, which, if universal, would in a few years depopulate the earth; it is robbery in its worst form—not only seizing forcibly upon the fruits of a man's labour, but robbing him of himself, his wife, his children! Are we maintaining a testimony against this hydra-headed monster—this combination of crimes—when we participate in its avails, and contribute the support which alone sustains it?

We have had an opportunity of knowing, that many Friends in Ohio Yearly Meeting are seriously turning their attention to the duty of avoiding the use of the products of slave labour, as an essen-

tial part of the testimony which they are called upon to bear against slavery. We trust the effort which has been commenced will be encouraged, and the necessary measures be adopted to obtain, in every section of the country, a supply of *free products*. Let merchants in the various towns and villages be induced to keep articles of this description in their stores. Cotton goods of various kinds may be procured of the Agents of the Free Produce Association of Friends, and the American Free Produce Association. Coffee, sugar, rice, molasses and many other articles produced by free labour, are always to be had at Joel Fisher's, N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets.

THE ACQUISITION OF NEW TERRITORY, AND EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.—The constant, persevering, and successful efforts of the Slave Power to control the operations of the Federal Government, and to acquire new territory, with the intention and hope of perpetuating its sway, are at length arousing the people of the Free States from their lethargy. The triumph of Anti-Slavery sentiment in New Hampshire, to which we alluded in our last number, has been followed by indications of a similar change occurring, at no distant period, in Maine. We give below, a few extracts from various political Journals—both Whig and Democratic—which exhibit a growing determination to stop the encroachments of the slaveholders.

The Philadelphia Public Ledger, says:—

"One of the journals, in some speculations about the acquisition of new territory, as the probable result of the present war with Mexico, strives to show that the extension of slavery to any new territory would be a public benefit. It says that a difference of opinion prevails about the policy of acquiring new territory; that one party regards the acquisition of Southern territory as directly giving a preponderance to the slave States; that the other party regard such acquisition as important to the whole Union, all parts of which are bound by a community of interest. It then proceeds to say that the annexation of Mexico would extinguish a slavery more galling than any existing in the United States; and that the addition of slave territory will tend to abolish slavery in the old States. It then makes some remarks about the process of renovation now active in Virginia, in the influx of free labour upon its lands once exhausted by slave cultivation.

"All these speculations are based upon the hypothesis, that, whatever new territory is acquired, will be open to slavery of course. We understand all this. The journal in question is the organ of a clique of Southern politicians, mostly of South Carolina, with a 'sprinkling' from other slave States. Their grand object is the perpetuation and extension of slavery as an element of political power; and the organ in question is probably well paid for disseminating their doctrines,

one of which is that slavery *must* extend over all new territory South of latitude 36°. We must protest against any of these assumptions, and call upon all the free States, and all that portion of the slave States not wedded to slavery as an instrument of aristocracy at home, and of undue power in the Federal government, to *wake up*, and by a single united effort, to defeat forever this locally and personally ambitious design.

"We protest against the doctrine, that, slavery extends, *of course*, over new Southern Territory. All new acquisitions to the South must be made from Mexico, from *all* of whose territory slavery is now excluded. Hence if California and New Mexico be ceded to the Union, they will become *free States*, if *left as they are* in relation to this institution. But if ceded to us without any provision against it, they would *not* be left as they are. Emigrants from the Southern States would immediately settle in them with their slaves; and once introduced, this institution could not be eradicated by legislation. It would cover the whole territory and remain there till destroyed, as in some of the old States, by its own inherent vices. Therefore an act of Congress, excluding slavery from new territory, is necessary. Here the *free States* should move *together as one*, and exhibit no wavering or *flinching*. Pennsylvania has a vital interest in this great question, and has the power of preventing the extension of slavery. Let that power be exerted *now*, and this 'perpetual disturbance' will be disarmed of its terrors, and will soon begin to sink under the natural laws that are digging its grave. The obvious policy of the Union is the extension of the confederacy over the whole continent. But to render that extension a blessing instead of a curse, it must proceed without the incumbrance of slavery. Pennsylvania is under deep and heavy responsibilities in this question, and we call upon her to *do her duty*."

The Sandusky Mirror, (Ohio,) quoting the Ohio Statesman, says:—

"California is now free; shall it remain so if acquired? One would think it was an act of such impudent presumption to raise the question, that even the brazen-faced South would not think of doing so." It argues that it would be just as reasonable to propose extending slavery over Ohio, Iowa, or Wisconsin, as over California. "Besides, where do you find power in the constitution to authorize the Federal Government to extend slavery over free territory? The South tell us that by that instrument we cannot interfere to abolish it. We grant it; and it is equally true that you cannot interfere to create it." "The excuse," it continues, "for the continuance of slavery in Louisiana, Florida and Texas, 'was that it already existed there; but shall we now acquire free territory, and turn it into a land of slavery?'"

The Lafayette Courier (Indiana,) has the following remarks:—

"And in addition to all this—it were folly to attempt to disguise the fact—there is a sentiment of *freedom*—an *anti-slavery* sentiment if you please—aroused in the free States by recent and yet transpiring events, which nothing can quench or smother. Call it infatuation—fanaticism—or

what you will; you cannot change the fact. It exists: and whether right or wrong, politic or impolitic, its influence will be both seen and felt. That sentiment will prevent great numbers of conscientious and well-meaning men, who have heretofore acted and voted with the Whig party, and who would gladly continue to do so, *from ever again voting for a slaveholder for President*. We repeat, characterize this sentiment as you will, it is a *fixed fact*, which it were madness to overlook."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, a Democratic Journal in Ohio, contains the following:—

"The Democracy of Hamilton county, at their late Convention, passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That the West will seal an amnesty on the Oregon question, only on condition that the ordinance of 1787, the broad foundation of the Northwest, shall be extended over our Pacific Empire, present and future."

"To this complexion we are coming at last. Let the Democracy of the North show an undivided front, and stand boldly and firmly upon this ground, and in them the cause of freedom has a most glorious triumph. We rejoice to see how universal has been the expression of the Democratic press in the North, in respect to Mr. Wilmot's amendment upon the defeated *two million* peace bill. Now let the Democratic masses, in their Conventions, speak out in the same tone, and the work is done."

The Whigs, at a Convention in Cleveland, declared these sentiments:—

"Resolved, That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

"Resolved, That as morality and knowledge are essentially necessary to good government, we believe it to be the duty of the Legislature to provide schools and the means of instruction for the education of *all* children, without regard to creeds or colour.

"Resolved, That we are in favour of the immediate and unconditional repeal of the unjust and oppressive 'Black Laws' of this State, and we will not support any men for Representatives to the State Legislature who are not in favour of this resolution, and who will not make the repeal of these *odious* laws a prominent topic of legislation.

"Resolved, That as citizens of the United States, we do most solemnly protest against the accursed system of human slavery, as being wrong and only wrong, as being fraught with evil and only evil, in all its influences upon society and upon the nation."

At Medina, Ohio, the Whigs adopted the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, Therefore, that we distinctly announce to the country our uncompromising opposition to the further extension and longer existence of American Slavery; and that we hereby deliberately declare our unalterable purpose to use every lawful and constitutional means for its overthrow

and entire extinction; and we *hereby pledge our cordial co-operation* with the friends of civil Liberty throughout the Union, in every just and practicable measure, that shall tend to free our country from the dominion, curse and shame of slavery, and make her great and glorious among the nations of the world.

"Resolved, That inasmuch as the policy of slaveholders is and has been to control this government in such a manner that all its legislation should tend to foster and protect *slave labour* at the expense of *free labour*, we therefore believe that the time has arrived for freemen to declare, that their public servants shall be free from the contaminating touch of slavery."

In referring to the course pursued by Southern politicians, the (Boston) Christian Register, says:

"If however, they still persist, as they have for a few years past, in extending the dominion of slavery, and making that the turning point in public measures, then, come what may, we must be faithful to our convictions of duty. We cannot lead our influence to the extension of an institution which does violence to all our moral feelings, and must be a curse to the nation that willingly upholds it. The old plea of necessity, which Milton has characterized as the tyrant's plea, cannot be urged in favour of these new measures, and they should be met, as sooner or later they must be, by the solemn execrations of all good men, whether at the North or the South. It is beyond the power of language to express the woes which will otherwise be entailed on the fairest portions of our land. We would, therefore, urge it upon the people of the South, not in the spirit of menace,—but in all kindness we would entreat them, not to press us too far in this matter. Whatever smooth speeches may have been made by Northern men, whatever concessions may have been made by Northern merchants, or subservience shown by Northern politicians, the whole system is at variance with the deepest and strongest feelings of our nature.

"We are a conservative people. We love our country and its institutions. From an inexpressible unwillingness to break up the Constitution of the United States, we have submitted to much; and the great mass of our people are willing to go on, using only constitutional means for the removal of this national crime and disgrace. But let our brethren at the South beware of pushing us too far. Let them consider how they would feel if we should undertake to make them, as members of the government, sanction acts of piracy, and authorize the fitting out of vessels to prey upon the commerce of the world, pillaging, burning, and murdering, wherever plunder was to be gained; and this solely for the pecuniary profit of the North! How would they look upon such a proposition? And yet, even this would not be more abhorrent to their moral convictions, than measures for the further extension of slavery are to ours.

"The extreme measures for the last two or three years have done more to stir up the North, and to rouse the public sentiment against slavery, than all the efforts of the abolitionists for a quarter

of a century. It will not be safe to carry matters farther. The insulting laugh with which Southern members of the Senate received Mr. Webster's assertion, that they did not understand the people of the North, is quite too much for our patience, and does more than a thousand 'incendiary' speeches to awaken the indignation of the free States. We have been betrayed by our leaders. The real sentiment of the community has not found utterance through our strongest men. But every year it is making itself felt more and more. And if the upholders of slavery go on as they have done, they will rouse, all along their borders from Maine to Oregon, such a spirit, that no public man who lends his sanction to slavery, will dare look to any free State for support; and the names of those Northern men through whose influence Texas, with its iniquitous war, has been annexed, will be as a hissing and a by-word among the people.

"We do not often approach this subject. But the public, and especially the religious press of the North must speak out. In the slaveholding States there are thousands who respond to us, and thousands more who would gladly do so if they could only see how to free themselves of the dreadful evil that is upon them. Let all who have the real welfare of the country at heart consider these things well. The revolution in New Hampshire, though it has undoubtedly been hastened by the firmness of one bold man, who had the magnanimity to take his stand on a great moral principle, only shows the real state of feeling in this whole section of the country, and to all Christians and philanthropists, is a most encouraging fact. But whatever may be our success, let us be free, open, gentle, firm, and true,—faithful to what we believe the right, and leave the event to God, sure that in his own good time all things will be directed to a prosperous issue."

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE SLAVE POWER.—A small pamphlet entitled "An Address on the Encroachments of the Slave Power," by Lindley Murray Moore, 1845, has recently been put in our hands, from which we extract the following:

"We have witnessed with alarm, for many years past, a steady determination on the part of the Slaveholders, to monopolize all the legislative and judicial powers of the nation, and a disgraceful yielding on the part of northern members of Congress to southern dictation. Although in a population of eighteen millions of inhabitants, there are but about two hundred and fifty thousand Slaveholders, yet we find that all the measures of the Federal Government, and all the offices in its gift, are entirely under the control of this small central power. And although the Slaveholders are but a small minority of the white inhabitants in the Southern States, yet none but Slaveholders are sent to Congress, or have the offices in the gift of the Federal Government conferred on them. And when in Congress, they have their instruc-

tions to be united in every measure, in which the Slave interest can, in the least degree, be protected, however disastrous it may prove to that of free labour. Indeed, in some instances, they seem even more intent in destroying the interest of free labour, or in bringing it into disrepute, than in building up their own. With what supreme contempt do they speak of *northern labourers*? Governor McDuffie declared 'Slavery to be the corner stone of our Republican edifice; and that twenty-five years would not elapse, before northern labourers would be owned as property by the capitalists.'

"Professor Dew, of William and Mary College, says: 'Political power at the South, is thus taken from the hands of those who might abuse it, and placed in the hands of those who are most interested in its judicious exercise. How can he get wisdom, that holdeth the plough, that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in labours, and whose talk is of bullocks?'

"Benjamin W. Leigh, one of the most distinguished men of Virginia, said in their state convention as early as 1829, 'There must be some peasantry; and as the country fills up, there must be more,—that is, men who tend the herd and dig the soil, who have neither real nor personal capital of their own, and who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. I ask gentlemen to say, whether they believe that those who depend on their daily bread for subsistence, can or ever do enter into political affairs? They never do, never will, never can.'

"Pickens, of South Carolina, says: 'All society settles down into a classification of capitalists and labourers. The former will own the latter.'

"Thus we find that they are not satisfied with holding the black man in abject and degrading bondage; but they call upon the capitalists of the north to reduce the white labourers to the same miserable condition; and McDuffie gives them but a quarter of a century to do it in, and several years of that have already elapsed.

"All the great disastrous measures, from the EMBARGO of 1807, down to the late FLORIDA WAR, [we may now add the MEXICAN WAR,] have been forced upon the nation by this united central power, by the assistance of a few from the north, whom they have always been able, by the lure of office, to associate to their aid.

"The free population of the United States including the Territories, and the District of Columbia, according to the census of 1840, was 14,434,190 persons. Of these the non-slaveholding States contained 9,653,663; the slaveholding, 4,780,427: That is to say the free States contained just twice

as many free inhabitants as the slave states, and 92,809 persons over.

"Now it is a very important thing to the slaveholders, to secure judicial decisions of the highest authority favourable to Slavery. To effect this, it is thought necessary to have a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, from the slave States. And accordingly Congress has so divided the Circuits as to give to the slave States, having not one-third of the free population, five Judges, and to the free States, having more than two-thirds, only four. The Circuits, also, are so arranged that no slave State is included in the Circuit of a Judge residing in a free State, nor any free State in the Circuit of a Judge residing in a slave State.

"The largest population of a slave State Circuit, is only a fraction over one-half the largest population of a free State Circuit, and less by sixty thousand than the smallest! While the smallest population of a free State Circuit, is more than six times the smallest population of a slave State Circuit. The 7th Circuit, of which Ohio is part, contains more than seven times as many free inhabitants as the fifth of which Mississippi forms part.

"The fact that for thirty-one years during the last thirty-four, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, has been a Slaveholder, shows again how entirely that body has been under the control of the central power.

"A great majority of our foreign ambassadors are slaveholders; and those who are not, have, before their appointment, generally shown a disgraceful subserviency to their power. Cotton, rice, and tobacco, are vigilantly guarded in foreign Courts, to the neglect of wheat and other agricultural productions of the free states. But our limits will not admit of dwelling on this topic, one of vast importance to every man, 'who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow.' We earnestly entreat the reader to examine, at least, this branch of the subject, and give evidence that may convince the southern aristocracy, who speak so contemptuously of northern laborers, that he can perform other functions, besides 'holding the plough, handling the goad, and talking of bullocks.'

"During the fifty-six years that the Federal Government has been in operation, the free states have furnished a president for twelve years, and the slave States for forty-four years. No northern president has ever secured a second election, and no southern one has ever failed in it.

"Here we find a small central power in our country, that has for many years past, completely controlled all the executive, legislative and judicial action of the Government, and the appointment

of all our foreign ambassadors. And this power, instead of weakening, is daily gaining strength. It now boldly bids defiance to the north, and to the friends of freedom every where."

POEMS OF HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.—An article in our fourth number, headed "The all pervading influence of slavery," mentioned that the anti-slavery poetry of this distinguished writer had been omitted from the beautiful Philadelphia edition of his poems, because of the humiliating fact that he could not get the work published except on condition of this exclusion.

We are glad to be able to say that a more independent feeling has since prevailed with, at least, some of the publishers. A neat edition, containing all of Longfellow's poems, has been issued from the press of Harper and Brothers of New York, at the cheap rate of fifty cents per copy, which will probably give it a circulation far exceeding that of its imperfect and costly predecessor.

We offered to our readers some time since, one of his pieces entitled "The Arsenal at Springfield," and present to their notice, to-day, two others of his poems, from which those who have no other access to his writings may discover his poetical as well as moral temperament. We do not mean to endorse all that we find in the full edition of his poems now before us, but we certainly discern in parts of it, much that is beautiful and excellent, and in the remainder, much that will please the merely literary reader. We give below, the sentiments of a correspondent who loves intensely whatever is genuine poesy.

"We have at last a neat, cheap, and full edition of Longfellow's poems. The Anti-Slavery pieces, whose omission the pro-slavery spirit of our country required in Carey and Hart's late splendid edition of the same, are here looking up from the page beneath us with serene confidence in their own goodness and beauty. They are in truth among the best pieces their author has written. "The Slave's Dream," "The Slave singing at midnight," and "The Witnesses," are graphic in a high degree. "The Good Part" is very tender and beautiful. We are glad, if one edition of his poems must have the mark of mammon upon it, that it is the one intended for the few, not the mass, to possess. That which is to go forth among the people to enlighten and elevate them—that by all means we would not have riven of its word for the poor and oppressed. And we believe that this edition of Longfellow will do a good work in this respect. Nay, the whole book is so scattered through with passages of reformatory Christian character, that we do not doubt it is one of Truth's

missiles in the moral battle of the present day. With what force does it inculcate the duty of doing, watching, suffering, and achieving—boldly, as the Word may direct! But what need of eulogy when all lovers of Truth and Poetry, have by heart his "Psalm of Life," "Light of Stars," "Footsteps of Angels," "Flowers," "The Goblet of Life," "Maidenhood," "Excelsior," "The Arsenal of Springfield," and "Walter Von Der Vogelweide?" These, with some of his Anti-Slavery poems, no one, in view of their high-toned thought, and pure and graceful diction, can well deny to be his very best. In addition to these, for mere sentiment and literary excellence, "The Castle by the Sea," "Song of the Silent Land," "The Skeleton in Armor," "Endymion," "The Two Locks of Hair," "The Belfry of Bruges" and "The Day is Done," are worthy of much praise. Could Longfellow only obtain a little of that power which close conflict with wrong gives, we scarcely know who would surpass him in that endurance of fame which lives alike through dark ages and those which are radiant with the light of intellect."

CONSUMPTION OF FREE-LABOUR GOODS.—We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to an invitation in our advertising columns, to the consumers, by preference, of free labour goods, to ascertain in their respective neighbourhoods the names of individuals disposed to co-operate in this concern, and have such statistics as they may be able to collect, forwarded to one point. Besides the advantage to the arrangement for a general free-labour store, which we are gratified to be able to announce as likely to be in operation early in next year, we think the statistics called for highly valuable for future reference, as this righteous testimony shall make progress among those who look upon slavery as repugnant to Christianity.

CORRESPONDENTS.—We are indebted to many of our friends on both sides of the Atlantic for letters of an encouraging character. Several communications intended for publication are on file, and will be inserted as soon as our limited space will allow.

INTELLIGENCE.

PROCEEDINGS IN BOSTON.

The Emancipator of the 23d ult., contains the following intelligence.

"Our community has been as much agitated as the spirit of Mammon would permit, by a fear-

ful carrying out of Judge Story's decision in the Prigg case, by which all the safeguards of personal liberty are thrown down, and every man and every house are laid at the mercy of the slaveholders. Week before last complaint was made against Capt. Hannum, of the brig Ottoman, one of the New Orleans line of packets, belonging to John H. Pearson & Co., for kidnapping a colored man in South Boston.

"The man was a slave in New Orleans, and took refuge in the brig, where he kept himself secreted until it was too late to return him. After the brig had arrived at this port, Capt. Hannum kept a supervision over him, intending to return him to his owners at New Orleans by the first vessel. He was sent down to Spectacle Island in a boat attended by a guard. While the keepers were on shore, the fugitive set sail for South Boston and reached that place in safety. He then took the land, and had nearly reached the bridge, when he was overtaken by Capt. Hannum, who told the crowd that he had stolen his pocket book and that he was about to take him to the jail for the robbery. He was however again put on board the boat and taken to Point Shirley, with the view of putting him on board a vessel about to sail for New Orleans.

"A writ of habeas corpus had been issued by Judge Hubbard, but the negro could not be found, and a precept was issued against Capt. Hannum, but he has not been arrested. Considerable efforts were made by the friends of freedom, by employing boats, steamers, &c. to obtain the liberation of the man, but the commercial spirit threw too many obstacles in their way, and they were defeated. One steamboat was openly taken out of their hands and employed to tow the Niagara, (on board of which the unhappy man had been conveyed,) out to sea, and she is gone.—She was pursued by another steamer, but without avail. Had the case been reversed, and occurred at New Orleans, or even in Boston, no doubt the forts would have been signalled, the revenue cutter employed, and a general turn out to prevent a slave escaping out of bondage. But when the object was to return him to slavery, and save a commercial firm in Boston from a paltry loss by fine or suit, it was almost impossible to get anything done, and nothing could be done to effect.

"We are informed that John H. Pearson declared he would get that man back to New Orleans if it cost him a hundred thousand dollars. And the whole commercial community and the commercial press evidently sympathise with him and sustain him!"

A great public meeting was held in Faneuil Hall

on the evening of the 24th ult., to express the indignation of the freemen of Boston, on this great outrage on human rights. We understand that JOHN QUINCY ADAMS presided, and that the proceedings were appropriate to the occasion, but we are not informed of the particulars.

WAR WITH MEXICO.

We have not thought it necessary, to keep our readers advised of the progress of this war for the extension of the slave power. It may be sufficient to state in general terms, that in the several conflicts which have occurred, success has attended the arms of the United States. The last tidings are, that Santa Fe was taken by General Kearney, without opposition, on the 18th of 8th month last. Much sickness appears to prevail in the army. The following facts relating to it are collected from New Orleans papers.

"There were near 600 sick volunteers in the hospitals at Camargo, and they were dying very fast. So many were sick that it required near a whole regiment to attend to them. Those whom the Tennesseans left behind seemed to be particularly unfortunate, for they had to call on the Alabamians to attend the living and bury the dead. As fast as these men get able to leave the hospital they are discharged and sent home. In fact, Gen T. shows a disposition to discharge all volunteers who are discontented and wish to return to their homes. Though the number of patients in the hospital at Matamoros is larger than at Camargo, the mortality is greater at the latter place—near 3 to 1. Those who are unaccustomed to a Southern climate, when once prostrated by the fever, seldom regain their former strength on the Rio Grande; without a change of atmosphere they die off quickly, else become so enfeebled that they are unable to help themselves. A person who has visited the hospitals at the different posts, has said that if one half of the northern and western volunteers who went to the Rio Grande, are effective men on the 15th October, it is more than he looks for."

COTTON CROPS OF THE SOUTH.

The accounts of the crops this year indicate a considerable failure. The Charleston News says: "We have conversed with an intelligent merchant who has just returned from an excursion of some weeks in the interior of Georgia, and who has made particular inquiries as to the extent of the Cotton Crop, as also the probable injury which it has sustained by the caterpillar and boll worm. From all that he could learn, Georgia will be materially injured, while the greater portion of Ala-

bama, Louisiana and Mississippi will be swept of fully one-half of the estimated product two months since. It is the general opinion in those sections that in no event can the crop reach two millions, while the most intelligent men with whom our informant conversed, estimate it at 18 or 1900,000 bales. We learn also, that the crop in this state will not, probably, much exceed that of last year. The caterpillar and worm have appeared on several plantations in the upper districts."

The New Orleans Delta of the 18th says:

"We were yesterday shown a box of cotton bolls gathered promiscuously from a field in Wilkinson county, Miss., entirely destroyed by the ravages of the worm. We regret to learn from a very large cotton planter in that county, that the crops in that region are almost entirely destroyed. We cannot imagine a more melancholy sight than a cotton field which has been visited by the worm, the stalks destitute of leaves and covered with black, rotten and unsightly looking bolls."

A letter from Fort Gibson, under date of the 12th, says:

"For the last week the army worms have been very busy eating up the cotton, and such destruction as they have made of it, I have never before seen. They have literally eaten up the cotton, not a leaf blown or young bolls are left, the cotton fields look just like they usually do in the month of March, when they are picked clean and the frost destroyed the foliage; not a place has escaped in my knowledge, and it is general, as far I have heard, above and below this place and in Louisiana. Not a half crop can possibly be made. Col. Bridges told me yesterday that his usual crop is 200 bales, and that he will not make over 40 bales; his neighbours are as bad off, if not worse, with the worm. We have had rains daily for ten days past, and the weather promises rain yet. I look upon the crop as almost a total failure. If the planters make cotton enough to buy meat and bread, it will be as much as they can do. The worms not only eat up the leaves, forms and young bolls, but eat up bolls two-thirds matured. As many as 8 to 10 worms get upon a boll; the whole soil is alive with them."

Still another account, dated Greensborough, Ala., Sept. 19th, says:

"About the first of August the 'boll-worm' made its appearance in this section, and so general and destructive were its ravages, that there was scarcely a cotton field to be found that escaped entirely, whilst much the larger proportion were, in the course of three weeks, cut off nearly or quite one-half. The boll worms, however, about this time measureably disappeared,—leav-

ing the planters with some hope that, should the balance of the season prove propitious, they might possibly make half a crop; but even this hope has been sadly blighted,—for scarcely had the boll worm disappeared before the caterpillar made its appearance, and commenced destroying the leaves and a few young bolls that had been left. This work of destruction would probably have lasted only a few days, had the rain ceased; but during the latter part of the week two or three heavy rains fell, which had the effect of adding myriads to the enemy's forces. And on Monday last many of the cotton fields were left without a single leaf, and but few bolls.

POETRY.

THE WITNESSES.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

In Ocean's wide domains,
Half buried in the sands,
Lie skeletons in chains,
With shackled feet and hands.

Beyond the fall of dews,
Deeper than plummet lies,
Float ships, with all their crews,
No more to sink or rise.

There the black slave-ship swims,
Freighted with human forms,
Whose fettered, fleshless limbs
Are not the sport of storms.

These are the bones of slaves;
They gleam from the abyss;
They cry, from yawning waves,
"We are the Witnesses!"

Within Earth's wide domains
Are markets for men's lives;
Their necks are galled with chains,
Their wrists are cramped with gyves.

Dead bodies, that the kite
In deserts makes its prey;
Murders, that with affright
Scare schoolboys from their play!

All evil thoughts and deeds;
Anger, and lust, and pride;
The foulest, rankest weeds,
That choke life's groaning tide!

These are the woes of slaves;
They glare from the abyss;
They cry, from unknown graves,
"We are the Witnesses!"

[Against whom do these witnesses testify?—Eds.]

THE SLAVE SINGING AT MIDNIGHT.

BY THE SAME.

Loud he sang the psalm of David!
He, a Negro and enslaved,
Sang of Israel's victory,
Sang of Zion, bright and free.

In that hour, when night is calmest,
Sang he from the Hebrew Psalmist,
In a voice so sweet and clear
That I could not choose but hear;

Songs of triumph, and ascriptions,
Such as reached the swart Egyptians,
When upon the Red Sea coast
Perished Pharaoh and his host.

And the voice of his devotion
Filled my soul with strange emotion;
For its tones by turns were glad,
Sweetly solemn, wildly sad.

* Paul and Silas in their prison,
Sang of Christ, the Lord arisen,
And an earthquake's arm of might
Broke their dungeon gates at night.

But, alas! what holy angel
Brings the slave this glad evangel!
And what earthquake's arm of might
Breaks his dungeon gates at night!

ADVERTISEMENTS.

FREE LABOUR GOODS.—Arrangements are in progress for the establishment of a FREE PRODUCE STORE, wholesale and retail, in co-operation with the Free Produce Association. It is desirable to know, so far as practicable, what amount of patronage may be relied upon. With this view it is suggested that measures be taken to ascertain who are the friends of the cause in the various sections of the country, and that the names and residences of those who desire to use the products of free labour in preference to those of slave labour, be collected and forwarded to George W. Taylor, No. 50 N. Fourth street.

GOODS MANUFACTURED FROM FREE LABOUR COTTON. for sale by Thos. S. Field & Co. No. 36 N. Front street (up stairs) Philadelphia, belonging to the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. "Manchester" Ginghams, two qualities, various patterns; Table Diaper assorted widths, white and coloured; Canton Flannels unbleached and coloured; coloured Cambrics and Prints; Apron checks assorted plaids; 4-4 shirting and 5-4 sheeting Muslin; twilled Muslin and plaid cotton Hdkfs; cotton Laps, very superior; white and coloured Wadding; hose and half hose very superior and heavy; knitting Cotton various numbers.
9th mo. 26th.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER

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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.] PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1845. [NO. 11.]

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.

In the review of the last, as of previous years, your committee find occasion to regret the apathy which generally prevails respecting this important department of anti-slavery labour, but they think it more profitable to direct their attention and yours, on this occasion, to the encouraging signs of the times, which, though perhaps "few and far between," may be distinctly observed. As the business of the Association is conducted chiefly by our Manufacturing Committee, the details of its operations will be found in their report. Your Executive Committee are happy to announce that their operations have been as successful during the past year, and that the present prospects of the society are as fair, as in previous years. They derive encouragement from the increasing demand for the products of free labour, which surely denotes some progress of correct principles or feeling. This progress has apparently been greater in the west, than in the east, during the last few years. From Ohio and Indiana cheering accounts have been received of growing interest in our cause, and of sacrifices of convenience and luxury, made to principle, which the success of the manufacturing department of our Association renders unnecessary here, and which would not be made, excepting where the seed of truth had taken deep root in a good soil. We rejoice in these encouraging facts, especially because adverse influences have been at work in Ohio to check the progress of its growth, and to blight the fruit of its early promise.

In the east, also, where lamentable apathy relative to this subject pervades the anti-slavery ranks, our principles are not powerless. Here and there they have sunk into the heart and conscience of an individual, and his daily example is a light shining in a dark place.

Your Committee hail with pleasure the existence of the Free Labour Association of Friends,

organized in this city, within the past year, hoping that it will prove a valuable coadjutor in our work. They regard its formation as indicative of an increasing interest in our principles, and, as such, highly encouraging.

In Great Britain, also, we perceive indications that those principles are at work in the hearts of philanthropists, and have moved them to the utterance of a faithful protest against the recent action of their government, in opening the ports of that kingdom for the admission of slave-grown sugars. We sincerely unite with them in deploring this act of the British government, whereby a new impetus will be given to the slave-trade, and new vigor to the horrible system of slavery. It is computed that, in consequence of this measure, "seventy to eighty thousand tons of slave-grown sugars will be annually required to meet the increased demand in the British markets," and that, at least, "fifty thousand new slaves must be obtained to prepare it for exportation; and to meet the wastes of mortality that will be occasioned by the severity of the system under which they will be placed, a large additional number of Africans must be imported to join that host of human beings who are every year torn from their native homes by the slave-traders, and compelled to surrender their liberty to the tyrant task-masters of Brazil and Cuba." Thus is England, who expended twenty millions of money to abolish slavery in her own colonies, offering a bounty on the enslavement of 50,000 Africans! Thus is she, while keeping an expensive armed force on the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade, furnishing at home the strongest inducement for the continuance of that trade, directly promoting, by one act of Parliament, that which by another act she seeks to destroy! The inconsistency is the more gross, inasmuch as she assigns for her motives in the latter, the considerations of justice and philanthropy. Yet such is the inconsistency of those individuals who profess to abhor the system of slavery, regarding it as inherently sinful, while they daily feed and clothe themselves with its fruits. Their words say to the

oppressor, "spoil not the poor, oppress not the weak, enslave not the image of God;" their louder-speaking conduct says, "continue to extort that unrequited labour from your helpless victims, and we will pay you for its fruits." It is to be hoped that those friends of the slave in England, who have recorded their protest against the inconsistent course of their government, will see to it that their tables and wardrobes do not involve them in the same condemnation. Inasmuch as the chief motive for slaveholding is pecuniary gain, it must be evident, to any careful observer, that the consumption of the products of slave-labour is one of the main pillars of the system. It is true that there are other pillars, the removal of which would, doubtless, destroy the monstrous edifice; but does it become abolitionists, while working with courageous hearts and strong arms to hew down those, to be also strengthening this? Is not such a course not only impolitic and unwise, but sinful? If we demand, in the name of justice, that the slaveholder relinquish his hold on that which he wickedly calls his *property*, although the act may reduce him to utter poverty; if we say to him, "honest poverty is better than ill-gotten gains;" shall we demur at the *inconvenience*, the sacrifice, in which we shall be involved by an attempt to abstain from the use of the products of stolen labour? If we do, how bitterly may he retort upon us, "Physician heal thyself!" It is cause of rejoicing that many have listened to the rebukes of conscience on this subject, and are diligently striving to make clean the hands which bear the ark of Freedom before the people. That there are many more who heed not its admonitions, or in whom it is not sufficiently enlightened to speak aright, should be to us an incentive to more faithful labour, and unwearied efforts to disseminate the truth, which is destined to vanquish error, and ultimately to unite in unbroken harmony all true friends of God and man.

JAMES MOTT, *Chairman*.

MARY GREW, *Cor. Sec.*

MINUTE OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1846.

A Report has been now brought in from the Meeting for Sufferings as to the amount received from the different Quarterly Meetings, in conformity with the Minute of last year, recommending a subscription on behalf of the coloured population in the West India Islands, and elsewhere, and the Aborigines of different countries. The said Report, containing also information as to the appropriation of a part of the said Fund, is satisfactory to this Meeting.

NEGRO AND ABORIGINES FUND REPORT.

To the Meeting for Sufferings:—The Committee appointed on the appropriation of the subscription recommended by the Yearly Meeting on behalf of the coloured population of the West India Islands and the Aborigines of different countries, report that the subscription for these objects now amounts to £4099 10s 2d, according to the statement herewith presented. As we are informed, however, that the Yearly Meeting of Ireland has recommended to its subordinate Meetings that a subscription be made in augmentation of the Fund, we doubt not but that a considerable addition will yet be made to it.

The grants which have been made from the said Fund up to the present time, the particular application of which is shown in the statement above referred to, amount to the sum of £1700, all of which have been made with the sanction of the Meeting for Sufferings, and in strict accordance with the following regulations laid down in the 7th month last, relative to the appropriation of the subscription, viz. :—

1st.—"That each School so established or assisted should come under separate or distinct notice as to its situation, wants, and number of scholars, whether boys or girls, and as to the particular care exercised over it.

2d.—"That whenever a grant shall have been made, a report be expected; and that no second grant be made until a report of the appropriation of the previous one has been received.

3d.—"That the religious instruction in all schools, which may be aided out of this Fund, be from the Holy Scriptures alone, or from lessons selected from the Holy Scriptures alone; and that no Catechism or similar book be used in such schools; and that no denominational or sectarian views be taught as such in those schools; and that no assistance be rendered to any such schools until satisfactory information has been received on the foregoing particulars."

Great as was the apparent want of school instruction among the coloured inhabitants of the West India Islands, it nevertheless appears by the various communications which from time to time have been received from those Islands, that it is yet greater than was anticipated, leaving no doubt but there is a wide field open to the appropriate application of the liberality of Friends. The assistance already rendered has been most timely and efficient, by which schools, which had been closed, have been re-opened, and others that in all probability would have been discontinued, have been kept open. The grateful feelings with which the respective grants have been received,

and the encouragement which has been evidently given to the parties immediately engaged in their superintendence, have afforded the Committee much satisfaction.

We may add, in conclusion, that notwithstanding the grants which have been made to facilitate the education of the Negro race in the West Indies, there are other pressing cases from those Islands, still before the committee, in regard to which it is manifest, that in rendering the pecuniary aid contemplated by the Yearly Meeting, the real welfare of this class of the human family will be very substantially promoted.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

ANTHONY HARRIS,

Clerk this time.

Devonshire House, 14th of 5th mo. 1846.

COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

The denomination of professed Christians in Scotland, now known as the Free Church, consists of a large number of persons who have separated from the National Church. Having nobly sacrificed worldly honour and pecuniary emoluments, for the high duty and privilege of obeying Jesus Christ rather than fallible men, in the things pertaining to his holy kingdom, they have solicited the aid of their brethren, who have contributed means to build houses for worship and to defray other necessary expenses.

Commissioners from this church in Scotland were sent some time since to the United States, for this object, and a considerable sum of money was obtained from the North and from the South. The friends of the slave, believing that the God they worship, "hateth robbery for a burnt offering," have justly protested against the act of this church, which is seeking liberty for itself, sanctioning the enslavement of their brethren, in soliciting and receiving, by their Commissioners, the fruits of vile oppression which are the price of their brother's blood. They earnestly call upon that church to "send back the money." Yet alas! while they loudly condemn that church for this single act, the majority of them are most inconsistently guilty of repeated and continual acts of the same character, in not only receiving from the oppressor, and feeding and adorning themselves with the fruits of coerced and unrequited toil, but voluntarily paying the robber for his stolen goods, thereby presenting the most effective motive to him to continue his fraudulent and cruel oppression, as well as giving their sanction to the same.

The following address was written to call the attention of abolitionists to this important subject, and to persuade them to carry out their own just principles into their own practice.

AN APPEAL

To Abolitionists who approve of the "Letter to the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland," and who do not abstain from the use of slave products.

DEAR BRETHREN:—Our transatlantic brethren, who have visited us for the purpose of soliciting funds for the Free Church of Scotland, the members of which, we believe, sympathize with us in our opposition to the entire system of American slavery, have been very consistently and earnestly entreated to keep their hands pure from the gains of oppression. For the honour of religion, and for the sake of your brethren in bonds, you sanction this faithful entreaty. Alas! brethren, how reluctant we are to benefit ourselves by a faithful application to our own conduct, of the principles which we clearly perceive to be condemnatory of the conduct of others.

"We must say, respected brethren, in Christian fidelity, that your present position strikes us as singular and unfortunate." "What!" object to your brethren receiving the *money* of the oppressor, while you are receiving his *goods*? Object to their receiving the very money which you yourselves have voluntarily paid to the slaveholder, through the hands of his agents, for the fruits of unrequited toil, which you believe to be stolen goods! If you may receive these goods for the benefit of your bodies, why may not the Commissioners receive the money you have paid for them for the benefit of the soul? Is it consistent for you to complain of them for "now actually laboring that their honorable poverty may become less, by contributions which are the price of slaves and souls of men," while you are also labouring that your poverty may become less by purchasing the cheaper articles, which are "the price of your own brethren for whom Christ died?" If he who receives the "*impious gold*" cannot escape the "wo (of) him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house," how can they escape, who receive the "*impious*" cotton and sugar? Are the latter any purer from the blood of the slave than the former? If "the Moloch of the South stands ready to pay" the Commissioners for their "*virtual*" sanction of his atrocities, does he not stand as ready to pay you for the same service, if not in hospitalities, in mockeries of your protestations against him, for your being the actual partakers of his evil deeds? Does he not

plainly see that you, and other consumers of his fruits of robbery, are his most efficient supporters, by furnishing the profit which sustains and strengthens every link of that infernal chain with which he binds the bodies and the souls of his unhappy victims? Is it possible that you will continue thus to "make common cause" with a system of iniquity which fills you "with disgust and abhorrence?" Will you thus continue to "clasp hands with its defenders, and (purchase) their blood-stained offerings?" If the slaveholder "can number (you) among his allies, he may well think his victory complete."

"It is possible that you may allege, in the language of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, when they receive, nay, solicit the donations of slaveholders," that you, by receiving, nay, purchasing the produce of slaveholders, "sustain no relation to the system that implies approbation." "Let us briefly examine this." It is asked, on supposition, that if Ann Pray, of Georgia, had directed her slaves to be sold, and the proceeds in cash to have been given to the Board, "would the Board have declined the offer? If not—if they would have received the cash, why turn from the human flesh? If they would have sent the money back, why solicit the money of slaveholders?" Suppose, now, that Ann Pray had directed in her will that the amount of her bequest should be given to the Board in the produce of the unrequited toil of the lacerated "bones and muscles and immortal minds," what would you say on the question of the Board accepting this? Your own example, if it is a righteous one, justifies them in doing so. But by what kind of logic will you prove that the acceptance of the cash, or the human flesh, would sanction the vile system of oppression, and that the acceptance of the cotton and sugar would not? Know you not that the "professors of the religion of mercy" would never "have torn the mother from her children, and sent her into a merciless and returnless exile," had not you and others stood ready to purchase their fruits of robbery and oppression? Will it be no thorn in your dying pillow, that you have furnished the chief motive for that system of oppression which you denounced as "the sum of all villainies?" Let consumers cast off their fellowship with "the accursed thing," and the slave must be made a freeman. Do you say the amount you purchase is small, and that your abstaining would effect nothing? The abstinence of all abolitionists would effect something. But you have furnished a better reply. "It is the principle against which we contend, and not the amount of the (produce) received."

It was not the size of Achan's wedge that troubled the camp of Israel."

"The Christian abolitionists of this land," who, for the sake of their poor brother, refuse to purchase the fruits of his uncompensated toil, "need your aid, dear brethren, in pulling down the strongholds of oppression, and they feel that you will not be sustained in your consciences," if you refuse to add to your anti-slavery faith this "virtue." Whether or not you "are strengthening the hands of (our) opponents," by your practice, as much as the Commissioners are by theirs, deserves your serious consideration.

Is there no ground to censure that abolitionism, which is unwilling to pay an extra penny for the pound of sugar, or yard of cotton, or to take a little extra trouble to procure articles unstained by our brothers' blood? Is this the example of sacrifice and self-denial which we would have the oppressor imitate? Will he not consider that your unwillingness to make the small sacrifice, justifies him in declining to make the greater? And will he not consider that your "actions" of participation in his evil deeds, "speak louder" than your "words" of testimony against them? Far be it, that you should continue to furnish such an anodyne to the conscience you would awaken. Far be it, that you should present such a shield to your opponent, wherewith he will cause all your arrows to fall harmless at his feet.

Oh! for the sake of the broken-hearted mother, bereft of her offspring—for the sake of your agonizing brother, now suffocating in the slave-ship—for the sake of him who is now writhing under the tormenting lash, you are affectionately entreated to obey the divine command to "have no fellowship, (communion or participation) with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." "Touch not, taste not," the unclean thing. Should you respond to this call of love for the poor and outraged, you will prove that you "love not in word" only, "but in deed and in truth." Having taken out the beam which is in your own eye, you will clearly see how to take out the mote from the eyes of the Commissioners.

A union of consistent practice on the part of the numerous abolitionists would lessen, in some degree, the demand for the fruits of unrighteousness, and, consequently, in the same degree, lessen the demand for the victims of avarice required to produce those fruits.

"The American church" is justly considered "the bulwark of American slavery." But how can any professors of that church, who do not actually hold slaves, be implicated in that charge, if you, who are the voluntary partakers of its fruits

—you who unite with others in supplying the means—the profit—for the sustaining of the entire system of iniquity, are not also implicated? How, indeed, is the slaveholder in the church himself implicated, if the partaker of his evil deeds is not? Who needs to be aroused to "a due sense of sin, to repentance, and works meet for repentance," if such partaker does not?

If you "know that if the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland, solicit gold of Southern slaveholders to build up (their) cause, (they) will weaken (your) hands—soothe the South in her mad career—deaden still more the portentous apathy of the North, and disappoint the friends of human rights throughout the world," ought you not to know that you are more constantly, and to a greater extent, producing the very same evil effects by your own practice? What is the difference between the gold and the goods? Do they not both emanate from the same corrupt fountain? Are they not both stained with your brother's blood? Do you not clearly perceive that if the one is the fruit of unrighteousness and oppression, so is the other? In bringing to your tables the "guilty sweet," and clothing your households with garments woven with oppression, are you not using your "neighbor's service without wages," giving "him not for his work?" Does the fact of your paying the defrauder, disprove this? Does not this fact rather enhance your sin, by encouraging the slaveholder and his agents to continue their oppression? Supposing that you were using the wool of a sheep, known to be stolen, would the fact of your having paid the thief for the sheep, justify your conduct? Would the fact of your furnishing the thief with the most influential motive to steal more sheep, extenuate your criminality? Would you not, in this case, be accessory to his crimes? As the sheep-stealer possesses no right in the sheep, and, consequently, can convey none to you, so the slaveholder possesses no right to the fruits of the slave's unrequited toil, and, consequently, can convey none to the merchant, who can, therefore, convey none to you. According to your own principles, unequivocally proclaimed to the world, the slaveholder, the wholesale and retail merchant, and the consumer, constitute a fraudulent combination. It is doubtless as far from your deliberate intention, thus to make "common cause" with the oppressor, as it was from that of the Commissioners, in soliciting the "impious gold."

As you "respectfully and earnestly implore" them, "not to solicit" the slaveholders' "filthy lucre," permit us, in the same Christian spirit, to "implore of you" that you would not partake of

their "filthy" produce. Dear brethren, "suffer our friendly and frank expostulation." "Never did the jewel of your souls shine so brightly as in the dark hour when you went forth bearing the reproach of Christ," proclaiming his blessed law of love in behalf of your outraged and stricken brother. Oh! that you would now perfect that love, and confirm your glorious testimony by a corresponding practice! While you would have the Commissioners pour into one ear of the oppressor, the faithful rebuke, "God forbid we should touch your money," do, in mercy, be consistent, and pour into the other the reproof, "God forbid that we should touch your" produce. Hasten, brethren, "to the rescue" of your own reputation, ere the Commissioners return to tell the astounding tale, that the abolitionists were unwilling that we should "carry home the slaveholders' bounty," while they themselves were carrying home the fruits of his oppression. "This, Christian brethren, is a deed which we devoutly deprecate, and we respectfully and earnestly implore of you" no longer to build again the things which you have so commendably begun to destroy.

HENRY GREW, ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK,
GERRIT SMITH, DANIEL NEALL,
SAMUEL D. HASTINGS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

TO THE VOTERS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

PETERBORO, Oct. 10, 1846.

I have, this moment, finished the reading of the New Constitution. I may be charged with immodesty for lifting up my voice to hundreds of thousands of my fellow men. But the feelings of shame, sorrow, indignation, alarm, which fill me, will not stop, and need not stop, to consider the claims of modesty. A woman, however delicate and shrinking, might, were her child in danger of being kidnapped, rush into the street, and cry so loud for help, that all her neighbours could hear her—and she, nevertheless, remain uncensured, even by those who are most observant of the proprieties of life. Thus do extraordinary circumstances justify not only, but highly commend the act, that would, otherwise, be exceedingly offensive. It is in such circumstances that I have now taken up my pen:—and may not this gain me pardon for beginning my Circular with so wide an address? May not this shelter me from the charge of immodesty and egotism for presuming to speak to so great numbers?

A deep and cruel wrong has been devised against the fifty thousand coloured people of this

State. It is meet to call upon you all to help them—for you are all able to come to their help. It is meet to call upon you all to help them—for they, who have devised this deep and cruel wrong, call upon you all to sanction their device and carry it into execution.

You are called on to adopt a Constitution, which contains the provisions,

First, That a man, for having a coloured skin, shall not be represented in the Legislature. In other words, that, for this cause, he shall not be counted in the apportionment of members of the Legislature.

Second, That a man, for having a coloured skin, shall be denied his right to cast a vote.

To be guilty, under a representative, and withal, a republican, Government, of shutting out a part of the people from a representation in the Government, is to be guilty of a partiality for which there is, certainly, no excuse. It is to be guilty of a wrong as palpable, as would be their exclusion from the common air and common water. It is, simply, a triumph of the strong over the weak—of the many over the few. The triumph, in the present instance, is over persons born upon our soil, and of parents, many of whom shed their blood in its defence. And as if to make the triumph most insulting and withering, the New Constitution prefers the white paupers, who subsist on the public charity, to the coloured man, who earns his own bread. The Old Constitution, in the apportionment of members of the Legislature, excludes the pauper, as well as the coloured man. The New Constitution leaves the coloured man in the disgrace of such exclusion; and greatly deepens that disgrace by lifting up the pauper out of it.

The right to vote is not less sacred, and it is more valuable than the other right, of which the New Constitution robs the coloured man. The right to vote is indispensably protective of all the other rights of him who wields it. Emphatically true is this in the case of him, whose humble condition exposes him to aggressions. Hence, when Pennsylvania stripped her coloured people of the right to vote, it made, as the sequel proved, all the other rights of that afflicted people an open and easy prey. But that they were without the respectability and influence of voters, the coloured people of the City of New York had not been mobbed in 1834:—and that white persons were mobbed along with them, was, because such persons had magnanimously identified themselves with a people whom our laws and usages degrade.

As in the case of their being denied political representation, so in this of their being denied a

vote, the coloured people suffer a wrong and a loss far less tolerable than they would from the plunder of their property. They might be plundered of their property, and yet be respected by others, and their self-respect also not invaded. But the denial of the right in question degrades them, both in their own esteem and the esteem of others; and, doing this, it contributes to multiply obstacles in the way of their subsistence, respectability, usefulness and happiness, so great and so numerous, as to compel a debasement of character, from which it is well nigh miraculous that so large a share of them escape. God be praised, that they do escape! The few of us, who have made ourselves acquainted with the coloured people of this State, and have cast in our lot with them can testify, that it is truly a large share of them, who escape the debasement of character, which their adverse and wretched circumstances force upon them. Would that the white people of this State could throw down their prejudices against these coloured brethren, and look candidly and patiently at their history! They would never take up those insane and murderous prejudices again. Repentance would break their hearts; and they would, henceforth, love and admire those whom they had previously hated and despised. No where have there been more triumphant struggles against the assaults of vice upon virtue; against the onset of despair upon hope; and against mean, malignant, mighty oppressions, than those of which great numbers of coloured men and coloured women in this State have shown themselves capable. In the midst of those temptations to low vice and utter abandonment, which, in such mighty hosts, assail extreme poverty; in the midst of discouragements the most appalling; in the midst of such persecutions, as strike their iron deepest into the soul; their indomitable courage and unbending integrity have, under the Divine blessing, still borne them along, and brought them off conquerors.

The political disabilities in question are to be deprecated, not for the sake only, or even mainly, of the coloured people of this State. The three millions of American slaves will suffer from them. Their chains will be made tighter by them. As sinks the coloured freeman, so sinks the coloured slave; and as rises the one, so rises the other. To be able to say, that the coloured people of the North are ignorant, abject, wretched, is to have the most plausible argument for his oppression that the Southern slaveholder has ever coveted; and never are Northern men more effectually doing the slaveholders wicked work, than when

engaged in disfranchising their coloured brother, and multiplying impediments in the way of his obtaining science, property, respectability, and happiness. Let, however, the coloured man of the North but have the rights of the white man of the North; and let the way be as open to the one as to the other, to acquire wealth, and character, and power; and the Southern oppressor, instead of continuing to look Northward for justifications of his guilty relation, will find influences pouring in upon it, from that quarter, which will quickly dissolve it. The coloured man of the South, when the capabilities of his race shall have been proved by the coloured man of the North, will present himself in a new light to his master. Despised and hated before, he will then have become an object of respect and affection. The master will no more task, and lash, and chain his victim. Of all such work his hands will then be weary. It will be palsied by the truth, which has flashed upon him, that he, whom, ere this, he had mistaken for a brute, is, in reality, a man, his fellow-man, and his equal.

I have intimated the strong tendency of these political disabilities to degrade the subjects of them into the subjects of ignorance, vice, and crime. Their tendency is also to destroy in the subjects of them, all attachment to the Commonwealth which inflicts so cruel and unprovoked a wrong. Our State cannot afford to inflict this wrong; for it cannot afford its consequences. The public morals cannot afford, that so considerable an element in our population should be stamped with an almost necessarily characteristic debasement. Our political safety cannot afford, that scores of thousands, who, else, would equal the most patriotic of their fellow-citizens in devotion to the public good, and in capacity to promote it, should be converted into a fruitful source of disaffection and danger.

That in the year 1846, and after fifteen years of earnest, faithful, investigation of the wrongs, and manly and eloquent assertion of the claims of coloured Americans, a Convention to prepare a Constitution for the State of New York should propose these outrages on their political rights, is, indeed, amazing. One would have thought, that the sorrows in which this unhappy people had, for centuries, been steeped, were enough to satiate the malice of the most fiend-like heart. One would have thought, that, by this time, hatred towards these poor outcasts had begun to exhaust itself, and pity begun to take its place. So far from this, however, the year 1846 surpasses every former year in conspicuous and flagitious measures of the white Americans against the coloured Ame-

ricans. The first of these measures is our war. Mexico had not wronged us. But, to perpetuate the slavery of coloured Americans, we must have more territory to soak with their sweat, and tears, and blood: and, hence, have our armies gone forth to dismember that nation. The annals of the world are searched in vain for a war prompted by motives so base and diabolical. It is, withal, a war of eminent cowardice on the part of our country—a war, not only as unrighteous, as Mexico is unoffending, but as cowardly, as she is weak and distracted. Again, the most influential religious Association in the land, to avoid giving an occasion for pressing it, in the name of consistency, to question the piety of slaveholders and their fitness for Church membership, has, within a few weeks, actually refused to say, that it is wrong to vote notorious adulterers into the Church of Jesus Christ. Again, scarcely had we heard of this virtual and authoritative indorsement of American slavery, ere news of another, and still more authoritative and influential indorsement of it came from the other side of the Atlantic. The late World's Convention in London threw wide open to the buyers and sellers of human flesh a door of admission into the World's "Evangelical Alliance." The declaration of those American gentlemen in the Convention, who are in Church fellowship with slaveholders, that slavery is the creature of law, and their pretty broad hint, that, if they were required to give up their pro-slavery, the European delegates should be required to give up their rum-drinking; these, together with the sympathy which the Convention very naturally felt for men who would rather pray than eat, prevailed to open that door. Slavery the creature of law—and hence, the slaveholder is innocent! Lotteries the creature of law—and hence the dealer in lottery-tickets is innocent! Rum-selling the creature of law—and hence the rum-seller and rum-drinker is innocent!

I have glanced at a few of the recent crimes against coloured Americans. The Convention for revising your Constitution would have you add another crime to this cluster of crimes. In apportioning members of the Legislature, and in prescribing the qualifications of voters, it asks you to pass over the poor black man, as no man. What will be your answer? God grant, that it may be, that "A MAN IS A MAN." God grant, that your answer may be an indignant rejection of the man-trampling and God-despising paper, which you are asked to adopt. That it is God despising, as well as man-trampling, is as evident as that to His great and loving heart all branches of the human family are equally dear. "God is no re-

specter of persons"—and who, that truly loves him, is? Alas, what counterfeits of the religion of Heaven are current among men!

I am aware, that some of you, for the purpose of getting your votes for the adoption of this wicked paper, will be referred to the separate proposition in behalf of coloured men, which the Convention has submitted. But this proposition is an *Amendment* to the New Constitution, rather than a *part* of it. It is a good Amendment: and every man who does not suffer prejudice to tyrannize over his understanding, and the spirit of caste to shrivel his soul, will eagerly vote for it. But, however good may be the proposed Amendment of a Constitution, and however likely to prevail, it does not follow, that we may, therefore, approve of the Constitution itself, ere the Amendment has prevailed. It is, surely, time enough to approve of a thing, and to vote for it, after it is made right. We are not at liberty, because it may possibly, or ever so probably, be made right, to indorse it, whilst it is yet wrong. But the Amendment in question was proposed without the least expectation on the part of any one that it would prevail; and, as to the great majority of the Convention, it was proposed without the least desire that it should prevail. Some members of the Convention, and, among them, the respectable gentlemen from my own county, sincerely and warmly desired that it should prevail. But the dastardly and malicious provision in the body of the Constitution for disfranchising the coloured man, whilst it exerts the mightiest of all the influences for the defeat of the Amendment, indicates also, most unequivocally, the desire of the great majority of the Convention for its defeat.

What, if, after all, this Amendment, put forth so coldly and hypocritically, should prevail! God has done even more improbable things than this for the cause of his poor, and His own glory.

We could not vote for the New Constitution even were it right on the point of voting. Its crime against our coloured brother, in excluding him from political representation, is, of itself, sufficiently great to disentitle it to the votes of all persons, who, believing, that a man is a man, believe that, in the apportionment of members of the Legislature, the coloured man should count, as well as the white man.

To get votes for the New Constitution, it will also be said, that, unless it be adopted, we shall have to live another quarter of a century under the Old one. Why, however, should we need to live three years longer under it? Having rejected the New Constitution, why need we lose a moment in taking steps for another Convention,

that shall present to us another Constitution? Whether, indeed, it be rejected or adopted, why need we lose a moment to this end?

Would that I were permitted to close this Circular with a stronger hope, that you will do what my whole heart has just called out to you to do. But my hope is faint. When your party leaders and party presses were influencing us in the choice of Delegates to the Convention, a large share of them sought to make us believe, that for nothing did they desire a New Constitution so much, as to elevate by it the coloured man of this State, and by means of his elevation to help his enslaved race at the South. We were suspicious of them then. We are more suspicious of them now. We had, repeatedly, seen their anti-slavery professions followed by pro-slavery voting—even by voting for traffickers in human flesh. And now, we not only see this heinous crime unrepented of, but added to by their tame and quiet acquiescence in the outrage of the New Constitution on Coloured Americans;—by, I might, perhaps truly, say, their heartfelt approval of that outrage.

Voters of the State of New York! be on your guard against these party leaders and party editors. They will ask you to vote for the New Constitution; and some of them will put on an anti-slavery face, when they ask the favour. Ask them, in turn, if they are ready for a practical adoption of such mottoes, as these:—

"No slaveholder for civil office; and no person who thinks a slaveholder fit for it."

"No man for civil office, but a republican; and no slaveholder is a republican, and no person, who thinks a slaveholder fit for civil office, is a republican."

If they are not ready for it, then consent to be counselled by the Calhouns and McDuffies, who vote, as they talk, rather than by those who go for the slave with their lips and their pens, and stab him to the heart with votes.

Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

[The following letter, from Patrick Henry to Robert Pleasants, has never, we believe, been published entire. It is a noble testimony to the Truth, by the great orator and statesman, but we have to regret, that, in paying his "devoir to virtue," he did not "choose," as well as "approve" her.]
HANOVER, Jan. 18th, 1773.

Dear Sir,—I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the slave trade. I thank you for it. It is not a little surprising that Christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart, in

cherishing and improving its fine feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong. What adds to the wonder, is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in the arts, sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time, when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty; that in such an age and such a country, we find men, professing a religion the most humane, mild, meek, gentle, and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty.

Every thinking, honest man rejects it in speculation; how few in practice from conscientious motives? The world in general has denied your people a share of its honours, but the wise will ascribe to you a just tribute of virtuous praise, for the practice of a train of virtues, among which your disagreement to slavery will be principally ranked. I cannot but wish well to a people whose system imitates the example of him whose life was perfect. And believe me, I shall honour the Quakers for their noble effort to abolish slavery. It is equally calculated to promote moral and political good.

Would any one believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase! I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and to lament my want of conformity to them.

I believe the time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. Everything we can do is to improve it if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their own unhappy lot, and an abhorrence of slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity; it is the furthest advance we can make towards justice. It is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery.

Here is an instance that silent meetings have done that which learned and elaborate preaching could not effect; so much preferable are the genuine dictates of conscience, and a steady attention

to its feelings, above the teachings of those men who pretend to have found a better guide. I exhort you to persevere in so worthy a resolution. Some of your people disagree, or at least are lukewarm in the abolition of slavery; many treat the resolution of your meeting with ridicule, and among those who throw contempt on it are Clergymen, whose surest guard against both ridicule and contempt is a certain act of assembly.

I know not where to stop; I could say many things on this subject; a serious review of which gives a gloomy perspective to future times. Excuse this scrawl, and believe me with esteem

Your humble servant,

PATRICK HENRY, JR.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH 1, 1846

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE NEGROES.—A book of thirty-six pages octavo has been sent us, containing the "Eleventh Annual Report of the Association for the religious instruction of the negroes in Liberty county, Georgia," being for the year 1845, and bearing the imprint Savannah, Office of P. G. Thomas, 1846. It opens with this exordium:—

"Another year has rolled over us. The great drought which has rested upon the earth, has been but an emblem of the spiritual drought which has rested upon our Zion. Yet the mercies of God, abounding beyond our expectations, and immeasurably beyond our deserts, demand of us gratitude and repentance, and resolutions of greater fidelity, and devotion in time to come."

The Society has been operating, as the title of these reports indicates, for the instruction in religious knowledge of the people of colour, during the past eleven years. Its President, Robert Quarterman, its Vice President, J. S. K. Axon, and its Missionary, Chas. C. Jones, are clergymen. Its remaining Officers, six in number, appear to be laymen. The report was prepared by the society's missionary in a manner creditable to his zeal and ability, and furnishes details of much interest, not only in respect to the operations of the society itself, but also in relation to those which are going on in the South generally, in reference to the religious training of the slave and coloured population.

The county, to which the care of this society is specially directed, contains a population of 1,854 free whites, 24 free negroes, and 5,493 slaves. "The people," is a term very frequently used in the report instead of slaves, and with great

fitness certainly, in view of their superior numbers, though the idea we of the North attach to the designation implies sovereignty.

Two modes, independent of what may exist in particular families, are resorted to for imparting religious instruction to the blacks. One of these is public preaching—the other is “Sabbath schools.” Within a portion of the county, which contains 4,880 slaves, and embraces an area of 25 miles long by 15 broad, are twelve houses of public worship in which the seats set apart for negroes are estimated at 2,000. The opening of these houses is so alternated “as to accommodate and bring the gospel within the reach of the whole population” within a succession of two or three weeks. “From November to May” there is an average weekly attendance of from 8 to 900 negroes, and “from May to November” the average attendance is from 1,200 to 1,300, of whom one-third are children. This class of attendants is considered an entire gain since the operations of the society commenced, and there is a considerable increase of adult attendance.

Some of the negroes are described as being extremely regular in attending public worship; others irregular, and many as wholly neglecting the duty. No planter in the county is known to interpose the least obstacle to the attendance of his people, or “to require labour of them on the Sabbath, beyond ordinary and necessary attention to stock and household duties,” “the plantation people” being “all at leisure, and the family servants taking turns to remain at home on the Sabbath.”

The report asserts that “on no plantation is the work so weighty as to unfit the people for public worship.” Their labour “ends with the evening twilight,” and even “in a vast majority of cases, before the sun is down.” This is “universally so in the warmer seasons of the year, and, for weeks together, they have, as their own, hours of sunlight every day. From the close of the labours of one day to the beginning of the labours of another, the time of the people is their own.” It therefore attributes their absence from public worship to the same causes which influence all labouring and mechanical classes to a neglect of it. “The Sabbath is their day of rest, of recreation and enjoyment, and they are at home with their families, or abroad luxuriating in forbidden indulgences, and in freedom from occupation and care. It is a problem in benevolence not yet solved—how shall these masses ever be brought under the sound of the gospel on the Sabbath day?”

That the people have for themselves, occasionally, hours of sunlight, we think quite possible. It might be difficult to find occupation for their whole time in winter, and imprudent to impose it in the extremest heats of summer. We are skeptical of any avoidable remission of their toil, whilst of this we feel confident, that were our missionary friend to take his station at the side of the slave, and work with him but for a few days in a Georgia cotton field, under a Georgia sun, he would soon thereafter reconstruct his sentence regarding the weight of the labour imposed upon him.

Pressing on “Christian owners” the duty of laying before their people the advantage and necessity of public worship, the report says—“We cannot be too solicitous about it, for the faith of the negro comes emphatically ‘BY HEARING,’ and unless they are found in the house of God, the prospect of their salvation is dark indeed!”

Besides preaching at the stationary places of public worship, plantation meetings are resorted to as a means of imparting instruction to many old and decrepid persons, as well as to many, both old and young, who from year to year do not hear the gospel preached except when it is preached on the plantation where they reside.—Twenty-one such meetings are reported to have been held during the course of the year, and to their influence, as well upon the people as upon their masters and mistresses, awakening the latter to a conscientious discharge of their duties to the former, much good is attributed. Whether such meetings are ever held on any days of the week, which would diminish to the master or mistress the avails of the slaves’ toil, we are uninformed.

It is suggested in the report “that every plantation ought to have a chapel, or a room fitted up for the accommodation of the people in their social worship.” For the want of such accommodation, numerous inconveniences are now shown to exist, and “a chapel,” says the report, “adds much to the finish of a plantation, even if an owner would do no more than consult appearances.”

In the circumstances in which the people are placed, their proper instruction and management, when professedly under serious impressions, is represented as involving great difficulty. The prominent causes of it appear to be the inability of the people to read the Scriptures of Truth, and the ignorance of their coloured co-religionists and instructors. Remedies for the latter are suggested and discussed, but not for the former. The report describes the awakened individuals as “distressed souls, unable to read the Word of God,

and to search for themselves, and to receive light from the great fountain itself.” To those who consider it right to attach these high appellatives to the Bible, we think the duty of endeavouring instantly to remove all impediments to the outflowing of that light, ought to be apparent.

Within the range of the society’s operations are nine “Sabbath schools,” under the care of 34 teachers, with an average attendance of 647 coloured pupils, adult and juvenile. Of the aptitude of the scholars to receive instruction, repeated testimony is furnished. At the Walthourville Sabbath school, with an average of about 100 attendants, the scholars sustained an examination on the ground passed over with great credit to themselves, and teachers. At the Jonesville Sabbath school, where from 50 to 60 scholars were present, the scholars were prompt and perfect in their answers, and their progress encouraging. At the Gravel Hill Sabbath school, from 30 scholars to 40 and upwards, attended, and most of them appeared anxious to receive instruction. They were examined from the beginning to the end of the Catechism, the most important questions being selected. The white congregation were astonished at their promptness, and the correctness of their answers. At the Midway Sabbath school, where the average attendance was about 60, parents as well as children appeared to desire a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The number of adults, who took part in the exercises, was frequently almost as great as that of the children.—The Colonel’s Island Sabbath school with 80 scholars, one half of whom are adults, is taught by two ladies, aided by their children. “The attendance of the people is voluntary, their improvement satisfactory, and their sobriety and order without the least interruption, although no gentleman was ever present at any one meeting.” “In how many parts of our country,” says the report, “might not similar schools be established by pious and energetic females, which would confer blessings upon thousands ready to perish? And how many mothers might, by the blessing of God, in this manner bring up their sons and daughters to self-denying labours, and cultivate in them that benevolence of heart which would fit them for stations of eminent usefulness in the world?” The suggestion, we hope, will be carried out to a yet greater extent, and with greatly extended usefulness. In works of mercy, women and youth are fit and frequent pioneers.

With that warmth of feeling which characterizes the report, and certainly entitles the reporter to our high esteem, the details of the Sabbath schools in this locality are concluded by the fol-

lowing remarks—“May we not indulge in feelings of gratitude at the numbers brought under the most efficient means of instruction which we can employ for our coloured population? Shall all the seed thus sown in young and susceptible minds be lost? Shall the many fervent prayers offered to God by pious and engaged teachers receive no answer from the Lord? We dare not believe it. Though fruit appear not to reward our labours now, yet we will in faith ‘cast our bread upon the waters, for we shall find it after many days.’”

We have been accustomed to consider the establishment of “First-day or Sunday schools,” in their original intention of imparting to the poor, in the absence of other opportunities for improvement, during the week, the elements of literary and moral instruction, and especially of enabling them to read the Holy Scriptures, as replete with Christian beneficence: and to regard with nearly similar feelings the extension of the plan to children of every class in society who have made literary advancement elsewhere, so as to give to their attainments a pious tendency. Instruction in reading, or its direction into right channels, and the possession and use of books, are predicated of the “Sunday school system.” “Search the Scriptures” is its polar star!

In our first cursory glance at the array of “Sabbath schools” brought by this report to our vision, we supposed that all the concomitants of the system adverted to, would be found in these schools. We wondered at the brilliant light that was bursting forth on the hitherto benighted slaves, and saw in it a new era, in which, sitting under her own vine, with the volume of Holy Scripture in her hand, Ethiopia should stretch forth her hands unto God! In the simplicity of our hearts we believed, for the moment, that the slave was now to be taught to read, and the shackles removed from his mind in that dark region of Georgia, however they might yet be suffered to remain on his body! Alas, the vision was but for a moment. On reglancing at the 6th page of the book, the adverb *orally*, a little word speaking a big truth, suddenly struck upon our view, and our hearts fell within us. The slave was only to read the words of the inspired volume through *the eyes*, and *the hearts*, and *the interests* of others. What of Christianity would constrain him into a peaceful endurance of his wrongs was to be taught him. What would open to his view the brotherhood and equality of mankind, and especially of Christians, among whom none was to be called Master, was to be, or would be, withheld from him!

We copy below a portion of the report alluding to the restriction of the slaves to oral instruction. It is extracted from a statement made by Josiah S. Law of his missionary labours on behalf of the negroes during a portion of the year 1845.

"In May last," says the narrator, "I attended the Southern Baptist Convention in Augusta, called by the southern and south-western Baptist church, to take into consideration the expediency of separating from the Baptist churches in the non-slaveholding States, and forming a distinct organization for missionary purposes. Among other interesting and important matters brought before the body, was the religious instruction of the coloured population. I was highly gratified to witness the feeling and interest manifested. The Convention unanimously framed a resolution instructing the Board of Domestic Missions to take all prudent measures for the religious instruction of our coloured population. From this Convention, I went to Forsythe, and attended the Baptist Georgia Convention. During the sittings of this body, the subject was brought before it on the report of the committee on the state of religion, in which report a plan of religious instruction, similar to that in this county, was recommended. There was strong opposition by one or two laymen to the plan, but none to the giving religious instruction simply by preaching. I found all the ministers with whom I conversed, strongly in favour of the proposed plan, and though that part of the report was stricken out, yet they resolved to carry it out, as far as practicable, among the people for whom they laboured. Since the meeting of the Convention, I have learned with pleasure, that the Central Baptist Association in this State, at its last meeting, recommended to the churches composing it, to find out and adopt the best plan for giving religious instruction, orally, to the coloured people. The pastors of some of these churches are now actively engaged in carrying out this recommendation; and from their known faithfulness and perseverance, I have no doubt much will be accomplished by them. The cause is certainly moving onward. The Lord is for it. Who then can be against it?"

We do not mean to impute insincerity to, or derogate in any degree from the claims to piety of the several persons immediately connected with this enterprise of enlightening, though but orally, the minds of the slaves. We have already testified our respect for the missionary, to whose pen we are indebted for a report which fully establishes the capacity of the slaves for receiving instruction, and thus their right to have it. He has done a good work in this respect, and in be-

half of humanity, we thank him for it. He and they may have gone to the extent of their powers in the performance of what they are now accomplishing, and so long as their feelings are in antagonism to the withering system of slavery, which is crushing the mind and body of their fellow men, their piety will be safe from reproach and their consciences from stain. If, however, they use their position and influence to bolster up the system of gross iniquity which slavery is; aiming to serve, at once, that of God which is in the slave, and that of MAMMON which is in the master, we believe that God will not accept their labour, but leave them to the enjoyment and reward of that SIMONY which they, in such case, will wholly represent. Let them beware that in their ministration of reconciliation of man to God, they shake not hands with the oppressor, and convert God's Truth, by their false application of it, into a Lie!

The report goes on to detail the progress of the work of religious instruction to the blacks in the southern and south-western States, and seeks to connect several revivals in religion in those States with the previous attention paid to that work in their respective vicinities. We cannot enter into the statistics the report furnishes, except to state the number of slaves in Christian fellowship, which we shall do in the sequel. From the facts presented, there appears to be resting on the conscience of the South a heavy sense of duty as to the education of the blacks;—stultified indeed by considerations of worldly expediency which has led it to accept the compromise of conducting that education orally. If conscience, however, is allowed to have its perfect work, it can not long be content with this trammel upon the religious right, which every slave has, to be taught to read, for himself, the precious words which are written in the Scriptures of Truth. Till this right is procured for him, we shall feel incredulous of the general efficacy of oral teaching, however faithfully it may be performed by some. What preaching and teaching often is, may be read in the following testimony of Frederick Douglass, who has experimentally felt and known, what is the law and what is the gospel of southern slavery:—"I have heard sermon after sermon preached to make me satisfied with my position as a slave, and to show that God intended me to occupy that position; and that my hope in time and for eternity depended upon my obedience to my master and my mistress."

If this statement needed verification, it is amply found in the following extracts from a printed volume of sermons prepared by a distinguished

southern prelate, for rehearsal by masters and mistresses to their slaves. We derive them from a late speech of George Thompson, at Exeter Hall:—

"Having thus shown you the chief duties you owe to your great Master in heaven, I now come to lay before you the duties you owe to your masters and mistresses here upon earth. And for this you have one general rule that you ought always to carry in your minds, and that is, to do all service for them as if you did it for God himself. Poor creatures! you little consider when you are idle and neglectful of your masters' and mistress' business, when you steal and waste and hurt any of their substance, when you are saucy and impudent, when you are telling them lies and deceiving them, or when you prove stubborn and sullen, and will not do the work you are set about without stripes and vexation—you do not consider, I say, that what faults you are guilty of towards your masters and mistresses, are faults done against God himself, who hath set your masters and mistresses over you in his own stead, and expects that you will do for them just as you would do for him. And pray do not think that I want to deceive you when I tell you that your masters and mistresses are God's overseers!—Christian ministers are commanded to 'exhort servants to be obedient to their own masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering them again, or gainsaying?' You see how strictly God requires this of you, that whatever your masters and mistresses order you to do, you must set about it immediately and faithfully perform it, without any disputing or grumbling, and take care to please them well in all things. And, for your encouragement, he tells you that he will reward you for it in heaven—because, while you are honestly and faithfully doing your master's business here, you are serving your Lord and Master in heaven. You see, also, that you are not to take any exceptions to the behaviour of your masters and mistresses, and that you are to be subject and obedient, not only to such as are good and gentle and mild towards you, but also to such as may be froward, peevish, and hard. For you are not at liberty to choose your own masters; but into whatever hands God hath been pleased to put you, you must do your duty, and God will reward you for it."

The climax is yet to come. Under the head of "Correction" the Bishop discourses as follows:—

"Now, when correction is given you, you either deserve it or you do not deserve it; but whether you deserve it or not, it is your duty,

and Almighty God requires that you bear it patiently. You may, perhaps, think that this is a hard doctrine, but if you consider it right, you must needs think otherwise of it. Suppose, then, that you deserve correction, you cannot but say that it is just and right you should meet with it. Suppose you do not, or at least you do not deserve so much, or so severe a correction for the fault you have committed,—you, perhaps, have escaped a great many more, and are at last paid for all. Or suppose you are quite innocent of what is laid to your charge, and suffer wrongfully in that particular thing,—is it not possible you may have done some other bad thing which was never discovered, and that Almighty God, who saw you doing it, would not let you escape without punishment?"

All such preaching may reconcile the victim to the altar on which he is sacrificed, but what shall we say of the priest who officiates at the horrible immolation?

The report informs us, that within the Diocese of South Carolina, are 1636 coloured communicants of the Episcopal Church, and within the whole South 135,640 coloured communicants of the Methodist, and 100,000 coloured members of the Baptist Church. Nearly all of these are slaves, and liable to be severed from wife, husband, children, parents, friends, home, at the instant bidding of ruthless owners.

Do the southern churches intercede with the law-makers on behalf of their coloured members, that God's image may at least be respected in the members of his visible Church? Do they forbid masters and mistresses of their own communion to drag, as from the horns of the altar, and sell into remote bondage, with the recommendation that they are Christians, and therefore the better slaves, those with whom they have eaten bread and drunken wine "in remembrance" of a common Lord?

These are important questions, and such as the churches South ought to be able, if they are Christian churches, to answer affirmatively.

MINUTE OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING—NEGRO AND ABORIGINES FUND REPORT.—We take great pleasure in presenting these interesting papers to our readers. The abolition of slavery in the British Colonial possessions is to be attributed, in no small degree, to the active exertions, unwearied perseverance and noble liberality of Friends in England. But they are well aware that a people so long degraded and oppressed could not possess, or, at once, acquire, the means of educating their children and qualifying them for the full en-

joyment and exercise of the rights which the British Government has accorded to them, as men and citizens. Our English brethren have, therefore, in the spirit of true Christian philanthropy, contributed most liberally to their aid; and not to theirs only: for a portion of the Fund has been appropriated to schools in Hayti and New Zealand. We regret that our space will not permit us to publish the correspondence on the distribution of the Fund. The assistance thus given appears to have been particularly seasonable in many instances and gratefully appreciated in all. It is gratifying to us to perceive,—and we think it must have been encouraging to Friends in England,—that the care exercised by the Committee to appropriate the Fund strictly in accordance with their religious principles, was satisfactory to the recipients of their bounty, and commended, as one of their correspondents remarks, “as wise, just and proper.”

An extract from a letter dated New Zealand gives a remarkable description of the natives of those Islands, and will be read with interest.

“Education in New Zealand, like everything else, is of a very anomalous character with respect to system; nor, indeed, with the present habits of the people can it be otherwise. According to their means, they are a knowing people; as shrewd and intelligent as they are indefatigable and attentive. Very few indeed of the missionaries have ever had to teach them their letters; and yet most of the New Zealanders between the ages of 10 and 40 or 50, are able to read the Testament with fluency: while most of the young men can write a legible, some of them a superior hand, either on the slate or on paper; and you would be surprised at the degree of correspondence which is carried on amongst them; the fact is, they have taught each other. Arithmetic they consider a mere plaything. Last week I sat up with three of them in a country village, till 2 o'clock in the morning: one of them knew simple Addition and Multiplication with the proofs; and with two examples each of Subtraction and of Short and Long Division, he could readily work those rules with accuracy. Indeed, they can learn anything as easily as they can plant potatoes. Of course you will observe at once, that this is a mere intellectual process, and as such is the lowest quality of that education which it is our desire and duty to furnish them with.”

CAPTAIN HANNUM AND THE PANTING FUGITIVE.—We give in another part of this journal the letter of Captain Hannum of the brig Ottoman, narrating

his re-capture of the escaping slave. We have no words to express our indignation at his cold blooded description of the circumstances attending the re-capture, much less of the act itself, which for deep atrocity can only find its parallel in the hateful African man-hunt, without the mitigation which there exists in the inferior intelligence of the culprits. When Cain murdered his brother Abel, the sad deed was without a remedy. The betrayed slave, though the victim of as horrible a crime, still lives, and Captain Hannum, repentant of the act, may yet rescue him. We wish him that happiness. All the wealth not of himself only, but of his guilty and wealthy accessories would be cheaply expended in that recovery, if necessary to its accomplishment.

DEATH OF THOMAS CLARKSON.—The arrival of the Caledonia brought us the intelligence of the death of our venerable and honoured friend Thomas Clarkson. This event took place at Playford Hall, near Ipswich, England, on Seventh day the 26th of the Ninth month last. He was born on the 28th of the Third month 1760, and had thus arrived at nearly the middle of his eighty-seventh year.

It appears that the health of our friend failed rapidly during the last three weeks of his life, and that he finally took to his bed just one week previous to his death. Until absolutely confined to his room, he continued to give his attention to matters of public good. From this time, however, it was observed that he did not enter upon external matters, but gave his mind much to prayer, and was unwilling to be interrupted in his prayerful thoughts upon the future. On the evening but one preceding his death, he subsided into an apparently unconscious sleep, during which he neither stirred nor spoke. On the succeeding evening with his physical powers much reduced, he roused up so as to call on some of his attendants by name, but without the ability to articulate his wishes to them for little matters to be done for his ease and comfort. He now spoke with imploring look, and with agitated and clasped hands, but was incapable of receiving or enjoying any attentions, and after some suffering relapsed into a calm, about ten minutes before his death, and then gently breathed his last.

Such is the account we have received of the last hours of this good man. Feeling as if present at the solemn closing scene, the language of our heart is “The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away.” “If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?”

THE WAR AGAINST MEXICO.—In our view, all wars are unchristian; but we regard the present war with Mexico as preeminently wicked and barbarous. It is a war of aggression and invasion, waged for the diabolical purpose of extending and perpetuating American slavery. It is well known that the proximate cause of the war was the Annexation of Texas, and the immediate occasion of hostilities was the invasion, by American troops, of Mexican territory; yet the Washington Union, understood to be the Government paper, declares “the sole object of our war—a just and honourable peace, with proper security against a repetition of Mexican outrage.”

The American troops have taken possession of Monterey, Santa Fe and Chihuahua, but not without great sacrifice of human life at Monterey. Speaking of the capture of that town, the New York Tribune says:

“That the Mexicans have made a more gallant and obstinate resistance at Monterey than was at first anticipated in this country, is certain. The three days’ fighting, the heavy loss of our troops, (obviously not exaggerated in the accounts which have reached us,) and the terms of capitulation, all testify that the badly armed, worse fed, undisciplined Mexicans have fought better than the character they have borne among us would give reason to expect. True, they fought for their hearths, their altars, their national integrity, their wives and children, while our soldiers fought for—what? How stands the account in the books of the Recording Angel?”

“It does seem to us that no considerate man, who believes that the Universe has a Ruler, would willingly become responsible for the sufferings of one thousand human beings, the deaths of probably half that number, the riddling and ravaging of a populous Christian city, with the innumerable bereavements and agonies therewith connected, for all the power of Polk or the fame of Napoleon. None can say that these Mexicans in Monterey have deserved death at our hands; none can fail to see that they were defending their own soil; we think most would prefer to have fallen with them in defeat rather than have died in the arms of victory among the exulting invaders. And can any one believe that the responsibility of all this horror is not charged somewhere? Corporations are said to have no souls; Nations often act as if they had none; but Divine Justice is not thereby defrauded. Every citizen of the United States who has in any manner cheered on the chariot of war—who has not done what he lawfully could to arrest it—is to some extent a par-

taker in the guilt of these awful butcheries, and therefore responsible before Heaven.

“We trust the thirst for slaughter is now satiated, and that our Government will make open and favourable proffers of Peace to Mexico—proffers which the world will say she honorably may and ought to accept. Mere professions of a willingness to treat are not sufficient. Let the terms on which we will make Peace be submitted to the impartial judgment of mankind, and let us at any rate refrain from farther slaughter except in our own defence. We do not need the territory of Mexico; we should hardly consent to incorporate her people with ours on terms of perfect equality, and we have no right to subject them to a Government which they have no hand in directing. We can gain nothing by farther invasion and offensive warfare that we ought to desire. Peace! Peace! give us Peace! Has there not been enough of human slaughter in such a cause as ours?”

In the case of nations, as of individuals, the commission of one crime leads to another; small, at first, may be the departure from truth and right, but each subsequent step in the downward career, will be marked by constantly increasing turpitude, until utter corruption is reached at last.

The following remarks are copied from the Washington correspondence of the New York Journal of Commerce:

“It is now the general belief and expectation that the United States will retain, govern, settle, and occupy the territory that they conquer, or so much of it as may be convenient or valuable to them, on account of its products, situation, or commercial facilities. No one supposes or will admit that we are to make peace without retaining the Californias. But there are other provinces of equal value to us, and which we have just as good a right to retain. If the war continues, it is a matter of certainty that the public mind will become resolved to conquer and retain all Mexico.

“Let it be observed how much the tone of the public feeling, of the government organs, and of public men, have changed on this subject since the war began. Towards the close of the late session the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means stated that the war would be ended by us as soon as Mexico would give us the Rio Grande for a boundary, and recognize our just claims for the spoliation of our citizens. If to this the Government added the Californias, it was intended, no longer ago than in July, to pay Mexico for them. But the whole face of the matter is now changed. Our demands now embrace all

that we are obliged to conquer, and that will speedily be the whole of Mexico.

"No question occurs to the public mind as to the morality of this thing. The contempt that our people have for the Mexican race or races, does not allow them to consider this point. But they look to one fact. The Spanish Americans have boundless territories which they do not occupy and cannot improve. They have possessed the country for three centuries, and it is now less populous and no more cultivated than at the time of the conquest by Cortez. Our people, therefore, go to Genesis, with Mr. Adams, and claim Mexico, as he did Oregon, under our title to subdue the earth, and replenish it. It was by this and no other title that the Pope assumed to give Mexico to Spain. For three centuries the Spanish race have held the country, and have neither subdued nor replenished it; our army of invasion, therefore, goes into Mexico with a writ of *quo warranto*, to ascertain by what warrant she exercises her power. She can show no title under her original charter."

THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.—Under the present Constitution of New York, "men of colour" who "shall have been for three years citizens of the State, and for one year next preceding any election, shall be seized and possessed of a freehold estate of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, over and above all debts and incumbrances charged thereon, and shall have been actually rated and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at any such election."

In the Convention recently engaged at Albany in altering the Constitution, efforts were made, on the one hand, to deprive the coloured citizens of their franchise, even with this property qualification; and, on the other hand, to place them on equal ground with the white citizens. These efforts failed, and it was agreed to submit the question to the decision of the people, as follows:

"Resolved, That at the next general election, and at the same time when the votes of the electors shall be taken for the adoption or rejection of the amended Constitution, the additional amendment in the words following—

"§ Coloured male citizens, possessing the qualifications required by the first section of the second article in the Constitution, other than the property qualification, shall have the right to vote for all officers that now are, or hereafter may be, elective by the people after the first day of January, 1847"—shall be separately submitted to the electors of this State for adoption, or rejection, in form following to wit:

A separate ballot may be given by every person, having the right to vote for the amended Constitution, to be deposited in a separate box.

Upon the ballots given for the adoption of the said separate amendment, shall be written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, the words, 'Equal suffrage to coloured persons?—Yes.'

And upon the ballots given against the adoption of the said separate amendment, in like manner, the words,

'Equal suffrage to coloured persons?—No.'

And on such ballots shall be written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, the words,

'Constitution: Suffrage.'

In such manner that such words shall appear on the outer side of such ballot when folded.

If, at the said election, a majority of all the votes given for and against the said separate amendment shall contain the words 'Equal suffrage to coloured persons?—Yes,' then the said separate amendment, after the first day of January, 1847, shall be a separate section of article second of the Constitution, in full force and effect, anything contained in the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding."

We copy under the head of Selections a part of the report of the debate in the Convention, to show the kind of arguments used by those who would deprive a portion of our citizens of their rights, because they have "a skin not coloured like our own."

In connection with this, will be found in the department for communications, an impressive and powerful appeal to the voters of the State of New York, by an ever vigilant friend of the slave.

SELECTIONS.

LETTER OF ISAAC E. MORSE.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 12, 1846.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Herald.

SIR—In looking over the files of the *New York Tribune*, I find the following paragraph, extracted from a speech delivered by me in Congress on the 11th of Jan. 1845, with the annexed commentary:—

"WHAT SLAVEHOLDERS THINK OF SLAVERY.—Mr. Isaac E. Morse, of Louisiana, in a speech in Congress, January 11, 1845, said:—

"He denied the principle which seemed to be assumed here as a thing conceded, namely, that slavery was an evil. He insisted that it was no evil: on the contrary, it was the greatest blessing which God Almighty himself could have ordained for the protection and safe-keeping of a large mass of human

beings who were incapable of maintaining and preserving themselves."—*Appendix Cong. Globe*, vol. 14, p. 92.

"We find the above floating about in the newspapers. It is calculated to create or confirm false impressions. Some slaveholders think as Mr. Morse does; more, we believe, of those who think at all, consider slavery as a great evil, but one not to be easily abolished. It is wrong, therefore, to say that slaveholders think this or that of a topic whereon their opinions are divided. Mr. Morse is a New England Yankee, who has chosen to live in Louisiana, and become an extensive slaveholder there; and such are apt to glorify slavery more than those born to it—in part, to drown self-reproaches; but more probably to dissipate the suspicions with which they are apt to be regarded by those born slaveholders, who naturally think all Northern men are anti-slavery, or ought to be.

"Mr. Morse, it need hardly be said, is brimful of democracy and all that."

Now, although my individual opinions upon the subject of slavery may be of very little importance to the public, and the place of my nativity much less, still a respect for truth induces me to ask the favour of an insertion in your paper of a few remarks upon this subject. I avail myself of the *Herald* as much on account of its extensive circulation as of its impartiality. In the first place, Mr. Morse is not a New England Yankee, nor were the sentiments contained in his speech upon the Texas question uttered "in part to drown self-reproaches, but more probably to dissipate the suspicions with which they are apt to be regarded by those born slaveholders, who naturally think all Northern men are anti-slavery, or ought to be."

These sentiments are the deliberate and matured opinions of a man who has seen the white slaves and serfs of Europe, and who reiterates another opinion, that the slaves of Louisiana are better fed, better clad, do less work, and are a great deal more intelligent than the operatives in the factories of Europe, as I shall endeavor to show in another part of this communication.

The great length of the last session of Congress prevented my return to Louisiana, and the interval has been employed in recruiting my health, for another arduous session, and in making observations upon the opinions of our friends of the Northern States, upon the subject of slavery and abolition, which I hope may be useful not only to my own constituents, but to the South generally.

I might have availed myself of the privilege of making a "personal explanation" from my seat

in Congress, and have given my views at length, but personal explanations to me are at all times extremely disagreeable, and not approving of the custom of using the time of the public in discussing private concerns, a custom infinitely "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," I take the usual way of correcting any misapprehensions in relation to myself, my opinions, and particularly my motives.

It need not be concealed that the abolition feeling has been greatly strengthened and extended throughout the entire North. What formerly was confined to a few insignificant misguided fanatics, agents and creatures of the English government, now infects the high places of the republic, is heard from the pulpits, in the fourth of July orations, at the exhibitions of our colleges, in the councils of the nation, as seen in the vote of the House of Representatives upon striking out the slavery clause from the constitution of Florida; and still more recently in the vote on Wilmot's resolution, when, with a majority of 65 members friendly to the administration, the supplies were refused the President, unless accompanied with an act that violated the letter and the spirit of the Missouri compromise. Whether that vote or the patriotic speech of John Davis of Massachusetts is chargeable with the blood of the five hundred men killed and wounded at Monterey, I have not now the time or the inclination to discuss. Thus has the Missouri compromise been openly and palpably violated; a compromise, so called, where every thing is yielded on one side and nothing on the other, viz.:—that slavery shall never exist north of a certain line, but free States may exist either North or South.

I understand that the paternity of that resolution (Wilmot's) is disputed at the West, and several gentlemen expect to transmit their names to posterity by their connexion with it. The spirit of that resolution is one that binds indissolubly abolition and dissolution of the Union together. I envy no man the wreath that shall encircle his brow, who achieves this double triumph. It is not the first time in the annals of the world that notoriety has been mistaken for fame. "The aspiring youth who fired the Ephesian dome, outlives in story the pious fool that raised it." Be mine the meed of self-applause, with the untold name of that pious fool that stayed for one day, one hour, one minute, the fall of this great temple of civil and religious liberty.

I repeat it, abolition and disunion go hand in hand. If our Northern friends do not make the issue, *we will*, and I appeal to all good men of the

republic North and South. Let us have no more talking and acting in the dark. Are you ready and willing to sever this Union for the cause of abolition? Is the toleration of slavery in one portion of the Union a greater evil to you than the dismemberment of the republic? Are your consciences so nice that you will no longer hold communion with Southern men who hold slaves? Do you hold slavery in such abhorrence that you will buy our slaves at our estimation and free them? Or will you fight for the abolition, and to make us converts to your notions of liberty? For, talk and turn it as you will, "to this complexion must it come at last." Do you think that all the talking, preaching and writing in the world will ever induce men with common sense to surrender their property, for which they periled life in two wars, and will do so again? Was there ever an instance of a whole State or community having been talked or preached out of their property? The English government, because might made right, freed the slaves of the colonists; but with the slightest prospect of success, does not every man in the world know the colonists would have defended their rights at the point of the bayonet? "Who can hold fire in his hand, by thinking on the frosty Caucasus—or wallow naked in December's snow, by bare reflection on the summer heat?" That man may be persuaded to surrender the fruits of years of industry, or the inheritance of his ancestors, for a conscientious scruple in another man's bosom, and one which never troubled the repose of the greatest and the best men in the republic, and which is sanctioned by God himself.—*Credat Judeus, non Ego.*

If these questions are to be answered affirmatively—if it is a fixed fact that slavery must be abolished in the United States, the sooner we know it the better. We have no apprehensions on the subject. But let us see how the thing works, whether our brethren at the North are not somewhat in the situation of the fox who was to have his tail cut off because another had done the same thing, and whether England, after ruining uselessly her West India colonies, is not the fox who had lost his tail.

It will no doubt be frankly admitted that there is no danger, however we may extend the area of slavery South, of our forcing slavery upon any free State, if we had the power, and therefore, the sin alone is on our own heads. I have never had a doubt but that the whole of this movement is of foreign origin. England knows that this is the only possible weak point in the Union, and if she could induce a separation of the States, she must

be greatly benefitted by such an event. Who does the carrying trade for the South—the millions of bales of cotton; the hundreds of thousands of hhds. of tobacco, of sugar, of rice, besides the return price of all this produce in English and American manufactures, besides the profits which you make in the manufactory of the cotton of the South? Why, New England derives more profit from supplying the Slave States with the commerce of her soil than the Slave States do themselves. I have no reliable statistics about me, but I do not hesitate to assert that the revenues received in New England from the product of slave grown articles is greater than the value of the articles themselves. Let Maine answer, with her overwhelming tonnage. Let every town and rill in New England respond. But perhaps it is thought you can raise three millions of bales of cotton, a half million of hhds. of tobacco, two or three hundred thousand hhds. of sugar and rice, *et multus aleus*, with free labor, and you can yet get this trade. Go and try it, ye hardy mountaineers of New England. It is false, as is pretended, that you are excluded from any country by the Missouri compromise. Go and cultivate California, Mexico, and if you want free States, so decide—nothing can prevent it.

I despise cant of every kind, and I say at least for myself, and I have no doubt I speak the voice of the entire South, that we will never permit our slaves to be liberated, directly or indirectly, presently or prospectively, without making the best resistance that we can, and that we would rather die in the last ditch than surrender, not our property, but the principle on which we hold it.

You can never take our property without our lives; but let me say what you can do, and what, if you persist in breaking down all agreements and compromises on this subject, you will do—you will make the tenure by which we hold our property so unstable that the advantages of the Union cease to be of value, and when that day comes I tell you what we can do—we can make a treaty with England, or any other nation in Europe, by which the right to our slaves shall never be questioned, and by which we can receive all the manufactures of England at a reasonable duty, and she will buy our cotton, do our carrying trade, and in fact become to us what New England is now; and such a step the South can take in six weeks, and the English navy would be ready and willing to defend such a treaty of reciprocity, if necessary.

The English people have paid enough in the utter destruction of her West India colonies and trade, and in the discriminating duties on sugar,

for abolition, and they are getting very tired of it. That such a step may never be necessary on our parts, is the second wish of my heart; the first is, that we may be secured in life, liberty, and the possession of our property.

I have occupied so much of your paper that I will not attempt to discuss the proposition that our slaves are more intelligent than the operatives in the manufactories of Europe. I will only mention one single fact witnessed by a large party of Americans in Manchester, in 1832. It happened that a number of our countrymen were in Manchester when the celebration of the reform bill took place, and those poor operatives had a holiday from their sixteen hours of labor, (for the number of persons, men, women and children used up by their system of white slavery had not aroused the public indignation,) and consequently the streets were filled with them.

Having invitations to a large museum in that place, I asked twenty-two persons in the streets and on the square, where it was situated, and not one single person could inform me, and a large majority of them born, raised there, and working in the factories. Very few of them even knew the meaning of the word, and gazed in stupid astonishment.

I venture to assert, (and any man can try it in New Orleans) that there is not one slave in ten in that city, who has been there six months, who will not tell him the name and situation of every public building in the city. One word more and I have done. If our Northern brethren are so conscientious, and they are willing to invoke all these calamities on our happy country to effect their end—if they are sincere and honest, let me say this to them: there is a very easy way to get rid of slavery in the United States without interfering with us, without doing one single thing that the nicest caviller could censure, and which I believe in sober seriousness will effect your object as certain as day succeeds night, and which, though it may entail ruin and distress upon a large portion of your fellow-citizens, they have no right to object to, or complain of—"Touch not, taste not, handle not" one single product of slave labour.

Very respectfully, your ob't servant,

ISAAC E. MORSE.

[So—so—it has come to this. Isaac E. Morse, and those slaveholders whom he represents, while they so fully believe in the industry and energy of abolitionists, as to admit that "what was formerly confined to a few insignificant, misguided fanatics, now infests the high places of the republic, is heard from the pulpits, in the fourth of July ora-

tions, at the exhibitions of our colleges, in the councils of the nation"—have no confidence in their deep conscientious abhorrence of slavery. They believe that appeals to northern cupidity, as regards manufactures and the carrying trade, will turn aside the power that even now is sweeping on to hurl down their system. The fear of the loss of "Maine's overwhelming tonnage" is to steel the hearts of Northern men against the cry of the oppressed and suffering. And so confident are they in this thing, that under cover of advice they even taunt abolitionists with their selfish inconsistency, believing in their hearts, that low selfishness is the Universal God. Abolitionists have yet by their acts to give the lie to all this. They have yet to prove to them that however desirable "Maine's tonnage" may be, it is valueless in comparison with clean hands and pure hearts. They must take up the slaveholder's challenge, and by acts that speak louder than words, respond to it by indeed abstaining from all that connexion with slavery, which by its comity, use, commerce, or any other lure, hardens hearts, blinds eyes, and bribes and lulls consciences in its favour. Let abolitionists prove that their earnestness is not energy merely, but that it is a power so deep rooted in their souls as to far underlie convenience, pride, or love of wealth, and can act just as potently when none are present to stimulate as when the eyes of thousands are upon it, and Isaac E. Morse and his colleagues will either side with us—hating slavery as warmly as they now love it and themselves abstaining from its products, or, if standing in their present position, not even admitting abstinence to be a legitimate result of anti-slavery principles. As long as men do not expect to be incommoded by any abstract opinions they hold, or advice they offer, they can afford to seem noble; but let there be a prospect that their views will be carried out, and lo! how they shrink from the light. Abolitionists who do not abstain from slave-produce, are in this latter category. They know the wrongfulness of slavery, and the wrongfulness of employing men to hold slaves for them, and yet appetite, pride, love of ease, and love of gain, are too strong for their faith. Maine's overwhelming tonnage wins the day in their hearts.

Eds. Non-Slaveholder.]

DEBATE ON THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN THE NEW YORK CONVENTION.

The report of the committee No. 4 was then taken up. Mr. Kennedy, in behalf of the chairman of the committee, explained the object of the committee in reporting the section as it stood.

They omitted the qualification of property from the consideration that this was an odious and cruel provision. The coloured man should either be excluded on account of his race, or otherwise admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the white population. He drew a distinction between civil and natural right. The one was inalienable, and made no distinction in age, sex, colour, or nativity. If suffrage was a natural right, then women and children might claim its enjoyment. Civil rights were those bestowed by the Government, and it could limit and restrict them. If the number enjoying that right was too small, it should not be increased by bestowing it upon those who are foreigners in our midst. The coloured man, by the strong marks which nature had placed upon him, was evidently a distinct race; and was, from his inferior qualifications of mind and habits of life, separated from us by an impassable bar. The mind revolted from the broad proposition which was presented, to admit the Ethiopian to occupy the same position in all respects with ourselves.

Mr. Dana followed, expressing his belief that there were rights which were neither strictly natural or civil. He defended the coloured man from the representation of Mr. Kennedy, and said, if that gentleman still declared himself the friend of that race, they might well pray to be saved from such friends. He (Mr. D.) was willing to recognize the full political rights of the negro, and he would as soon vote to destroy the privileges of his own children, (whom he loved with an affection as strong as a father could have for his offspring,) as to cast down the rights of his coloured brethren. He was surprised that the proposition to admit to the rights of the franchise seven thousand coloured men, should frighten forty thousand chivalrous white men in this State.

Mr. Bruce made an explanation, and went on to remonstrate earnestly against the putting through of a question of so much importance by the spur of the previous question. The Convention had occupied days and weeks upon the comparatively insignificant question of the union of the practice of law and equity; but when we came to the broad and universal subject of natural and political rights, it is to be choked off under the fifteen minute rule, and the application of the previous question. He called upon this Convention to decide whether the coloured people were men or not. If so, admit them to enjoy the common rights of man, or otherwise make them slaves to yourselves and your children, and trample them in the dust forever. Pretend no longer to have sympathy and respect for them, while thus denying

them their just claims as men like ourselves. He renewed the previous question, according to his engagement.

Mr. Hunt said, I feel bound, Mr. President, to offer a few words upon the subject of negro suffrage, and will come to the point at once. My doctrine, and the doctrine of my constituents, in relation to the right of suffrage, is briefly this:—We want no masters, and least of all negro masters, to reign over us. We contend for *self-government*. We hold that no man who is not a part of the republic's *self*—who is not a bona fide citizen, shall have any voice in the State. We also concede to all other persons, and all other nations, in their respective spheres, the same rights we claim for ourselves. This is what we mean by equal rights. But we will sanction no *confusion* of rights. Rights are *distinct* as well as equal, and can only be exercised by the possessor within his own proper sphere. It does not follow that because a man has a right to put his hand in *his own* pocket he may thrust it in *mine*, or that because he has a right to participate in the government of *his own* nation he may take part in our government also. Such a doctrine would be fatal to all rights; and that, no doubt, is the reason why the enemies of democracy and of the rights of man, both in Old England and in New, are so zealous in insinuating it into weak minds in every part of the republic, and at every opportunity. They would fain cause the principle of equal rights to be carried to a ridiculous and unwarrantable length, in order to compass its destruction.

The fact that all men have a right to form themselves, or rather *are formed* by the operation of circumstances and the law of necessity, into distinct nations or states—that every nation has the right of self-government, without the interference of aliens or of other States, so long as it will take the trouble to exercise that right with any tolerable degree of wisdom and justice;—these facts are so very obvious that I would not name them, were it not that the advocates of negro suffrage have such a wonderful faculty of forgetting them, or of leaving them out of sight. They forget that *negroes are aliens*—aliens, not by the mere accident of foreign birth—not because they speak a different language—not from any petty distinction that a few years association may obliterate, but by the *broad distinction of race*; a distinction that neither education, nor intercourse, nor time can remove—a distinction that must separate their children from our children forever.

I regret as much as any one, that this class of irreclaimable aliens is fastened upon us. If any good could come of wishing, I would wish as

heartily as any one that the Ethiopian might change his skin, and become a part of our body politic. But all such wishes, and all efforts to realize them, are idle.—They may indicate a good disposition, but they do not indicate a very good head.

One thing is certain to my mind—that our past attempts to elevate the political or legal standing of our negroes have added nothing to their happiness. When our negroes were called slaves, they owned their masters almost as much as their masters owned them. Their cares and their hearts were lighter than now. They were more at liberty to act out their negro natures—to sing negro songs—to laugh at negro wit—to deck themselves with negro finery. Their present condition is analogous to that of a poor woman compelled by a visitation of sudden riches to enact the fine lady. They are no longer free to be negroes, and they cannot be whites. We may close our eyes in a fit of amiable enthusiasm, and try to dream their wool out of curl; but our dream does them no good. They know and feel all the while, (that is, all *sane* negroes,) that they are negroes and aliens by the act of God, and there is no remedy.

The greatest injury that any man can inflict upon his fellow, is to place him in a false and unnatural position—to tempt him into a path which he cannot travel, a sphere not his own; to seduce him into a war against his inevitable destiny, and thus destroy his powers of usefulness and his chances of happiness together. In my judgment, our negroes have thus been injured by their friends. They have been deluded with unreal hopes, and blinded to their true destiny—a destiny, as I read it, far from ignoble. For as they progress in knowledge, their pride will incite them to return to the home of their race, where they can hold the position of superiors and teachers. They have gained much by their intercourse with civilized men. They are no longer idolaters. They are no longer naked savages. They have made much progress in the arts and the learning of a superior race. They yet may—I believe they yet will—convey these arts and this learning to their uncivilized brethren. Instead of being mere recipients they will become imparters of light, and thus gratify the noblest ambition and perform the highest duty that man can feel or perform. Such is the path I would point out to them—the destiny I would aid them to accomplish.

I am aware that people in the country, who form their judgment of all negroes from perhaps a single sample, do not see the impossibility of

naturalizing them so clearly as we do in New York. A negro placed beyond the influences of negro society is a very different being from those whose characters have been formed by contact and association with their own race. It should be remembered that the race at large do not, and never can, fully correspond with the isolated specimens of the country towns, and whose associations and training have been so different. And further, our rural fellow-citizens have not negroes enough among them to make it a matter of much consequence in their elections, whether they vote or not. It is not so in New York. There they would often hold the balance of power, and give laws to the whole city. But they could not govern us long. The people of the city would take the Government out of their hands by driving them from Manhattan Island. Such would be the practical operation of negro suffrage, I fear, in the city of New York.

One consideration more. No union can be advantageous or lasting, unless it be also fit and seemly. The Jews were forbidden to yoke animals of different kinds together; and if it be wrong to unite the cow and the ass in the same yoke, can it be right to unite the Caucasian and the negro race in the same Government?

To conclude. The reason why my constituents refuse to enter into a partnership with negroes in the business of Government is, that we can perform all our political duties better without their help than with it. We can preserve our popular institutions from subversion by aristocrats, and demagogues, and simpletons, much better without their help than with it. We do not wish to debase ourselves by any hypocritical professions of fellowship, or to give our hand where we cannot give our heart. We cannot acknowledge as co-citizens a class of men more widely separated from us than any other race upon the globe, and who cannot be naturalized by any fiat of law or lapse of time. We know that we put ourselves upon a par with negroes whenever we put negroes upon a par with us. We cannot enter into any political amalgamation with blacks. We will not meddle with their Government in St. Domingo, nor in Africa, and, if we can prevent it, they shall not meddle with ours.

Mr. Rhoades then continued the debate in reply to Mr. Hunt, and in favour of the amendment.

Mr. Waterbury said the Convention was about to vote upon a proposition which, if adopted, would place us upon the same footing as Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. He thought we might with safety assume the position which they occupy. The gentleman from New

York (Mr. Kennedy) had brought in the women and children to sustain his argument. But the wives and children of all our own white citizens were protected in their rights and privileges by husbands and brothers. Where do you find any one to stand up for the coloured man? Not one. The argument that because a race of men are marked by a peculiarity of colour, and crooked hair, they were not endowed with a mind equal to another class who had other peculiarities, was unworthy of men of sense. The negro race must always make a part of our population. Colonization would never transfer them all to their original country. As well might we attempt to drain out all the water of the ocean with a dipper. What position they would occupy he was not prepared to say, but he would remind gentlemen that those who were once slaves in Rome became freemen. The argument of the gentleman from St. Lawrence (Mr. Russell,) reminded him of the Pharisee who went into the temple to pray, and forgetting his errand, went on to brag how much better he was than other people.

THE CASE OF CAPT. HANNUM.

We have great pleasure in complying with the wishes of Capt. Hannum, of the brig Ottoman, by laying his letter before our readers.—*N. Orleans Picayune.*

Boston, Sept. 11, 1846.

Editors of the Picayune:—In my own native city, a refugee from the fury of the Abolitionists, I address you on a grave subject, though it has placed me in the midst of many a comical and ludicrous scene.

I arrived at your port on the 9th, and sailed on the 10th of August, in command of the brig Ottoman, for Boston. Seven days out a mulatto slave was found secreted in the fore peak; I kept a look-out at the mast-head, in the hope of finding some vessel by which to send him back, but unfortunately did not succeed; kept on my way, and arrived off Boston light, at 2 in the morning of the 7th. Here I placed the runaway on board of a pilot-boat, for safe keeping, till 4, A. M., the next day, when I arrived from town according to agreement, and took the darky in my boat, which contained, besides myself, a trusty friend, a boy of sixteen, and a boatman. Agreeable to arrangements in town, I was to await the bark Niagara, to sail next day for New Orleans. That night an easterly gale commenced, and next day no Niagara came. Unable to weather it any longer in the lower harbor, I kept her away for Spectacle Island. There, as ill-luck would have

it, while taking "a drop of consolation" at the hotel, the negro gave me the slip, and with the boat made sail for South Boston Point; post haste we followed in another boat, but he landed about ten minutes ahead. We took after him, through corn-fields and over fences, till finally, after a chase of two miles, I secured him just as he reached the bridge. Accusing him of theft, I marched him, arm in arm, towards the Point, followed by a crowd of men and boys—a friend came up with a team, when I drove to the Point, and we took to our boats and were off.

The news of the escape and capture spread through the city—officers were despatched in all directions—\$100 reward was offered for the "kidnapper-captain and pirate-boat Warren."—That night we lay at anchor under Lovell's Island—the easterly blow continued—we dared not venture farther out. Next morning our case was desperate. Out of water and provisions, I beat down to the outer island in the harbor, (an uninhabited pile of barren rocks,) landed with the darky and boy, and sent my companions to town for supplies and another boat, while we remained hid in the gullies of the rocks. They returned at night with the "Vision," the fastest sailer in the bay, and took us off. So hotly were they pursued in town, that the only refreshments they were enabled to obtain were gin and crackers, and on these we subsisted during the remainder of the expedition. We now stood for sea, and waited for the Niagara till 2, P. M., the next day, (the 12th,) when she came out in tow of a steamer. I put him on board as the steamer left, giving Capt. Rea letters explanatory of the whole affair. No sooner had I left the bark than I discovered a steamer making directly for us. Knowing that she could chase but one, I steered a course opposite to the Niagara, till the steamer came up and ordered me to heave to; this for some time I refused to do, wishing to delay them as long as possible, in order to give the Niagara a chance to get clear. Bayonets glistened in all parts of the boat; darkies were there of every hue, crying out, "Run him down," "Fire into him," &c. After this was hushed, and I had brought them to terms of civility, I hove to, and received on board two officers, who examined the craft; not finding the objects of their search, they went on board the steamer and put off for the bark; but they had wasted too much time with me—the Niagara was well out to sea with a fine breeze. The abolitionists, after chasing her a few miles, became sea-sick, and commenced casting up their accounts; the balance were in favour of returning home, and back they went, to wreak their ven-

geance on your humble servant—humble enough, God knows, though elevated to garret life.

Stigmatized as a slave-stealer at the South—branded as a kidnapper at the North—my situation is anything but enviable. The journals here are bitter against me, and accuse me of interested motives. On the contrary, with a hundred dollars reward against me, I have been obliged to spend a like sum in order to re-ship the negro to his master. John H. Pearson, Esq., a merchant of this city, well known for his integrity, sanctions my proceedings. This is my lengthy story; lay it before your readers, that they may know we are not all abolitionists, and that the reputation of our beautiful city may not suffer through their disgraceful proceedings.

Very respectfully yours, gentlemen,

JAMES W. HANNUM,

Master brig Ottoman.

HOW TO REFORM GOVERNMENT.

Existing governments have their merits. They might be worse than they are. They are as good as the great mass of the people demand, or are capable of appreciating. If full grown Christian constitutions were proffered to them, they would vote them down with contempt. If we could cheat them into the reception of one, they would not know how to live under it. Governments are correct exponents of the aggregate religious light, moral sentiment and intellectual development of the people living under them. People with a false and low religion, a false and low morality, a low and undeveloped intellect, will have a corresponding false and low organization of society, false and low government! An Esquimaux, Hottentot, or New Hollander, would devise and administer an Esquimaux, Hottentot, or New Holland government. The reason why we have not a Christian government is, that our people are not in the aggregate a Christian people. The aggregate religion is far below the Christian standard. The aggregate conscience and moral sentiment of the people are semi-barbarous. And their aggregate intellect is not yet sufficiently improved by knowledge and discipline to see how low their religion and morality are. They are, therefore, not even ashamed of war and slavery. They do not see that these gross abominations are their disgrace and curse. We have got to enlighten them, expand their intellect, purify their moral sentiment, quicken their consciences, and reform their religious ideas. This is not to be done by voting at the polls, by seeking influential offices in the government, and binding ourselves

to anti-Christian political compacts. It is to be done by pure Christian precepts faithfully inculcated, and pure Christian examples, on the part of those who have been favored to receive and embrace the highest truths. They must hold up the true standard, let their light shine, and patiently persevere in the great work of creating a new heart and a new spirit in the people. They must do nothing to disparage or hinder whatever is good in the existing order of society and government. Still less must they do anything to hinder their own pure testimony; either by seditious opposition to government, or by voluntary participation in its sins. They must not falsify their principles by going with the government to do evil, nor in going against its wrongs by anti-Christian means, nor by condemning anything in it which is right and good *per se*. This is the strait and narrow way of Christ.

When a considerable portion of the people have been enlightened and won over to Christian non-resistance, the tide of public sentiment will begin to set with such force against war, and the whole injury-inflicting system, that the less enlightened and less conscientious portion will insensibly yield to the current, and the relicts of barbarism, one after another, be "cast to the moles and bats." Thus, ultimately, government will be christianised, and the most scrupulous disciples of the non-resistant Saviour feel at liberty to perform any service in it which the public good may require.

What a work is to be performed! It has commenced, and will progress much faster than either faint-hearted friends or unbelieving scoffers anticipate; though doubtless its consummation is at a great distance. In this view of the case, how supremely silly would it appear for a handful of non-resistants to run a tilt of politics, and harness themselves to the car of Juggernaut, in the hope of influencing the besotted multitude to renounce their idolatry! It would be treason to their cause, and ridiculous infatuation, for them to play such antics. Their mission is to "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." To teach, not number the people. To show forth a model of what ought to be—not conform to what is. To testify against spiritual wickedness in high places, and to cause the popular abominations of the land to be properly appreciated and utterly loathed. To scatter light and call the people to repentance. To reform our thirty thousand religious teachers, so that instead of patronizing, inculcating, apologizing for, consenting to, and pronouncing benedictions on military power and display, they may view and speak of it with the same abhorrence they now do

of idol worship. To convert our hundreds of thousands of church members to that primitive Christianity, which nerved up the ancient disciples to say, in the face of threatened death—"I am a Christian, and cannot fight!" When we have done all this, we will begin to think about voting and accepting office in the government. We believe we shall then no longer be obliged to subscribe Constitutions which make our governors and presidents "commanders-in-chief of the Army," or which invest Congress with discretionary power "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal"—those flagrant crimes against God and humanity. If we should, why then, we would still ply our axe to the root of the tree, and non-participate till a better day had dawned on the world. Such is the method by which true Christianity teaches its disciples to reform government. True, it is not according to "the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God;" but it is according to "the wisdom that cometh down from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy."—James 3: 17.—*Christian Non-Resistance.*

ABOLITIONISM RETARDING EMANCIPATION.

It is said that the Anti-Slavery agitation in the North has thrown back the cause of emancipation in the South, and the South are not now prepared to hear the truth on account of this agitation.

A few facts will show that the South were no better prepared to hear the truth before the Anti-Slavery agitation in the North, than they are now. More than forty years ago Father Gilleland established a Sabbath-school in North Carolina to teach the blacks to read the Holy Scriptures. It was disbanded by the slaveholders. About thirty years since Mr. John Rankin commenced a similar school near Lexington, Kentucky, which was soon broken up by an armed band of slaveholders. Some eighteen years ago, some of the members of the Strawberry Plains Church, East Tennessee, commenced instructing the colored people to read the scriptures. In a few months it was broken up by the slaveholders. About twenty years since, a Theological student by the name of Hill, made in Marysville seminary, East Tennessee, a few Anti-Slavery addresses. The surrounding country became so excited that for some time he dared not go out of the Institution for fear of his life. About eighteen years ago, a young minister by the name of Eagleton, preached a sermon against slavery, in East Tennessee. For this his Presbytery took away his license to preach, and re-

fused to return it again until he pledged himself not to preach any more against slavery. All these facts occurred where slavery is found in its mildest form. Many more might be given, but these are sufficient to show that the southern mind was no better prepared to receive the truth before the Anti-Slavery agitation in the North, than it now is. The fact is, the South has not been so well prepared to receive the truth respecting slavery for the last forty years as it is now. There are more decided Anti-Slavery men now at the South, and more is now doing to extend Anti-Slavery principles in the slave states; and these principles are better received than at any other time, as might be proved by almost any number of facts.

American Citizen.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

FREE LABOUR GOODS.—Arrangements are in progress for the establishment of a FREE PRODUCE STORE, wholesale and retail, in co-operation with the Free Produce Association. It is desirable to know, so far as practicable, what amount of patronage may be relied upon. With this view it is suggested that measures be taken to ascertain who are the friends of the cause in the various sections of the country, and that the names and residences of those who desire to use the products of free labour in preference to those of slave labour, be collected and forwarded to George W. Taylor, No. 50 N. Fourth street.

GOODS MANUFACTURED FROM FREE LABOUR COTTON, for sale by Thos. S. Field & Co. No. 36 N. Front street (up stairs) Philadelphia, belonging to the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. "Manchester" Gingham, two qualities, various patterns; Table Diaper assorted widths, white and coloured; Canton Flannels unbleached and coloured; coloured Cambrics and Prints; Apron checks assorted plaids; 4-4 shirting and 5-4 sheeting; Muslin; twilled Muslin and plaid cotton Hdkfs; cotton Laps, very superior; white and coloured Wadding; hose and half hose, very superior and heavy; knitting Cotton various numbers. 9th mo. 26th.

FREE COTTON GOODS.

TO accommodate Friends and others who wish to supply themselves with free cotton goods, but cannot conveniently give or lend money to aid in the manufacture, the Finance Committee of Friends' Free Produce Association, propose to receive from such individuals any sum of money they may choose to advance, and furnish them with goods to the same amount when these are ready for sale.

ELIHU PICKERING,
S. ALLINSON, Jr.,
THOMAS WISTAR, Jr.,
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
SAMUEL RHOADS,
Committee.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER

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"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

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COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE CASE OF THE SLAVE IN THE UNITED STATES EXAMINED.

What is meant by slavery, as practised in this country?

It is one part of the community being held by another part as property; an article of merchandise; deemed such by the law of the land.

What length of time are these people necessitated to submit to be made merchandise?

During life, unless released by rebelling against government, or by the government repealing the tyrannical law which places and retains these persons in the character of property.

Has immorality or crime any bearing in rendering a person subject to enslavement?

Not in the least, far otherwise; so much so that though he be possessed of all the godliness and virtues of Noah, Job or Daniel, he is not, therefore, the less subject to the dreadful doom of enslavement.

In what, then, does the liability consist of being made a slave during life?

In being born of a slave mother having African blood.

Then are not children, very nearly white, liable to be enslaved?

Certainly; the master may even sell his own children into perpetual bondage, if born of a slave having African blood.

Do all the States in the Union sanction slavery?

No. Slavery is not tolerated in thirteen* of the States, in the other thirteen it is. And also in Texas, which has been recently annexed to the Union, and likewise in the District of Columbia.

* It cannot be said that slavery is not tolerated in Pennsylvania. By a law of this State, slaves may be held six months; thus it may happen that a slaveholder residing in Pennsylvania, and owning slaves in Maryland or Virginia, may hold slaves constantly in Pennsylvania, by simply changing the individuals semi-annually.—Eds.

Are not the free States in proportion to their number and influence, equally as responsible as the slave States for the continuance of slavery under the general government?

They most certainly are; this is indisputable.

Are not the victims of the slave system greatly increased every year?

They are; and from a small beginning have now attained the vast number of near three millions.

Is the slave permitted to present his grievances before the public, or have access to the legislature in petition for a repeal of the law in his case?

By no means. In fact, so far from this is his case, that he seems to be made to vote by means of his master for the perpetuity and security of his own sufferings and bonds.

Who, then, are responsible for the continuance of slavery and its attendant evils?

Those in the enjoyment of liberty; and to those only can the attention of the slave be reasonably directed for relief.

Are his hopes here misplaced?

If they are not, they have with small exceptions thus far met with disappointment.

What class is the most deficient in a due discharge of its responsibility to the slave and his oppressor—the religious sects, the statesmen, or those in the private walks of life?

With little exception, all these different classes in their different capacities, give nearly the same marked manifestation of disregard to the case of the afflicted slave.

Those statesmen whose constituents are principally the holders of slaves, seem ever vigilant in going to the utmost verge of their power in carefully guarding the system of slavery by every means human wisdom can devise, while the legislator from the non-slaveholding States seldom remembers the slave, only and so far as he deems will promote his own popularity. If, however, at any time he has been engaged for the slave upon purer motives, his efforts have been such as to give the most decisive evidence of being blinded and entangled by prudence and partiality—

hence the slaves' cause never fails to be made subservient to the claims of a political party.

The legislator has hitherto entirely failed to plant himself upon the broad firm ground of equal rights, in behalf of the slave.—He seems never to have thought, that the slave's claim to liberty is no less valid than his own.—He seems totally to have forgotten that the most prominent feature of legislation should be, to guard and protect the rights of the weak against the invasions of the strong—he manifests gross ignorance of the injuries already inflicted upon the slave, by his willingness to compromise a part of the liberty which justice demands for him. Let the legislator be divested of prejudice and partiality, and he could not fail to stand up like a man and a brother, and present the claims of the enslaved with a weight and force as yet unknown. Feeling that these claims were only second in importance to life itself, he would forcibly impart and sensibly impress this feeling upon others within his influence. Standing upon this firm ground of justice and impartiality, he would feel impelled to present slavery in its true character of deformity, as one of the most complicated crimes ever committed by mortal man, and which, being persisted in, must prove a heavy scourge and curse to the nation.

What aid is the slave receiving from the religious associations of the day?

But little—these generally evincing in the case too much the disposition of the Priest and Levite, who passed by upon the other side. One would hardly suppose that any society formed professedly for the promotion and extension of the Christian religion, could fail to use its utmost influence by all Christian means, for the immediate extinction of slavery, especially when we recollect what godliness demanded, even in the days of the Prophet Isaiah—"Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow;"—"Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house; when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?"—what Jeremiah saith, "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work;"—and what Jesus Christ, under the gospel dispensation,

himself laid down as a rule of universal application, that covers the whole ground of man's duty to his fellow-man—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them!"—many others of his precepts clearly inculcating the doctrine of universal brotherhood, in acts of love and kindness, without partiality. Who then would suppose for a moment that any religious Society whatever, professedly based upon a doctrine embracing in an eminent degree these obligations—obligations not of humanity and moral justice only, but of brotherly kindness and charity, even to the remembering of those in bonds as bound with them, to the doing to and for these as we would wish to be done by, if placed in their tried situations—could fail of making the slaves' case a prominent concern for energetic action?

But lamentable to say there is a marked deficiency in this respect. Indeed so far are the different religious sects, of which I have knowledge, from making the slave's case a matter of interesting enquiry with a view to action, that there appears to be more engagement to prevent such enquiry, in the fear that it may disturb the peace and unity of the Society, than there is to relieve the sufferings of the slave, notwithstanding the high professions which are often made of deep concern for them.*

Do these societies put forth an influence commensurate with the importance of the occasion?—If the priest and Levite were justly chargeable with unkindness in passing "by upon the other side," what charge do these societies merit who seem studiously to maintain, with little exception, nearly a midnight silence as it respects any organized mode of action for the extinction of the slave system, though the slave's blood is continually crying from the ground?—

Now could all the religious societies professing the Christian name, come to such a sense of brotherly feeling and sympathy for the slave and his oppressor in their sufferings, as to put their souls in these souls' stead, what efforts would be made—what powerful and constant appeals would be applied to the public mind! The language now uttered would proceed from a sincere heart, and, coming from the heart, would reach the heart and

* Our readers will probably demur, as we do, to the accuracy of this statement in a particular relation. The published accounts of the proceedings of various religious bodies, and especially of the late convention held in London, under the title of The Evangelical Alliance, afford, however, lamentable evidence of the too general truth of our correspondent's assertion.—Eds.

conscience too, and thus spread conviction from sea to sea. How soon might religious societies, being in a good degree consistent with their profession, give such tone to the community as would forever wipe the foul stain of slavery from the national character. If this be the fact, as I think must be evident to every unprejudiced mind, what awful responsibility attaches to the different religious societies for the continuance of the sins of slavery. I trust, however, these societies are not without their anti-slavery leaven. They are not entirely destitute of any testimony against slavery. They have their individual members whose feelings and actions are for the suffering and dumb. If these keep their habitations in the Truth, and abide in the patience, some of these societies may yet be found elevating a testimony against man's claiming property in his fellow man, to its meridian height.

We may now inquire what aid people in general, in their individual and private capacity, are giving to the slaves? In reply to this it may be said—little more than to wish them set at liberty when it can be done with safety to the best interests of all concerned. This profession at first glance may appear quite plausible. But in the first place we must bear in mind the vast difference between such professions, and the appropriate action for producing such results as it proposes. If the profession be never so good, that, of itself, cannot remove one solitary chain from the slave. Again, the proposition is based upon spurious grounds: for, first, it takes for granted that it may be unsafe to manumit slaves; secondly, it assumes that the best interests of the parties may not be promoted by such manumission. Now this profession and these assumptions, are very wide from the proper ground. They are altogether of a different character from that which philanthropy and true christianity throw around their votaries—for these are made to believe, that as there is no partiality with the Creator, who makes all emphatically accountable to himself, all are born free and equal, and consequently liberty is an inalienable right. This being the fact, as must be evident to every unprejudiced mind, then to suppose and assume, that the removal of the obstacle to the enjoyment of liberty from the slave will be unsafe and injurious, would be fairly taking the ground that slavery was an improvement surpassing the wisdom of the Creator, who ordained and instituted the relation of man to his fellow man to be free and equal. Now the true question we should ask ourselves in the premises is this—Is it right, is it just, is it Christian to hold slaves? In our hearts it is at once said NO!

Such being the case, this at once and forever, sweeps away the oft repeated, sophisticated, deceiving plea of safety and interest, which is made a turning point in sustaining the slave system. Although interest and safety are so successfully urged in favour of slavery, they are principles, when rightly understood, powerfully and imperatively demanding the immediate extinction of the horrid system in question.

Now, to turn more directly to the question of individual action in behalf of the slave, he stands, as a general thing, unaided, unpitied, unbefriended, from this quarter, having little more than degradation and poverty, (which have been forced upon him,) to recommend him to notice and protection. So far are the majority of people from taking any action for uprooting slavery, in an individual capacity, that where a decided indifference does not prevail, the action taken will often be against the measures of the few who may have signalized themselves upon the side of the down-trodden slave. There is another class who remain inactive as to any relief of the slave, though convinced of, and acknowledging, the iniquities of slavery, but who deem the removal of the system a work of the community. Hence they content themselves with the idea that what they can do will be so little towards the accomplishment of the work, that they make no effort to do any thing: seeming to forget that communities are made up of individuals:—united and general action, of individual action,—and general neglect, of individual neglect.

Again, the slave's cause is seriously injured, probably, by nine-tenths of the people in the free States, in becoming sharers and partners with the slaveholder in the sale and consumption of the products of his slaves' unpaid toil. Let no market be found for slave-labour products, and no such products will be found for market. Awful responsibility, to patronize and sustain a market upon which slavery depends for its continuance!—Reader, give full scope to conviction on this point.

Now, if it could be the case that any one of the free States were to bid a bounty on free labour products sufficient to make them come to the consumer at three-fourths the price of slave-labour products, very soon we might see nine-tenths of the people of such State practically acting for the abolishment of slavery, by refusing its products. Oh! how we sacrifice duty to imaginary self-interest! Who so blind that cannot see that DOLLARS AND CENTS form a powerful link in the chain, both in the North and South, which binds

down millions of our fellow men in a state of degradation, and the most abject privation and suffering?

Notwithstanding the slave's case excites so little pity, is so little looked after, is so much buried in misrepresentation, so much trodden under foot of political aspirants, and so much neglected by the formal professor of the Christian name, yet he has truth, justice, reason, humanity and Christianity all on his side, and these are powerful principles,—more powerful than the greatest armies of men! These principles can, under the blessing of an overruling Providence, give the victory by few or by many. And I am consoled in the belief, that that there are some scattered up and down through the land, who are engaged on behalf of the suffering slave, under the guidance of these principles. May the efforts and the number of these increase, until the last fetter be removed from the bondman. Hasten that day when he shall be permitted to stand erect on equal grounds with his fellow man, as children of one common Parent!

DAVID IRISH.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

However strange it may seem to us, it is nevertheless true that the Society of Friends has permitted its members to import slaves from Africa, and buy and sell and hold them in America.—Another fact is equally strange and true:—that after the sinfulness of slaveholding had been clearly demonstrated by Friends of Germantown in their remonstrance to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, nearly one hundred years elapsed before all its members ceased to be slaveholders. From the history of that period we learn that a few faithful labourers were successively raised up, who could not be satisfied with merely declining to hold slaves themselves, but were constrained to testify against the practice in their brethren. The spirit of gain ruled in the hearts of the many, and steeled them against the claims of justice and humanity. The "faithful few" endured contumely and reproach, and severe were their conflicts in labouring with those in the foremost rank in society, "the ministers, elders, overseers, and other active Friends who held slaves." John Woolman says:—"The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so reverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach; and in the weakness of nature, thought of desisting from his prophetic office, but, saith he, 'His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and could not

stay.' I saw at this time, that if I was honest in declaring that which Truth opened in me, I could not please all men; and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclination."

The anticipations of this faithful labourer were soon realized, and though he has left but little on record of the opposition he and his coadjutors experienced, yet there is full evidence both in his writings and from other sources to prove that Friends who held slaves were exceedingly averse to "any agitation of the subject." They were quite willing that Friends who felt scruples about holding slaves should set them free, but they were not disposed to submit to the scruples of others, or be "forced" to put themselves to inconvenience, or sacrifice their "property." Such as these were very earnest in advising their brethren to continue patiently under the exercise, alleging that "the Lord in time to come might open a way for the deliverance of these people [the slaves]." In the Yearly Meeting of 1758 the subject of "dealing with persons who purchase slaves," was considered, and "several Friends who had negroes expressed their desire that a rule might be made, to deal with such Friends as offenders who bought slaves in future," but they did not wish to be disturbed themselves. Other Friends were disposed to go a little further, and strike at the root of the evil, and several "expressed their desire that a visit might be made to such as kept slaves; and many Friends said that they believed liberty was the negro's right; to which, at length, no opposition was made publicly. A minute was made on that subject, more full than any heretofore; and the names of several Friends entered, who were free to join in a visit to such who kept slaves." (J. Woolman.)

It was at this Yearly Meeting that John Woolman, in replying to those who opposed any action on the subject, on the ground that "the Lord, in time to come, might open a way for the deliverance of these people," made the following truthful and impressive remarks:—"Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of His judgments that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness, he hath opened our understandings from one time to another, concerning our duty towards this people, and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and through a respect to the private interests of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and

constancy still waiting for some EXTRAORDINARY MEANS to bring about their deliverance, it may be that God may answer us, in this matter, by terrible things in righteousness."

The Society having, at intervals, condemned the importation of slaves from Africa—the buying and selling such as were imported by others—and the buying slaves to be kept in bondage, at length came to the conclusion that those who were already in slavery had a right to their liberty. Yet in 1774 it was directed that such slaves as should be found suitable for liberty were to be released from captivity, and not detained in bondage "without such reasons as shall be sufficient and satisfactory." It seems to have been discovered, however, during the two next years, that ALL SLAVE-HOLDING WAS SINFUL and that no reasons could be sufficient and satisfactory to justify a continuance in sin, and accordingly in 1776, "it was directed that all slaveholders" should be dealt with, and all slaves "whether arrived at full age or in their minority," released from a state of slavery.

It was also seen, in the deep religious exercise of that period, that "hiring slaves on wages, manifestly contributes to promote the unrighteous traffic [which] we are desirous to suppress."

In reading the history of the abolition of slavery in the Society of Friends, published by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1843, the perseverance and devotedness of the few faithful labourers are not more striking than the tenacity with which the great body of its members adhered, during the several stages of the abolition of slavery, to their existing practices, and the jealousy constantly manifested lest they should be required to "do justly."

Long before the Society of Friends was clear of holding slaves, the enlightened mind of John Woolman perceived that something more than simply declining to hold slaves was required of him; he accordingly ceased to use the produce of the slaves' labour, and in his last illness was careful not to take any medicine that came "through defiled channels or oppressive hands." It appears from his account that the number of those who declined the use of slave produce was small, "even amongst people truly pious," and their "labours in Christian love on that subject" were "not very extensive;" yet he declares his belief that it "may yet require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of peace."

It is well known that from this period down to the present day, the testimony thus introduced by John Woolman has been steadily maintained by many friends throughout our religious society. Its progress, however, like that of the abolition of

the slave trade and slavery amongst us, has been slow, and it has had and still has to encounter the same kind of opposition. Is it a testimony founded on true and just principles of morality, or did John Woolman, and thousands since his day, act under a delusion when they embraced it? This is a question which is daily increasing in importance. The commerce in articles produced by the labour of slaves is rapidly augmenting; and a corresponding extension of the means of production closely and inevitably follows. Can any one seriously doubt that "the market for slave produce makes slavery?" Admitting then that slavery is sinful, upon whom does its responsibility rest, if not upon the customers in the market which makes it?

Isaac E. Morse, a slaveholder of Louisiana, and a member of Congress, asserts, in the remarkable letter published in the last number of the Non-Slaveholder, that "the revenue received in New England, from the product of Slave grown articles is greater than the value of the articles themselves." Speaking for himself and the "entire South," he tells his northern brethren, that if they are sincere and honest, "there is a very easy way to get rid of slavery in the United States without interfering with us, without doing one single thing that the nicest caviller could censure, and which I believe in sober seriousness will effect your object as certain as day succeeds night, and which, though it may entail ruin and distress upon a large portion of your fellow citizens, they have no right to object to, or complain of—'TOUCH NOT, TASTE NOT, HANDLE NOT' ONE SINGLE PRODUCT OF SLAVE LABOUR."

These are wholesome truths, and important admissions, which should receive the serious attention of all who regard slavery as repugnant to Christianity. It is not easy however to perceive why the removal of a destructive evil, by means which are so entirely unobjectionable, and which the nicest caviller cannot censure, and the slaveholders have no right to object to or complain of, should entail ruin and distress upon those connected with it. Ruin and distress have never yet followed the abolition of slavery, even when the measure has been suddenly and forcibly accomplished. The probable operation of the course proposed by Isaac E. Morse is very clearly described in a small pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the use of the Productions of Slavery." The author says:

"Let us trace out the reasonable consequences of disusing the produce of slave-labour. 'Supply follows demand.' This is an undisputed axiom of commerce, and within the limits of a physical ability to furnish the supply, is as true as that 'shade follows substance.' The manner of the supply is just as much under the control of the demander as

the matter, provided he is willing to pay a fair equivalent for the manner. Commerce is without a conscience of its own, yet bows to the dictation of its customer's conscience. It is then the *index* to that conscience. The consideration here involved indicates a two-fold duty—to demand that which is just in the manner of its procurement, and to avoid that which is unjustly procured. The business of the Christian's life is to struggle for the advancement of virtuous principles and to discourage the opposite. Individuals in various places appreciate this truth, and refuse to be accessory to the creation of a demand for goods produced by slave-labour. Each of such individuals has his own numerical value, besides his moral influence extending around him, and adding ones, tens and hundreds to the espousal of the doctrine that it is unjust to use those productions, and a decided impression is made on the market for slave goods. No slaveholder would add to his slaves under a decaying demand for the productions of slavery. Hence amongst the first fruits of abstinence from their use, we should expect to see some ships ceasing to be freighted for the slave-trade; some wars ceasing to be created on the African coast; some of the "thousand daily victims" ceasing to be offered to the Moloch of Slavery; some of the home nurseries for propagating men as cattle ceasing to exist; but all this *unaccompanied by starvation*. Men do not starve because slave-ships rot; because there are no wars in Africa; because fewer die in the middle passage and in seasoning, or because men are less encouraged to the rearing of domestic slaves.

"Thus the first impression, it is seen, would be on the outskirts of slavery, and would prevent starving and other suggested miseries to our species. The slaveholders, seeing the approach towards them of a more elevated public sentiment, would meet the change—not by starving their miserable slaves into some new submission,—but by changing their condition from chattels to men. This change would be commenced, doubtless, by a few of the most enlightened slaveholders with whom the history of the transition of the British West India slaves into the state of freemen, stripped now of all gorgon terrors, is familiar; and perceiving there is really an honest testimony abroad against slavery which refuses all participation in its fruits, and which they had previously suspected to be false because of the short-coming of the proclaimers of that testimony, they will enter themselves into the spirit of the reform, and meet the sentiment in its fulness. The example of these would spread, as did the testimony among the non-slaveholders against the use of slave pro-

duce; and commensurate to the growth with us of this testimony would be the voluntary extension by them of enlightened and happy freedom to slaves now groaning under a dark and merciless bondage."

I propose, in another communication, to notice some objections made by Friends against rejecting the products of slave-labour. A. B.

11th mo., 23d, 1846.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ISAAC E. MORSE'S LETTER.

I have never yet seen or heard any man attempt to justify slavery, without contradicting himself and demolishing his own arguments. The letter of I. E. Morse, in your last number, was highly interesting; speaking, as I believe it does, "the voice of the entire South," or, at least, that of all intelligent slaveholders. The lesson it teaches the people of the North, is an important one; it says to them—If you really abhor slavery, if you believe it to be an evil, if you are sincere and honest in desiring its abolition, derive no more profit from commerce in slave-grown articles—"touch not, taste not, handle not" one single product of slave labour. But my present object is to point out an inconsistency into which the author has fallen. He asserted in Congress that "slavery was the greatest blessing which God Almighty himself could have ordained for the protection and safe-keeping of a large mass of human beings *who were incapable of maintaining and preserving themselves*;" and, in his letter, he declares this sentiment to be his "deliberate and matured opinion." The paragraph which contains this declaration, asserts that the slaves of Louisiana, "are a great deal more intelligent than the operatives in the factories of Europe!" If this be true, then the slaves of Louisiana no longer need the "ordination" of slavery for their protection and safe-keeping, but are capable of "maintaining and preserving themselves," and should, at once, be permitted to enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." C.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

In the communication for your last number relative to the "letter to the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland," on the inconsistency of soliciting and receiving the money which is the product of slavery, there was inadvertently an omission of the dates both of the letter and the appeal to those who approve of it. The date of

the former was, "New York, April 2, 1844," that of the latter, "June 13, 1844." The former, which contains so faithful a protest against the act of the Commissioners, was signed by the following persons, viz: Arthur Tappan, Simeon S. Jocelyn, Christopher Rush, William Shotwell, Leonard Gibbs, Lewis Tappan, Theodore S. Wright, and Seth W. Benedict.

Very respectfully, but most earnestly, are these friends, with all who approve of their letter, again entreated to consider the high duty of protesting, with equal plainness and faithfulness, against the prevalent and lamentable inconsistency of partaking of the general fruits of the system of oppression, robbery and blood. Again, for the sake of millions, now suffering the woes of degraded and outraged humanity, and for the sake of millions yet unborn, we remind the consumer that he is the supplier of the waters of this river of death. The profit which the consumer voluntarily pays furnishes the pecuniary support of the whole iniquitous system. It is this which procures the seizure of the innocent victim on the coast of Africa. It is this which transports him, amid the horrors of the middle passage, to the place where he is sold like the cattle in the market. It is this which induces the mercenary dealer in "the souls of men" to buy him, to lash him to his unrequited toil, and to close all the avenues of his soul against the appeals of his brother for mercy and liberty. The consumer of slave products, is not only accessory to all the evils of this direful abomination, but his voluntary aid is the very vitality of all other means adopted for its support. If he withholds his aid, every wheel of the infernal machine stops at once, for he is its main spring.

In view of this appalling fact, he is kindly requested to pause before he again mingles his morning and evening beverage with the blood-stained sweet. Abolitionist! Oh! stop and ask thy conscience, Am I acting consistently with my own principles? Am I not about to have communion with the works of darkness which I have reprobated? Am I not partaking of the very stolen property, the robbery of which I have condemned? Then ask thy heart, What has this guilty sweet cost thy brother? Shall we relish that which has cost our brother his liberty, and peradventure, his life? Can we relish the sweet, or wear, with satisfaction, the garment, which has been furnished by the tearing away of our brother from his wife, his children, and his home?

For the sake of the cause we advocate, let us solemnly consider whether or not we are building up the things we profess to destroy.

H. G.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH 1, 1846.

WAR, SLAVERY, AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—One of the modes of opposing the evils here enumerated, presented to those who feel free to resort to the ballot-box for an expression of their sentiments in relation to public men and measures, is obviously the elective franchise. This privilege, if ever exerted, should be used in the chiefest degree, for the elevation to office of men fearing God and hating covetousness, and for the consequent increase of peace and righteousness in the earth. The recent opportunities our voting readers have had of making their views known in relation to some of the evils referred to, by casting their suffrages for persons opposed to them, we trust have not been overlooked or unimproved. There is another mode in which opposition to these evils may be expressed with great effect, and by the friends of reform generally. This mode exists in the exercise of the right of petition; to which should be added the exertion of whatever influence we may personally have with those in authority. The meeting of Congress, and of several of the State Legislatures, is near at hand. In some or other of these bodies the evils adverted to, will, in all probability, engage considerable attention. Petitions on these several subjects, it is expected, will be numerously presented, and we believe that in regard to all of them there is a greater opening for their reception and consideration than has heretofore been experienced. Now that there are streaks of light in the horizon, let us be up and doing our share of labour in the work of reformation. The time was, when, under the dawning light of the Sun of Righteousness, the professors of Christ's name would not be concerned in wars and fightings, or in any taking of human life. The first is notorious; the last proven by the reason which the Emperor Julian assigned for not allowing Christians to be præfects, that "their laws prohibited their adjudging capital punishments." Under this light also, slavery, such as it then was, but uncharacterised by many of its present enormities, was seen in its true colours, and fast retired from its brilliant presence. Let these considerations animate us to seek, with a becoming ardor, the speedy return of those legitimate results of Christian principle.

THE NEW YORK CONSTITUTION.—Our accounts of the New York election, announce the adoption of the new Constitution, and the rejection of

the separate proposition which accompanied it. The majority in favour of the Constitution was upwards of 131,000, and against "equal suffrage to coloured persons" 137,000. The whig majority for Governor was 11,121, so that that party could have commanded the adoption of the amendment, if the whole democracy had voted against it, which was very far from being the fact. So far as the Whigs are to be regarded as the conservative party of the country, they have committed an act of extreme folly, in not ensuring to the side of "law and order" the suffrage of their coloured fellow citizens, which, for obvious reasons, would have always been cast in that direction. We are not the friends of an indiscriminate suffrage, though we are of one undiscriminated by colour. We would commit the destinies of the nation only to the decision of intelligent voters. Mind is of no colour. But if the ignorant and intelligent are to approach the ballot-box on the same equal terms, it is then vastly important that the ignorance which has the intelligence to be preservative, should be allowed to throw in its weight against the ignorance which would ostracise all that is good in society. We regard the issue of this question as indicating an aggregate of inconsideration, prejudice, and relative injustice which we could scarcely have looked for in the empire state. We feel persuaded that many of its citizens will yet bitterly repent the part they have taken in producing this issue.

EFFECTS OF THE CHANGE IN THE BRITISH SUGAR DUTIES.—We derive from the (London) "Friend" of the 1st ultimo, the following important information and suggestions.

"The recent alteration in the duties on foreign sugar, has produced its natural result. The plantations of Cuba and Brazil are pouring their produce into all parts of the kingdom, and the people of England once again gratify their palates at the expense of the unrequited toil and the undiminished sufferings of negro slaves. We hope that those who, in time past, submitted to the inconvenience, in most cases hardly worthy to be mentioned, of purchasing only the sugar of free countries, will take the same stand now; and that all others will examine the question, and see whether the like abstinence is not a duty on their part. Not long since, we advocated a similar course with regard to cotton and other imports from the Slave States of America, in all cases where it is possible to distinguish these from free labour productions, it being our opinion that there is no means so powerful for the extinction of the system, as this daily, personal, practical condemnation of

it. But the use, or disuse of slave sugars, at the present time, is attended with this additional and momentous consideration, that the opening of the English market will act as an immediate stimulus to the African slave trade. On the arrival of the news from England, the Havana was illuminated, the prices of slaves rose, it is said, twenty-five per cent, and twelve slavers were to be got ready for the African coast! The infernal human trade of the United States is disgraceful, and revolting beyond the power of language to express, but it is far exceeded by the wanton waste of life, and the depth of woe and agony, which mark the capture, barter, and freight of the victims from the palm-tree villages of Africa, to what we may, perhaps without much exaggeration, term the living graves of the western world."

The city of Havana illuminated—the price of slaves raised twenty-five per cent—and twelve vessels about to be despatched to the coast of Africa, to be loaded with slaves! Why all this joy and activity? Not simply that the ports of Great Britain are opened for the admission of the slave grown sugars of Cuba, but because the people of England are about to consume great quantities of those sugars, and thus raise their price, and vastly extend their production. Will the British people do this? Will they forget that lofty sense of justice and humanity which prompted them to pay one hundred millions of dollars, as the price of emancipation in the British Colonies? Will not the Abolitionists of Great Britain scorn to receive into their hands those articles which they declare it immoral on the part of government to admit into the kingdom? We rejoice to know, through our foreign correspondence, that a powerful effort is about to be made to bring the whole Anti Slavery community into a great free labour produce movement. If British Abolitionists have now nothing before them of sufficient interest to concentrate their efforts, here is a field of ample action. Let them enter, on Christian grounds, into a vast league against the consumption of slave-grown produce, and let them urge on their Government to withdraw its armed cruisers from the Coast of Africa, and apply its enormous appropriations to the encouragement of the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and other tropical productions, in its East and West India possessions.

THE "RANDOLPH SLAVES."—The public papers have so generally noticed the cruel treatment in Mercer County, Ohio, of the negroes, about four hundred in number, liberated by the will of John Randolph of Roanoke, that we have not hitherto alluded to the subject.

It now appears that the people of Mercer county, not satisfied with preventing those negroes from settling on the farms purchased for them, have determined to expel the coloured inhabitants already resident there. Some of these were among the earliest settlers, and have built houses, cultivated farms, and raised families. The following resolutions were adopted at a recent meeting of the mob, and notwithstanding the Proclamation of the Governor of Ohio, which will be found below, we cannot but fear that the unlawful intentions so boldly announced will eventually be enforced.

In the midst of these disheartening circumstances, it is encouraging to know, that strong efforts are in progress to effect a repeal of the "Black Laws" of Ohio, which are so unjust and oppressive to the coloured population.

Resolved, That we will not live among negroes, and as we have settled here first, we have fully determined that we will resist the settlement of blacks and mulattoes, in this county, to the full extent of our means, *the bayonet not excepted*.

Resolved, That the blacks of this county be, and they are hereby respectfully requested to leave the county on or before the first day of March, 1847, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with this request, we pledge ourselves to remove them *'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.'*

Resolved, That we who are here assembled, pledge ourselves not to employ, or trade with any black or mulatto person, in any matter whatever, or to permit them to have any grinding done at our mills, after the first day of January next."

PROCLAMATION.

Executive Office, Ohio, }
COLUMBUS, Aug. 31. 1846. }

Information having been filed in this Office, setting forth that persons have associated together with the intent to perpetrate, within the county of Mercer, in this State, acts of violence against a peaceable and unoffending class of individuals; therefore, for the purpose of having the laws faithfully executed, to preserve the peace and dignity of the State, and to protect the lives and property of those who are or may be illegally assailed, I, Mordecai Bartley, Governor of the State of Ohio, do hereby call upon all Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and all other ministerial officers of said county of Mercer, to execute the laws in such case made and provided, as faithful conservators of the peace, and thus protect persons and property, the State from insult and contumely, and relieve the Authorities of the unpleasant duty of resorting to more summary measures for the

restoration of peace in the State, and justice to individuals within said county.

It is presumed that the deep interest which the judicial and ministerial officers, as well as peaceable and law-abiding citizens of the county of Mercer, will feel in preserving peace within their borders, and doing justice to all parties concerned, will induce them to co-operate in so desirable an object.

If the coloured people against whom the excitement has been raised, have violated any law, or disturbed the peace of the State, or trespassed upon the rights of others, the legal remedy should be applied, but not unlawful violence used.

In testimony whereof, I hereunto subscribe my name and affix the Great Seal of the State of Ohio, the day and date above written.

M. BARTLEY.

By the Governor:

SAM'L. GALLOWAY, Sec'y of State.

THE QUAKER OF THE OLDEN TIME.—We have frequently observed the poetical contribution of our friend John G. Whittier, to the first number of this Journal, and from which we derive our motto, published in other papers as being anonymous. Recently it has so appeared in the British Friend. We request the respected editors of that periodical to give their readers the author's name.

DECISION OF JUDGE EDMONDS.—Notwithstanding the length of the decision of Judge Edmonds, we have thought it a document of such great interest and importance as to justify us in presenting it to our readers. The slave, George Kirk, secreted himself in the ship Mobile, at Savannah, and being discovered on the passage, he was confined on board, when the vessel arrived in New York, by the captain, who intended to take him back. His cries, however, aroused the attention of some persons on the wharf, and he was carried, on a writ of habeas corpus, before Judge Edmonds, who discharged him from the custody of the captain.

After his discharge, an application was made to the Mayor of New York, who issued a writ for his apprehension, and the police officers, to the number of nearly nine hundred, were put in requisition to arrest him. They were successful, and he was lodged in prison to await his trial before the Mayor; but another writ of habeas corpus brought him again before Judge Edmonds, and the decision which we publish was the result. George Kirk was soon placed by his friends beyond the reach of his claimant.

OUR PROSPECTS.—The present number brings our first volume to a conclusion. We commenced it under a conviction that we owed something to the cause of Truth and Humanity. We saw the latter deeply outraged in the heavy bondage and affliction, to which were subjected millions of our fellow-men,—denied not merely the rights and charities which belong to the condition of human beings, but reduced, as far as human agency can effect that end, to the low level of the beasts that perish. We perceived that the purpose of this deep oppression was gain; that to feed a dishonest appetite for wealth, the slave was robbed of his natural right to the productions of his toil; that buyers of those spoils were necessary to the consummation of the end which the outrage proposed; that buyers of those spoils were therefore participants in the inexpressibly atrocious wrong; that buyers of those spoils might be more enlightened, and therefore more culpable, than the immediate perpetrators of the wrong; that buyers of those spoils, when they pleased, could terminate the wrong. We thought we had a testimony to carry in Truth's behalf to the users of those spoils, who saw the iniquity of slavery, but who did not sufficiently reflect that they themselves were the prompters to its enactment. We thought it our duty to say to them, in that spirit of Christian love which all should feel and cherish, that Truth is uniform in its requirements—that it lays an inflexible line—that if it be wrong to partake in the fruits of one crime, it is wrong to partake in the fruits of another crime—that if it be robbery to connive with the robber in one form of outrage, it is robbery to connive with him in all forms of it. We felt too a desire to keep alive a pity for the poor slave; to cherish in ourselves and others the impression of being bound with him; to seek all occasions by which any good might be achieved in mitigation of his wrongs.

Under the influence of such considerations, we threw to the breeze our moral banner bearing the pure inscription, "Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own." In the faith of a truthful purpose, and in the confidence of meeting a full response in many hearts, we issued a numerous edition of our first sheet, without the assurance of a single subscriber. We have since continued to publish large editions of our respective numbers, and to give them a wide dissemination. Under these circumstances our subscription list has not supplied our past expenses, but this we hold to be a secondary consideration. Should our present subscribers continue their aid to the cause, it will enable us hereafter to send them a monthly sheet of 24 pages, beside conceding to us

the possible ability of issuing a few numbers gratuitously.

Retaining a deep-felt conviction of the necessity of such a work as the Non-Slaveholder was designed to be, and encouraged by the number of friends who have come to its assistance, such as it is, we propose its continuance for another year. In no spirit of selfishness do we ask of our friends to use early renewed efforts for increasing our subscription list. We desire still further to extend the size of the publication, if the means afforded us will admit of it; and should those means exceed the cost, the surplus will be strictly applied to the cause of the oppressed.

A title page and index to the present volume will be sent with our next number.

INTELLIGENCE.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

DECISION OF JUDGE EDMONDS IN THE MATTER OF GEORGE KIRK, THE FUGITIVE SLAVE.

When the boy was before me on a former occasion no principle of law was involved, but mainly a question of fact, arising out of the return. On the present occasion, it is quite otherwise. The question now presented, is the constitutionality, and consequently the validity of a statute of our State.

It is not from any choice on my part, that I am called upon to consider this question. If my wishes had been consulted, the case would have remained with the Mayor, until he had decided it, and even then, I should have been much better pleased, if the review of his decision had been committed to some functionary whose other duties would have allowed him more leisure than I can command to examine it. But the party had a right to bring the matter at once before me; under our statute, I was bound to allow the writ of habeas corpus, even if I had been fully convinced of the legality of the imprisonment; and the return made to the writ, necessarily raising the question to which I have alluded, it becomes my duty to consider and decide it, a duty from which I am not at liberty to shrink, and which I hope I may be able to discharge, without partaking of the excitement which has surrounded the question from the beginning.

It is conceded on the record that George is a slave, owing service to a master in Georgia; that without the consent of the owner, or without the knowledge of the officers or owners of the vessel, he concealed himself on board the brig Mobile, in the port of Savannah, for the purpose of securing a passage to New York; that his being on

board was not discovered by the officers of the brig until they had been at sea two days on their return voyage, and had got without the territory of Georgia; that as soon as he was discovered, he was arrested and confined until his arrival in this port; and that on his arrival, the master of the vessel took him before the Mayor, to the end that he might obtain from the Mayor a certificate which should warrant him in returning the boy to the port of Savannah; that the owner of the slave does not demand him under the Constitution and laws of the United States, but he is demanded by the claimant, simply by virtue of his station as master of the vessel, and by virtue of a provision of our statutes.

Such are the facts of the case. The law applicable to it is to be found in § 15, 1 Rev. Stat. 659, which enacts that whenever any person of colour, owing labour or service in any other part of the United States, shall secrete himself on board of a vessel lying in any port or harbour of such State, and shall be brought into this State in such vessel, the captain or commander thereof may seize such person of colour, and take him before the Mayor or Recorder of the city of New York. The officer before whom such person shall be brought, shall inquire into the circumstances; and if it appear, upon proper testimony, that such person of colour owes service or labour in any other State, and that he did secrete himself on board of such vessel without the knowledge or consent of the captain or commander thereof, and that by so doing he subjected the captain to any penalty, such officer shall furnish a certificate thereof to such captain or commander, which shall be a sufficient warrant to him to carry such person of colour to the port or place from which he was so brought, as aforesaid.

It must constantly be borne in mind that the question before me does not grow out of, nor is it in any way connected with, an attempt on the part of the owner of the slave to enforce his rights under the Constitution of the United States and the law of Congress of 1793, but arises solely out of a State statute, which authorizes another person in no respect connected with the owner of the slave, nor acting by his authority, to transport him from our territory to the place where he had been held in bondage, and where again he may be returned to bondage.

In other words, while the Constitution of the United States gives to the party to whom the service or the labour may be due, the right to reclaim his servant, and the law of Congress extends that right to the agent or attorney of such party, it is claimed that the State Legislature has a right to

interpose and extend the right to a third person, not acting for or by the authority of the owner, but merely because he was the commander of the vessel on which the slave may have concealed himself, and because by such concealment, the commander may have become liable to a penalty.

Such is the authority which the Mayor has been called upon to exercise, and which it is insisted has not been, and cannot be, conferred upon him by the State Legislature.

Two objections are raised to this claim of authority.

1. That the provision of the Revised Statutes authorizing the proceeding has been virtually repealed by an act of our Legislature, passed in 1840.

2. That if it has not been repealed, it is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and therefore inoperative and void.

The conclusion to which I have arrived on this point renders an examination of the first unnecessary.

The section of the Revised Statutes under consideration is part of Title VII. of Chap. 20 of the first part, which is entitled, "Of the importation into this State of persons held in Slavery, of their exportation, of their services, and prohibiting their sale;" and is a revision of the act of 1817, entitled, "An act relative to slaves and servants."

The 30th section of the act of 1817, which contains the provision which has been incorporated into this 15th section of the Revised Statutes, is preceded by a recital that "whereas persons of colour owing service or labour in other States, sometimes secrete themselves on board of vessels while such vessels are lying in the ports or harbours of other States, and thereby subject the commanders thereof to heavy fines and penalties." And it is worthy of observation, that the act of 1817, as well as this title of the Revised Statutes, aims at prohibiting the exportation of slaves, and that while the act of 1817 abolishes Slavery after the 4th of July, 1827, the Revised Statutes declare that every person born in this State shall be free, and every person brought into this State as a slave, except as authorized by this title, shall be free.

It may well be questioned whether, as this slave was brought into this State in a manner not authorized by the Revised Statutes, he did not thereby, under our law, become *ipso facto* free, and whether this proceeding before the Mayor is not, therefore, in effect, a proceeding to carry a free citizen into bondage. But I do not consider that point, as it was not raised before me in the argument, was not discussed, and is not necessary to the decision of the question before me.

The broad question discussed, and which I am

called upon to decide, is, whether our State Legislature have authority to pass this law.

The point has never, as far as I can learn, been decided, or even agitated in our state, and it is presented to me not only as a new one, but in the imposing form of requiring from me a decision that a law of our state is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and therefore void. Fully aware of the diffidence with which courts should always entertain such questions, I approach this with all the caution becoming the gravity of the case, yet with a lively sense of what is due to personal liberty, and the fraternal relations existing among the members of the Union.

As I have already mentioned, the statute under consideration was first enacted in 1817, and was subsequently re-enacted and went into effect as part of the Revised Statutes, in 1830. In 1834, the Supreme Court of this state, in *Jack vs. Martin*, 12 Wend. 311, held that the law of Congress in regard to fugitive slaves, was supreme and paramount from necessity—that so far as the states are concerned, the power when thus exercised, is exhausted, and though the states might have desired a different legislation on the subject, they cannot amend, qualify, or in any manner alter it—that though the act of the state might not be in direct repugnance to the legislation of Congress, it does not follow that it is not in legal effect; that if they correspond in every respect, then the matter is idle and inoperative; if they differ, they must, in the nature of things, oppose each other so far as they do differ; that a fair interpretation of the terms in which the provision of the Constitution is expressed, prohibits the states from legislating upon the question involving the owner's right to this species of labour; and that while the law of Congress, thus passed, exists, the power of the states is suspended, and, for the time is as inoperative as if it had never existed.

The case of *Jack vs. Martin*, was carried to our Court for the correction of errors, and the judgment of the Supreme Court was affirmed. Though the reasons given for the decision in the Court of Last Resort, as reported, in 14 *Wendell* 507, differ from those given in the court below, the positions of the Supreme Court, as I have extracted them, were in no respect disturbed, but have ever since remained, and are now the law of the land governing the court and citizens of this State.

In 1842, the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*, 16 *Peters* 539, had the same question before them. It arose out of various statutes which that state as well as

New York and other northern states, had, from time to time, been enacting on the subject of slavery, and which contained among other things, provisions very like ours in regard to slaves who had absconded from other states.

Story, J., in delivering the opinion of the court, declares that the law of Congress may be truly said to cover the whole ground of the Constitution, not because it exhausts the remedies which may be applied, but because it points out fully all the modes of attaining the object which Congress have as yet deemed expedient or proper to meet the exigencies of the Constitution. And he adds:

If this be so, then it would seem upon just principles of construction that the legislation of Congress must supersede all state legislation upon the same subject, and, by necessary implication, prohibit it. For, if Congress have a constitutional power to regulate a particular subject, and they do actually regulate it in a given manner and in a certain form, it cannot be that the State Legislatures have a right to interfere, and, as it were, by way of compliment to the legislation of Congress, to prescribe additional regulations, and what they may deem auxiliary provisions for the same purpose. In such a case, the legislation of Congress, in what it does prescribe, manifestly indicates that it does not intend that there shall be any farther legislation to act upon the subject matter. The doctrine was fully recognized by the court in *Houston vs. Moore*, 5 *Wheat.* 1, where it was expressly held that where Congress have exercised a power over a particular subject given them by the Constitution, it is not competent for state legislation to add to the provisions of Congress upon that subject.

This is the supreme law of the land, which I am bound to obey, and is applicable to the case before me in this aspect, that while Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power over fugitives from service, has given the right to retake and reconvey them to the place of service, to the party to whom the service is due, his agent or attorney, the state legislation adds to the provision of Congress on that subject, by conferring the power of re-capture and re-conveyance upon the commander of a vessel on board of which the fugitive may have concealed himself.

If it may add, may it not diminish? And if state legislation once begins, where is it to end, and what bounds are to be set to it, but state discretion? Well, indeed, did our Supreme Court repudiate the idea that the framers of the Constitution intended to leave the regulation of this subject to the states, when the provision itself ob-

viously sprung out of their fears of partial and unjust legislation by the States in respect to it.

While this construction of the Constitution—though recent in its promulgation, yet old as the instrument itself—was conceded on all hands during the argument before me, it was contended that our statute did not fall within its destroying influence because it was only a police regulation, and, therefore, legitimately within the scope of State authority.

In 16 *Peters*, 625, *Story J.* qualifies the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, by saying that they were not to be understood in any manner to doubt, or interfere with the police power belonging to the States, in virtue of their general sovereignty. That police power extends over all subjects within the territorial limits of the States, and is distinguishable from the right and duty secured by the provision of the Constitution under consideration.

It becomes, therefore, material to inquire what is the police power here alluded to, and does our statute justly and properly fall within its scope?

In 16 *Peters*, the same learned Judge speaks of this power as conferring full jurisdiction on the States to arrest and restrain runaway slaves, and remove them from their borders, and otherwise to secure themselves against their depredations and evil example, as they certainly may do in cases of idlers, vagabonds, and paupers. The rights of the owners of fugitive slaves are in no just sense interfered with or regulated by such a course; and in many cases, the operations of this police power, although designed essentially for other purposes, for the protection, safety, and peace of the State, may essentially promote and aid the interests of the owners. But such regulations can never be permitted to interfere with or obstruct the just rights of the owner to reclaim his slave, or with the remedies prescribed by Congress to aid and enforce the same.

In *New York vs. Milne*, 2 *Peters*, 139, Mr. Justice Barbour, in delivering the opinion of the Court, applies this test to determine the nature of the power:—Did it belong to the State before the adoption of the Constitution? has it been taken from the States and given to Congress? or does it fall within that immense mass of legislation which embraces everything within the territory of a State not surrendered to the General Government? And the power then under consideration was held to be of that "mass," because its place of operation was within the territory, and, therefore, within the jurisdiction of the State; because the person on whom it operates was found within the same ter-

ritory and jurisdiction; because the persons for whose benefit it was passed were the people of the State; because the purpose to be attained was to secure the protection of that people, and because the means used were just, natural, and appropriate to those ends.

Complaint was made during the argument, that this police power was exceedingly vague, uncertain, and undefinable, and hence, I suppose, an inference was to be deduced that I ought to regard the claim of power with little favour at least. In the very nature of things it must be difficult, in few, or perhaps in many words, to define the power; for it comprehends an immense mass of legislation, inspection laws, quarantine laws, health laws, internal commerce, roads, ferries, &c. &c.

Yet, immense as is this mass, and various as are the interests embraced in and affected by it, it seems to me that the rules laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States, as I have already quoted them, and the tests which they provide, are plain and simple, and easy to be understood, and in their application to this case entirely decided and satisfactory in the result to which they lead us.

To apply first, the rules given us in the case of *Prigg*, in 16 *Peters*:

The police power "extends over all subjects within the territorial limits of the State," yet our statute does not confine its operations within our limits, but provides, in case the fugitive is from another State, for the return of the fugitive back to the place whence he fled.

We "may remove slaves from our borders to secure ourselves against their depredations." To transport the slave to Canada or Connecticut would effect this purpose, yet that is not allowed by our statute. He must, in compliance with its command, be returned only to his place of bondage.

"The rights of the owners are not to be interfered with or regulated."

Yet what is a compulsory return of the slave, with or without his owner's consent, to the place whence he fled, but an interference with or regulation of the master's right to control his movements and govern his person?

The State regulation is "not to interfere with the remedy prescribed by Congress." Congress has limited the power of recapture to the owner, his agent or attorney, but our State law has removed that limitation. Congress has protected the rights of the owner, by securing the reclamation to him and those appointed by him, yet our statute gives to the commander of the vessel the

power of transporting the slave beyond even the reach of the owner.

Such is the result of the rule furnished us by Judge Story. The application of Judge Barbour's tests will be found equally satisfactory and conclusive.

Is the power exercised in this statute one "embracing a matter within the territory of the State, not surrendered to the Government, and which can be most advantageously exercised by the State?" It cannot be most advantageously exercised by this State. It cannot, indeed, be exercised at all without the consent of the State from which the slave fled. Suppose that any slave State should forbid the return, to its territory, of a fugitive slave, could our law, commanding his return, be enforced? It could be enforced only by the national Government, and, therefore, the power has been surrendered by the States to the General Government. Such is the conclusion of our Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of the United States. Not an element, then, of Judge Barbour's definition is left to apply to this statute.

But to proceed with his tests:

We are to look at the place of its operation to see that the statute operates within the territory of New York; yet the main object of this statute plainly is, not the removal of the slave from our borders, but his return to the place whence he fled, involving, of necessity, the operation of our statute, without our territory and without our jurisdiction. Could it be more so if it provided that every vagrant arrested in our streets should be transported to and abandoned in the streets of Savannah?

We are next to look upon the person on whom it operates, to see that he is within the same territory and jurisdiction; yet this statute must, of necessity, operate both on the slave and the commander of the vessel more out of the State than in it.

We are next to look at the persons for whose benefit it was passed, to see that they are the people of our State. Yet this statute does not confine the power of recaption to the commanders of vessels, being citizens—it confers it on all commanders, reside where they may. And it is far from being limited to those for whose protection and welfare, in the language of Judge Barbour, our Legislature is bound in duty to provide.

We are next to turn our attention to the purpose to be attained to see that it is to secure that very protection and provide for that very welfare. The argument is, that this statute had its origin in the desire to protect our citizens from the evil example of having slaves amongst us, yet that very statute prohibits the removal of slaves from our territory

by highly penal enactments; and surely if the welfare of our citizens and their security from the evil example of Slavery were the object in view, it could be attained as well and far more easily by transporting the slave to a free State, which it prohibits, than to a slave State which it absolutely commands.

And lastly, we are to examine the means by which those ends are to be attained, so that they bear a just, natural, and appropriate relation to those ends. There is no special pleading, no refinement of reasoning that can disguise from a common understanding the fact that the whole object of the statute was, to allow the commander of the vessel to protect himself by retaking and returning the fugitive, and the means used, namely, the examination and adjudication by the Mayor, and his certificate, were natural and appropriate to that end, and to none other. If any other end had been in view—if the protection of our people at large had been aimed at—there would have been something compulsory in the law, something rendering it obligatory on the captain to afford us the desired protection. But everything is left to his discretion. If he pleases, he may retake, and, after retaking, if he pleases, he may return the slave to the place whence he fled. If the captain should chance not to be a citizen of this State, it would be difficult to discover how it could benefit this State, yet under no circumstances would it be difficult to see how it could benefit the owner to have his fugitive servant placed again within his reach. In every aspect in which I view this statute, I cannot help regarding it as intended and calculated to aid in returning a fugitive slave to his master; and it seems to me that the claimant in this case, and his counsel, have so understood the law, and have acted accordingly. Else why was the boy confined on board the vessel after her arrival here? Why does the captain plead his obligation to the laws of Georgia, when those laws compel him to return the boy to his owner? Or why, when George was making every effort, with the assistance of numerous friends, to escape from the State, did the captain invoke the aid of the police to arrest their efforts; and why does he now press this claim, but that he may do that which the Constitution and laws of the United States declares shall be done only by the party to whom the service is due, or his agent or attorney? I do not allude to these considerations for the purpose of even implying a censure upon the commander of the vessel or his owners, but solely with a view of drawing from his acts and those of his very respectable counsel, the consolation justly flowing,

that he and they do, in effect and from necessity, understand our statute precisely as I do, namely, in the language of the United States Supreme Court, as by way of compliment to the legislation of Congress, prescribing additional regulations, and what they deem auxiliary provisions for the same purpose.

It must have occurred to all who have given this subject much consideration, as it has to me, to observe the extreme watchfulness with which this provision of our national Constitution has been regarded by our highest courts. It is not worth my while to pause and inquire into the cause or the propriety of this. It is enough to know that whenever any State legislation, attempting to intermeddle with the question, has come before our highest courts, it has, without ceremony, been swept from our statute book. Our statute regulating and controlling the master's right of recaption, and allowing to the alleged slave the benefit of the writ of *homine replegiando*, fell before the decision of our Supreme Court in Jack's case.—The laws of Pennsylvania, running through a period from 1780 to 1826, and containing a provision like that now under my review, were overturned by the Supreme Court of the United States in Prigg's case; and I only discharge my duty—obey, indeed, merely one of its plainest and most simple dictates—by declaring that the rule of law thus laid down by the highest judicial tribunal in the country, and whose decisions I am bound to respect and to enforce, is applicable to the statute in question, and being applicable renders the statute null and void, and the arrest and detention of Kirk under it improper.

It will be observed that I have omitted to discuss many considerations which were pressed upon me during the argument. The view which I have taken of the case rendered their discussion unnecessary, but I will briefly allude to one topic, because, if the danger apprehended were to ensue, it would be the only cause of regret which I should experience growing out of this case. I allude to the penalty which it is averred may fall upon the Captain in case of his return to Georgia. I cannot persuade myself that there is any cause for the fear.

The slave was concealed on board his vessel without his knowledge or consent. He was not discovered until the limits of Georgia had been passed, and to have returned then to Savannah would not only have vitiated the Captain's insurance, but have rendered him liable in an action to the boy; and since his arrival in this port, he has resorted to every means which our law allows to return him to his place of servitude.—

And if he shall be finally defeated in his attempts, it will not be from any want of effort on his part, but from a determination on the part of the authorities of this State, to avoid State usurpation, and to maintain the Constitution as it has been interpreted by the highest tribunals in the country. It cannot be that under such circumstances, he can have any thing to fear from the penal enactments of Georgia.

If, however, contrary to all just calculation, those fears should yet be realized, our regard for the individual may not warp the law from its uprightness, though it may well excite our regrets that its integrity cannot be maintained without the infliction of unmerited suffering. This boy must at all events be discharged; the law allows it, and the court demands it.

POETRY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE DEATH OF THOMAS CLARKSON.

The good man's arms are folded now—

The great man's race is run—

The warm brave heart, and thought-worn brow,
Rest—for their work is done!

'Tis well! the fine gold back we give,

Ere it was changed or dim;

The curtain none can lift and live,
Falls between us and him.

It was not grief, it was not fear,

Feeling for tears too deep

Subdued us, when that white-haired seer
Serenely fell asleep.

As the word passed from lip to lip,

Silence upon us fell;

The way-worn man laid down his scrip,
Pilgrim his scallop shell.

Age moved more slowly on its way,

Less firm was manhood's tread,

And thousands bore themselves that day,
As present with the dead.

As the word passed from line to line

Of Freedom's allied host,

The answer came, "For us still shine
The footprints of the lost.

"To us his spirit sayeth still,

"Be faithful to the end!"

Not for ourselves, our sad hearts fill;—

THE SLAVE HATH LOST A FRIEND!"

When he was friendless, on his chain

Fell the great Clarkson's eye;

And in that hour, he vowed to gain

His brother's cause, or die!

He went forth, an enthusiast boy—
He fought, an earnest man—
He conquered,—and laid down in joy,
As only Christians can.

We thank Thee, Father! that on earth
Thy servant staid so long;
Thou gave his noble purpose birth,
And made his spirit strong.

Glory to Thee! his wayside seed,
In Faith and Patience sown,
Has blossomed for the bondman's need:
Glory to Thee alone!

And all o'er England's rich domain,
His spirit hath begot,
For her crushed poor, for Want, and Pain,
Friends,—and they know it not.

Beside the forge, and at the loom,
Amid the factory's din,
Where little children weave their doom,
His lineage looks in.

Around the labourer's cold hearth,
Where Want hath cast out Love,
Where Misery hath conquered Mirth,
Unseen his offspring move.

With hearts his life hath warmed, they come,
With steady souls and brave,
To lift a clear voice for the dumb,
To succour and to save.

We mourn him not! he did not go,
His great heart was not stilled,
Till all the streams that from it flow,
Had with his life been filled.
Philadelphia, 11th mo., 1846.

TO-MORROW.

From the Spanish of Lope De Vega.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

LORD, what am I, that, with unceasing care,
Thou didst seek after me,—that thou didst wait,
Wet with unhealthy dews, before my gate,
And pass the gloomy nights of winter there?
O, strange delusion, that I did not greet
Thy blest approach! and, O, to Heaven how lost,
If my ingratitude's unkindly frost
Has chilled the bleeding wounds upon thy feet.
How oft my guardian angel gently cried,
"Soul, from thy casement look, and thou shalt see
How he persists to knock and wait for thee!"
And, O, how often to that voice of sorrow,
"To-morrow we will open," I replied,
And when the morrow came I answered still,
"To-morrow."

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,
WILL BE OPENED ON THE TWENTY FIRST OF
THIS (Twelfth) MONTH, AT THE FRANKLIN HALL, No.
50 NORTH SIXTH STREET.

Its committee, on the approaching close of their annual
labours, invite abolitionists and others, to come and see
what they have been doing. They have been neither afraid
to beg, nor ashamed to work in a good cause, and the munifi-
cent donations of their open-handed, willing-hearted, British
friends, together with the results of their own exertions at
home, enable them to offer for sale various rare, beautiful, and
valuable articles, suited to the refined taste of Philadelphia.
Among these, are engraved portraits of distinguished persons,
such as Milton, Burns, Wilberforce, George Fox, William
Allen, Elizabeth Fry, John Angell James, &c.

Many valuable memorials of, and from the late Thomas
Clarkson, including his autographs, a note, the last he ever
wrote, locks of his hair in neat envelopes, portraits, and
drawing of his residence.

Drawings of the residences of F. Hemans, H. More, Bunyan,
Howard, T. F. Buxton, Joseph Sturge.

A bust of Montgomery, autographs, paintings in water and
oil colours, two volumes of Maury's drawings from the Ca-
raci.

Papier Mache articles, useful and ornamental.

Ornaments in iron, and bronzed vases, jugs, inkstands, &c.,
from Colebrook Dale, thermometers, two sets China, with
anti-slavery mottoes, games, books, and architectural plays
for children, and dolls; lamp and flower mats, worked on
wire; a new style of lamp shades.

A great quantity of knitted work, shawls, bags, purses, in-
fant's and children's clothing.

Free labor goods as follows: 5 pieces white shirting, 5 do.
muslin, 15 do. prints, 10 dozen sewing cotton, 10 lbs. stocking
yarn.

To all who do not entertain conscientious scruples against
Fairs, we would say, come, and spend your money where
money is needed, to keep the anti-slavery press in motion.
We believe that thousands who are opposing emancipatory
movements, know not what they do. It is not because they
lack feeling for the slave, or justice, but because they lack
information in regard to his terrible condition, and its de-
moralizing, enervating, anti-Christian influences, upon those
immediately connected with the atrocious system, upon them-
selves and their families, and upon the institutions of our
own common country.

To such as have made the mistake of classing the anti-sla-
very fairs with other fairs, we would say, the former are con-
ducted upon the principles of strict equity. There is no
trickery, no foolery, no practices permitted which could in any
wise offend the feelings of sober minded persons.

By order of the Fair Committee.

Philadelphia, 12th mo. 1st, 1846.

GOODS MANUFACTURED FROM FREE LABOUR COT-
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street (up stairs) Philadelphia, belonging to the Free Pro-
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sheeting Muslin; twilled Muslin and plaid cotton Hdk's; cot-
ton Laps, very superior; white and coloured Wadding; hose
and half hose very superior and heavy; knitting Cotton various
numbers.
5th mo. 26th.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER

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cor. of the Pennsylvania*



THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE, MAKES HIS BROTHER'S SIN HIS OWN."

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY

ABM. L. PENNOCK, SAMUEL RHOADS, AND GEO. W. TAYLOR.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.] PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 1847. [NO. I.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Stoke Newington, near London, 12 mo. 3d, 1846.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

ESTEEMED FRIENDS,—I think it desirable that you should be informed that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at its last meeting, held a week since, decided to issue an Address recommending the disuse of all articles of slave produce, as far as it is practicable. The Committee was well attended, and the resolution adopted with general concurrence. I rejoice in the circumstance, having for years past entertained the opinion that Christian consistency requires that we should abstain from the use of articles procured by dishonest and unrighteous means.

It was also resolved at the same Committee, that an expostulation should be prepared, addressed to British subjects who are implicated in slaveholding, as proprietors of Brazilian or Cuban mining shares, or as owners of slave plantations in foreign colonies. You are probably aware that some persons, including members of our own Society, (I speak of that of Friends) are proprietors of mining shares, partly or wholly worked by slaves; having bought the shares, without a knowledge of the fact in the first instance. It is clear, on a little reflection, that a very serious responsibility weighs upon such persons in order to avoid being partakers of other men's sins.

Both the documents to which I have referred will probably appear in the pages of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter. I am glad to perceive that the Reporter comes under your notice, and that you not unfrequently copy from its columns. The last number will, I think, be found to contain much matter of interest, including the concluding portion of the life of the venerable Clarkson. You will also, I doubt not, read with interest a short notice of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in Denmark.

I am much pleased with the 11th number of

the Non-Slaveholder, received yesterday. The comments on the religious instruction of the negroes, and on the cruel and wicked conduct of Capt. Hannum in the return of a fugitive slave to bondage, appear to me peculiarly just and appropriate. I also perused with satisfaction your remarks on the unblushing letter of Isaac E. Morse in defence of Slavery. His admission that "what was formerly confined to a few insignificant, misguided fanatics—now infects the high places of the republic, is heard from the pulpits, in the Fourth of July orations, at the exhibitions of our colleges, in the councils of the nation," is a cheering fact. Truth is great and will prevail, as we have every reason to believe, looking to past and present facts, and to that blessing which has attended and will yet attend every righteous effort for its advancement. May we all be found doing our part to promote that happy consummation when the reign of truth and righteousness shall overspread the wide surface of the earth!

I do not perceive any allusion in the Non-Slaveholder to the fugitive slave who escaped to New York and who regained his freedom in spite of the powerful effort made to restore him to his former state. What interest do these single cases of an escaped slave excite on behalf of an unhappy refugee, who has acquired a freedom of which he may be again, and is too often, stripped: what ought then to be the interest we should feel on behalf of the millions who are groaning under an iron bondage?

It is very satisfactory to me to perceive in a variety of American anti-slavery publications much evidence of the deep feeling which exists amongst you on behalf of the slave, and it is my earnest hope that our own religious body amongst you, may have the satisfaction of contributing in no small degree to the universal and speedy abolition of American Slavery.

With much regard, I remain

Your sincere friend,

GEORGE WM. ALEXANDER.

For the Non-Slaverholder.

WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?

"And Jesus answering, said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him; and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves? And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise." Luke x. 30-37.

In this instructive parable we may observe that several individuals are brought into view. First, "a certain man went down from Jerusalem toward Jericho." No doubt he was a Jew, and would naturally look to those of his own nation for assistance in his distress. He had fallen among thieves, by whom he was stripped of his raiment, and wounded and left half dead. When the priest came near, the poor wounded man, if he were aware of his presence and of his official character, must have felt that help was at hand. Surely, he, upon whose forehead were emblazoned the words, "HOLINESS TO THE LORD," (Exod. 28: 36, 38,) would feel it to be his duty to help a brother in distress. It seems, however, that his sense of duty was not strong enough to overcome his disinclination to put himself to some little inconvenience; and so he passed by on the other side. Next came the Levite. Again must the sunken spirit of him who lay by the wayside half dead, have been revived. Was it not reasonable that one of those whom the Lord had "taken from among the children of Israel," and hallowed instead of the first born, (Num. 3: 12, 13,) who were "given as a gift for the Lord, to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation," (Num. 18: 6,) whose every want was provided for so abundantly, should look with pity upon a suffering brother? But no such emotion ruled his heart. True, he "came and looked on him," but then "passed by on the other side." Deploable indeed must have been the situation of the poor naked and wounded traveller, had all who passed that way been alike unmindful of him. "But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was." Is it likely, that he, who found

himself deserted in the hour of need, by those of his own nation, of whom he had a right to expect assistance, would entertain the prospect of being relieved by the despised Samaritan? We are here instructed, that our sympathies are not to be confined to our own people. The kind Samaritan, "when he saw him, had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him." It does not appear that he hesitated for a moment, or stopped to inquire, is not this one of the nation of the Jews who are at enmity with the Samaritans, and who will have no dealings with us? But, actuated by compassion for a man in distress, he at once performed those offices of kindness which constituted him "neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves." Not satisfied with taking him to the inn, he did not depart till he had paid the host for taking care of him, and even pledged his word to pay more if required, when he came again. How natural would it have been to reason thus: I have relieved this man's present and pressing wants, I have rescued him from impending death and brought him to a place of safety and comfort; why should I concern myself more? Let others do their part. But the good Samaritan did not stop with any half-way measures. Carrying out the precept, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," he ceased not until he had done what he could to relieve his neighbour and put him in a condition to take care of himself.

Now, in many respects the situation of the slave is similar to that of the man who fell among thieves; with this difference, however, that the slave is continually robbed of his earnings, deprived of his liberty, and in a great measure shut out from the avenues of knowledge, important as it is deemed for our well-being here, and as an auxiliary to a preparation for an hereafter; while, in the latter case, the thieves merely took such property belonging to the traveller as they found with him; wounding him, it is true, and leaving him to perish if he might, but still in possession of life and liberty to avail himself of the help of others. When, therefore we remind our fellow-believers in the Christian religion that the slave demands our help, we merely ask them to act the part of the good Samaritan. Seeing that the assistance of many is necessary to extricate so many from the sad and distressed condition in which they are forcibly held by others, and in which their offspring are doomed to lie in sorrow after them, may we not properly call upon all participants of the Gospel of Christ to come to the rescue of those

whom He in the great judgment day will not be ashamed to call his brethren. Let none avert their Christian sympathy, and pass by on the other side. When we call upon Christians, as the friends of the distressed, to withhold their aid from this system of robbery and oppression, to withdraw the support which they furnish, by feeding and clothing themselves at the market supplied by the unpaid toil of the slave, let us not be told to attend to our scruples. "Attend to thy scruples," says one; "I respect thy scruples, and desire that all may attend to their persuasions of duty." Very well; but would such an exhortation given by the priest and the Levite to the good Samaritan have excused them from performing a similar part? It is instructive to remember the impressive words of the Saviour: "For I was an hungred and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink, &c." If, then, one cannot feel excused from performing an act of mercy or kindness to his fellow when in need, is it not of still more awful consequence to be daily lending our aid in oppressing our fellow-men, by giving the motive to those who deprive them of liberty, who extort their labour at pleasure and determine for them how little they shall be permitted to enjoy of its fruit; who tear asunder man and wife, in violation of the express command of Christ; who traffic in men, women and children, as if they had no souls. Reprehensible as was the conduct of the priest and Levite, depriving themselves of the noble character of "Neighbour to him who fell among thieves," few will deny, that they would have added to the crime of omission a more serious one of commission, had they overtaken the thieves and bought from them the clothing and other property taken from the traveller, and made a commercial arrangement with them to buy goods so obtained in future.

Let us not ask for the blaze of noon-day to light us out of bed; but up and be doing. Use the light which thou hast, and more will be given when needed. "As the day is, so shall thy strength be." Be ashamed to ask or wait for a special direction to save a drowning man, or to pull a child out of the fire. Nay! how dost thou dare to lend thy hand to thrust them in, or keep them there?

Who is neighbour to the slave? Reflect, reader! and answer for thyself. W.

For the Non-Slaverholder.

OBJECTIONS AGAINST A DISUSE OF SLAVE PRODUCE.

The advocate of abstinence from the productions of slavery, is often met with the objection,

that, so far as this measure would operate at all, it would bring ruin upon the slaveholder, and misery and starvation upon the slave. "I believe it right for me," said a Friend, "to purchase and use the productions of slave labour, in order to enable the master to feed his slaves." Here was a full admission that the consumers of slave produce are the supporters of slavery. This Friend seemed also to overlook the important consideration, whether his practice was right or wrong, and to act on the false principle that "the end justifies the means."

Several Friends were engaged; not long since, in conversation on the subject of slavery, and reference was made to a sentiment expressed by the Editor of *The Friend*, in 1829, Vol. 3, p. 68. "Once establish the practicability of an adequate supply for the demand of sugar and coffee, free of slave labour, and it appears to us, the downfall of the whole slave system must inevitably follow; for we cannot doubt the general disposition to give the product of free labour the preference." One of the Friends said he did not believe that such a result would follow. Another remarked, that so far as the opinion applied to countries where coffee and sugar are the staple products—Cuba, for instance—the effect would undoubtedly be the abolition of slavery. "Supposing this to be the case," replied the former, "what would be the consequence? Ruin and misery to the slaves!"

The same sentiment has been frequently avowed by Friends, in the hearing of the writer, and strongly urged against a disuse of slave labour products. But may not this question be appropriately put to such individuals: is it right to test the truth of a religious principle by our opinions of the probable consequences of its operation? It is very obvious, that on this ground, there could be no fixed principles of action. It is equally clear, that, if it be right to refuse to contribute to the "gain of oppression" by purchasing its fruits, no evil consequences apparently resulting from such a refusal could make it wrong.

"But to assert that the slaves must starve if we do not purchase the products of their labour, is assuming a fact without proof and against probability. Will the diminution of demand for these products give them more or less time to raise the food necessary to their own existence? Cut off wholly the demand for these productions, will it cut off the right arm of the slave—that power of labour which his Creator gave him by which to raise his daily food? Will the master, from sheer depravity, compel his slaves to be idle and to

starve, because others will not buy of him the productions of extorted labour?

"But suppose the slave would starve unless we contributed to his support: the question then arises in what way shall we so contribute as to make justice and benevolence coincident? To answer this, let us take a sufficiently parallel case. A man engaged in a piratical trade, sustains by it his wife and an innocent family of children. He applies to us to buy of him his ill-gotten wares, which we refuse to do on principle. He then urges that those who are dependent on him must starve, unless he can take back with him the means of supplying them with food. The appeal is made to us in such sincerity as to lead us to inquire how we can make our sense of immutable justice, and our inclination to succour the innocent and helpless, to act together consistently. What would be our necessary conclusion? Obviously this: to continue to reject the goods, and yet to give gratuitously the aid which we should deem due to the occasion."

The objection that both the slaveholder and the slaves would be injured by discontinuing the traffic and the use of the products of slavery, reminds me of the arguments, long and successfully employed, against the abolition of the slave-trade, by the West India planters, the Liverpool and Bristol slave merchants, and others who thought their interest would be affected by the change. They constantly asserted that the success of Wilberforce and his friends, would bring "*ruin and bloodshed to the Colonies, destruction to the masters, and wretchedness, tenfold worse than slavery, to the slaves.*" The committee in London for effecting the abolition of the slave-trade, said in their Report for 1790, "In the progress of this business a powerful combination of interests has been excited against us. The African trader, the planter and the West Indian merchant, have united their forces to defend the fortress in which their supposed treasures lie. *Vague calculations, and false alarms arising from them, have been thrown out to the public, attempting to show that the constitution, and even the existence of this free and opulent nation, depend on its depriving the inhabitants of a foreign country of those rights and that liberty which we ourselves so highly and so justly prize.*"

The selfish spirit and false views which are now in various ways opposing the abolition of slavery, appear in strong colours in the following remarks of Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Johnson:—"I beg leave to enter my most solemn protest against Dr. Johnson's general doctrine with respect to the slave-trade. I will resolutely say,

that his unfavourable notion of it was owing to prejudice and imperfect or false information. The wild and dangerous attempt which has for some time been persisted in to obtain an act of our Legislature to abolish so very important and necessary a branch of commercial interest, must have been crushed at once, had not the insignificance of the zealots who vainly took the lead in it, made the vast body of planters, merchants and others, whose immense properties are involved in that trade, reasonably enough suppose that there could be no danger. The encouragement which the attempt has received excites my wonder and indignation: and though some men of superior abilities have supported it, (whether from a love of temporary popularity when prosperous, or a love of general mischief when desperate,) my opinion is unshaken. To abolish a statute which, in all ages, God has sanctioned and man continued, would not only be robbery to an innumerable class of our fellow subjects, but it would be extreme cruelty to African savages; a portion of whom it saves from massacre or intolerable bondage in their own country, and introduces into a much happier state of life; especially now, when their passage to the West Indies, and their treatment there, is humanely regulated. To abolish that trade, would be to shut the gates of mercy on mankind."

The extraordinary opposition manifested by many Friends against abstaining from the purchase and use of the products of slave labour, and against any associated action, either within or without our religious Society, for procuring a supply of free produce, is not only in perfect accordance with the course pursued by those whose prejudices and interests were connected with the existence of the slave-trade, but is directly opposed to their own principles and profession as Friends.

The Rules of Discipline of our religious Society exhort our members "to be no way accessory to this enormous national evil, [the slave-trade,] but to discourage it by all the justifiable means in their power;" not to do "anything whereby [the slaves'] bondage may be prolonged;" nor to be "in any wise concerned in purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves, or by any means encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves." If we allow the slaveholders to be judges—and in this case it must, I think, be admitted that they are competent for the office—the decision has already been given, that to consume the products of slave labour is to be "accessory" to the slave-trade; and that the consumption of those products "encourages and countenances a traffic in slaves," holds mankind as slaves, "and prolongs their

bondage." How remarkably is all this illustrated by recent circumstances in Cuba! The British parliament passes an act which introduces the slave made sugars of Cuba and Brazil to the consumption of the people of Great Britain—the news arrives in Havana—the planters at once perceive that the demand for their sugars will be vastly increased, and of course, they must get more slaves—the price of these rises 25 percent.—the slave-traders illuminate their barracoons, and immediately despatch twelve slave ships to the coast of Africa! These facts contain a volume of arguments and should carry conviction to the heart of every consumer of slave products, that "THE SUGAR OF CUBA COMES TO US DRENCHED WITH HUMAN BLOOD. So," says Dr. Channing, "we ought to see it, and turn from it with loathing. The guilt which produces it ought to be put down by the spontaneous instinctive horror of the civilized world."

It is often denied that the exhortations of our Discipline, relative to an entire disconnection from the slave-trade and slavery, are applicable to the traffic in, and use of the products of slave labour. Let us briefly examine this sentiment. It seems that up to the year 1834, when our Discipline was revised, it interdicted specific acts connected with slavery: then a broad principle was adopted, prohibiting our members from the use of "ANY MEANS" which "encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves." It is, therefore, the letter as well as the spirit of the Discipline, that if there is ANY act done by a member which countenances or encourages a traffic in slaves, that act is to be the subject of religious treatment. Can any one doubt that the commerce, manufacture and use of slave products are means by which such traffic is encouraged and countenanced? If they be such means, they are clearly condemned by the Discipline. It is no answer to this view of the case, to say that the special act of using slave produce was not in the contemplation of the revising committee. They specified no act under this rule, and we are to believe they were led into this language for the purpose of uttering a general principle, existing in the Truth, to the test of which all our actions and practices are to be brought.

To elucidate this position still further, I may advert to the paragraph of our Discipline which says:—"We fervently desire that the members of our religious Society may carefully avoid engaging in any trade or business promotive of war; sharing or partaking of the spoils of war by purchasing or selling prize goods, &c." In what degree slavery itself is war, and how far the support of slavery is "promotive of war," are inte-

resting and important inquiries, to which I will probably recur at another time. For my present purpose it is only necessary to remark, that, excepting those cruel attacks of tribe against tribe in Africa, to procure slaves for the American market, "wars are not entered into simply for the sake of the prize goods which may be taken; but slavery and the slave-trade exist solely for the sake of the productions of the slaves' labour. In a higher sense, then, the duty of abstinence from these productions is obvious. We hold it is a violation of our testimony against war to use prize goods; why is it not, in a greater degree a violation of our testimony against slavery to use the goods which are its avails? We would be startled by the proposition that a Friend was 'in no wise' concerned in supporting war, or in countenancing and encouraging the evil, whilst he freely used its productions. Shall we be less startled at the proposition that he is not 'in any wise' concerned in purchasing, disposing of or holding mankind as slaves,' and does 'by no means encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves,' whilst he freely uses, buys and sells that, for the procuring of which slaves are held, and the traffic in slaves exists?"

A. B.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF COLORED ORPHANS.

The Managers of the COLORED ORPHAN ASYLUM offer their Tenth Annual Report, under circumstances not materially different from those which characterized the preceding year. For the maintenance of the Institution they are still dependent on subscriptions and voluntary contributions, made from time to time by humane individuals, who feel a special interest in their undertaking. For ability to employ these means, so as essentially to benefit and bless the children under their charge, they look to the Great Source of all good; with the hope that he will not only crown their present labours with success, but render their future efforts more single in purpose, and more far-reaching in their results. Though embarrassed by the difficulties which inadequate pecuniary resources continue to present, they feel that there are some cheering tokens, which forbid discouragement, and many reasons, in the retrospect of their history, for devout and grateful acknowledgment.

The receipts of the past year have been larger than those of the preceding one, but the Association is still encumbered with a debt. With the ample accommodations of their building, they

have not felt themselves justifiable in excluding those who have a decided claim to the benefits of the Institution.

The statistics are as follows:

Admitted since the opening of the Asylum, (310)	
Number of children at date of last Report, 139	
Admitted during the present year, 47	
Total, 186	
Present number, 158	
Indentured, 6	
Returned to surviving parents or friends, 15	
Deaths, 7	
Total, 186	

Although the number of deaths exceeds that in the last Report, the fact is not to be ascribed to any unfavorable change in the health of the household. Its general condition in this respect has been remarkably good. The children who have died, were the subjects of lingering disease, the seeds of which it is believed most of them brought with them into the Institution. With only one exception, they were the victims of prolonged consumptive complaints. The gratuitous services of Dr. JAMES McCUNE SMITH, as Physician, should be gratefully acknowledged. And the Managers have satisfaction in believing, that they have been blessed with success.

The schools have continued to flourish under the charge of the same approved teachers, in the different departments. The instruction, as heretofore, is little more than elementary; but it is believed is adapted to fulfil the intention of qualifying its subjects to be practically useful and exemplary members of Society.

The two young teachers, mentioned in the last Report, as taken from among the children of the Asylum, in which they have received their entire education, are becoming more capable and useful, and the general aptness and improvement of the children, is a standing refutation of the notion of their natural incapacity. Favorable reports have been received from most of those who have been bound out, and the annual letters from them are agreeable and encouraging testimonials. The Managers have ever insisted, that no education is really and permanently good, which does not serve to render the sense of moral obligation more powerful, and to enlighten and refine the moral perceptions. The principles which they desire to impart, are such as must ever make men more amenable to the civil authority, and more conscientious in the discharge of every so-

cial duty. If faithfully and intelligently acted upon, they will clothe every condition of life with the spirit of contentment and peace, and may be safely left to expand in the widest results, that the providence of God will allow.

System and good order continue to characterize the management of the house, and some important additions have been made to its comforts and conveniences. Among these it may be mentioned, that the arrangements of the Infirmary have been rendered more appropriate and conducive to the health and comfort of the invalids.

The Nursery School, which was recently established at the presentation of the last Report, has been very successful and interesting in its operation, and contains eighteen infantile inmates of the Asylum.

The larger children are to a very considerable extent made useful, in the house, and the more laborious part of the work, such as sweeping, scrubbing, washing, &c., are accomplished principally by their hands.

The Managers would refer to the Superintendent's Report of the products of the Garden, which has been a peculiar source of profit and interest, and has yielded an abundant supply of vegetables during the past season.

The Board feel themselves again compelled to advert to the subject of their funds. Their expectations are perhaps too easily exaggerated by hope, but they cannot believe that they will be reduced to the necessity of contracting their operations. Can it be, that in this community of churches and Christian observances, where wealth is so profusely lavished, the means should be withheld, or scantily furnished, of relieving the wants of neglected suffering childhood, and of infusing into the youthful mind and heart, useful knowledge and Christian principles? The support they have hitherto received has ever been gratefully appreciated by the Managers, but it has not yet been adequate for the full exercise of the forethought required, to provide advantageously and economically, the necessary supplies for the establishment. There is enough properly to occupy the attention of the Managers in supervising the details of the Institution, if the Association were entirely unembarrassed in regard to matters of finance. It would be far more agreeable to themselves, and they believe more beneficial to the children under their care, if instead of being occupied so frequently as at present in the solicitation of funds, they were more appropriately and efficiently employed in conducting the plans, which philanthropy has suggested, and modern

intelligence decided, to be best adapted to effect the purposes of such an Institution.

The Managers do not think it necessary to argue their cause with those, who are liberal and comprehensive in their views of Christian obligation. They only ask of such, amid the innumerable existing instrumentalities for the moral and physical improvement of mankind, of which the Gospel is the source and centre, to assign to this its appropriate place. They believe that the work is not of slight importance, nor merely of a temporary or private bearing. It is one of public interest, and so far as its results correspond with the principles on which it was established, will be a public blessing. If its effect on those brought under its influence, should be in any degree commensurate with these, the Managers will feel that however their wishes may for a time be baffled or limited, their efforts have not entirely fallen short of the success which has been so long and so earnestly desired.

New York, 11th Month, 27th, 1846.

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The following important communication has been made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to the First Lord of the Treasury.

"The suppression of the African slave-trade has long been ardently desired and earnestly pursued by the people of this country. Almost every means which private philanthropy or public benevolence could suggest, and which promised to realize that great object, have been tried. Successive Governments, with but few intervals of intermission, have for the last forty years exhausted the arts of diplomacy; and have employed a large naval force, in various parts of the world, to achieve the same end; but all efforts, whether public or private, have hitherto failed to extinguish the inhuman traffic; and must continue to fail so long as Slavery exists, and the demand for slaves, resulting from it, continues.

After twenty-one years of active and laborious efforts the African Institution left it on record, as the fruit of its experience, that 'It is in Slavery that the Slave-trade has its origin; it is the market provided by the slave-holder, which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it; and to the misery and desolation of a continent!' The fact, thus enunciated, indicates the true point of

attack—Slavery must be abolished before the slave-trade can be suppressed.

In conformity with this view of the subject, the constitution of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society lays it down as a fundamental principle, 'That so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade; and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings;' and, 'that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character.' To the peaceful extinction of slavery, the efforts of its executive Committee have been exclusively confined; and they now repeat their conviction, so often stated in memorials laid before Government, that the attempt to suppress the slave-trade by an armed force is not only vain in itself, but mischievous in its results."

The Committee then adduce various statistics to show the ground of their conviction.

"It is then incontrovertible that the coercive principle as applied to the suppression of the slave-trade has failed, that it costs this country an immense amount of treasure—that it wastes the health and lives of British seamen—that it aggravates the horrors, without sensibly mitigating the extent, of the traffic—and that some other means must be found, if ever this scourge of the human race be removed."

No hope can reasonably be indulged that the Spanish and Brazilian governments will fulfil their engagements for the suppression of the slave-trade. Their bad faith stands conspicuous before the world. It is vain, therefore, to expect their cordial and zealous co-operation in this great work. So long as slavery exists in any part of their dominions, the African slave-trade will be viewed as a necessity, and though not openly justified, will be secretly fostered and encouraged."

"What then, the Committee respectfully ask, is to be done? The Government having abandoned the policy of excluding the slave-produced sugars of the Spanish colonies and Brazil from the British markets; and opened the ports to their reception in common with the free products of free countries—a measure which they doubt not will greatly stimulate the slave-trade, and strengthen the system of slavery—there appears to them but the following means left to the Government of attacking it with success, and which they respectfully submit to its grave consideration."

First.—The Committee earnestly trust that Her

Majesty's Government will recall the cruisers from the coast of Africa, and abandon a scheme of coercive suppression which has been found, in operation, powerless for good, and productive of many and great evils. In recommending this course, the Committee feel that it is equally called for by justice and benevolence. A large annual expenditure of money and of life on the coast of Africa cannot be justified, when no end is really secured, but that of giving intensity to the miseries of the African slaves. The Spanish colonies and Brazil will continue to feed their plantations with new victims, in proportion to the increasing demands of commerce; and this country, it is now evident, cannot prevent them. To withdraw, then, from a useless conflict is necessary, and cannot be dishonorable. Should the Government, in view of all the facts of the case, resolve upon this step, the Committee would urgently recommend, that the funds that will be saved thereby, may be applied to the development of the free produce of British India. If, in any part of the British empire, the means of competing with slave-labour produce in the markets of the world, can be found, it will be found there. Possessed of boundless resources, both of soil and labour, all that is required is, that its means of internal transit should be perfected, the irrigation of its cultivable lands secured; its labour freed from all unjust restrictions; and that those great public works, the importance of which is universally admitted, should be prosecuted, in order to secure to the capitalist and to the farmer the fair reward of their risks and their toil. Were these things attended to without unnecessary delay, there would be no necessity for transporting, at an enormous cost, the laborers of India to the British colonies for the cultivation of sugar. The delta of the Godavery and the valley of the Ganges, would supply that article in the greatest abundance, and at the smallest cost. To carry capital to the plantations in British India is, in the judgment of the Committee, wiser than to transport laborers from British India to the plantations in Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad; or, to use your lordship's words in your despatch to Governor Light, on immigration, dated 15th February, 1840, 'it is mere matter of calculation to the capitalist what sugar will cost him to raise in Hindostan, to bring to England, and clear of duty; and, whether all this done, he can compete successfully with the Demerara planter. If he can, the sugar business will rise in Bengal, and the Coolie remain at home; the plantation will be found for the labourer, and not the labourer go to the plantation.'

Secondly.—The Committee respectfully suggest that Her Majesty's Government should require the liberation of all slaves introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil, contrary to the faith of treaties, and who are entitled by the law of those countries, as well as by treaty, to their liberty, without delay and without restriction. This would strike a blow at the root of the evil. The negotiations which Lord Palmerston formerly opened with the Spanish government on this subject, and which it is evident his lordship intended to apply to the Brazilian also, produced the most salutary effects. Though these negotiations were suspended during the period of Lord Aberdeen's tenure of office, they were never formally abandoned; and, it is now hoped, they will be renewed, and prosecuted with the vigour which their importance demands. Great Britain is, the Committee affirm, the guardian of the freedom of the vast multitudes of Africans who have been illegally introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil; and by exhibiting herself as such, in the eyes of the world, as she ought to do, she will do more to break up the atrocious system of slavery, and its horrible adjunct, the slave-trade, than perhaps by any other means now within her power.

Thirdly.—The Committee would further suggest, that measures should be adopted in relation to Africa, which should facilitate the operations of free labour on that continent. At present, even the British settlements do not enjoy the same commercial advantages with this country, as foreign states, in respect to the produce which they do or can raise. This anomaly in our commercial code, the Committee trust, will be remedied as early as possible; and that every kind of produce from the British African settlements will be admitted to the home markets on the same duties as those from the British colonies, and from British India.

The Government, the Committee are persuaded, possess the means, and they most earnestly hope they will be inclined to use them, for the overthrow of slavery, and the establishment of freedom throughout the world."

From the Manchester Examiner.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA.

Towards the close of last month, the Manchester Commercial Association addressed a letter to the Directors of the East India Company on the cultivation of the cotton plant in India. In that letter they drew attention to the increased consumption of cotton in this country, and ex-

pressed their fears that, owing to the diversion of land and labour to other products, the production of the article in America would rather diminish than increase. In their opinion, "a crisis in the cotton trade appears to impend;" and they are, therefore, extremely anxious that the Court of Directors should, by energetic, liberal, and comprehensive measures, clear the ground in India for the free exercise of British enterprise and intelligence in the culture of that most necessary article to this country, and especially to Manchester and the surrounding district. The association point out the prominent obstacles to increased and remunerative production, which are—the government assessment, or land tax, amounting in two presidencies to seventy-five per cent on the produce; the want of a regular local market for the ryot; the badness of the existing roads; the pressure of local transit dues; dishonest packing, and the ignorant or careless use of the saw-gin. The experiments of the East India Company have, they think, proved that American cotton can be grown in India, some of the earliest sown fields having this season produced 700lbs. per acre; and they contend, on the authority of experienced parties, that the cultivation "ought now to be transferred to the native ryot and merchant, who are prepared to take it up, and who could produce it, at least, fifty per cent cheaper than the Company." In reply to this letter, the Commercial Association have received the following communication:—

"East India House, November 17, 1846.

"Sir—I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 20th ultimo, stating that fears are entertained that the diversion of labour in America from cotton cultivation, for the purpose of increasing the production of sugar and other articles of food, will bring about a crisis in the cotton trade seriously affecting the manufacturer and operative in the northern districts of England, and urging, on this and various other grounds, the great importance of extending and improving the cultivation of the cotton plant in India by the removal of all obstacles that present themselves to an increased and remunerative production, by the establishment of local markets, and the construction of roads; and further pointing out the frauds that continue to be practised by the natives in India, for the purpose of increasing the weight of the cotton; likewise the injury to the staple by an unskilful use of the saw-gin; and also requesting on the part of the Manchester Commercial Association, certain information regarding the quantity

of cotton ordered by the Court of Directors to be forwarded to England, the arrival of which, you state, is expected with much interest.

"In reply, I am commanded to acquaint you, that the interest the Court of Directors have for many years manifested in the important subject to which you have drawn their attention has in no degree abated, and that there is reason to conclude that the exertions of the governments of India to improve and extend the cultivation of the cotton plant, and to introduce machinery for rapidly and effectively cleaning the cotton, are likely to be attended with the best results.

"I am commanded to add, that in order to test the success of the experiments which have been undertaken, the Court have given directions for the shipment to England of cotton to the extent of 5,000 or 6,000 bales, if procurable, from each presidency, in the expectation that the attention of capitalists in this country and in India will be thereby drawn to the subject, and that they will be induced to take advantage of the important improvements in the cultivation and preparation of East India cotton, effected through the measures which have been introduced for that object, at considerable expense, by the East India Company.

"I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) JAMES A. MELVILL.
James A. Turner, Esq.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH 1, 1847.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR!—In no spirit of levity, and with no affectation of an unfelt sentiment, do we approach our readers with this usual greeting of the season. Standing as on the brink of that portion of existence from next to which a Year has just slidden into eternity—ourselves spared to fulfil the uncompleted duties of Time, the occasion is well calculated to inspire us with truthful soberness. To be and do good—to love God and our neighbour—is to be happy; and to be this, is to have a happy new year. Co-labourers with us in the cause of the oppressed, we wish you the enjoyment of such a year!

THE PAST AND FUTURE.—The year which has just left us will be memorable for its events. In science, it has verified the received theory of the heavenly bodies, confirmed the formula by which their motion was computed, and added, in doing so, a new world to our solar system. It has perfected the means of an intercourse, between

distant places, quick as the flowing of mind, and has brought into existence a new agency of Death, which will probably make the cotton plant, in after time, as destructive of life to the white man, as, in the past, it has been to the black. In the arts, it has added new and valuable inventions. In the government and policy of nations, it has united ill-gotten Texas to our blood-stained constellation of States. It has commenced, for the yet further extension and protection of the system of Slavery, a cruel, bloody and unnatural war upon our sister republic of Mexico. It has opened a British market, with twenty millions of customers, to the slave-raised productions of Cuba and Brazil—adding tens of thousands of victims to the number of annual sufferers under that system of robbery and murder which belongs to the mode of these productions. It has opened, in effect, a new market in Africa to supply the fresh demand for men necessary to this virtual, additional, CANNIBALISM. The triumphs of Science have been great, the sufferings of Humanity greater; but there is a Power which can stay the elements of confusion and wrong, and we look to the future for a certain, speedy, illustration of it.

Fully cherishing this faith, we feel that we are not the less called to seek, by moral, self-denying, peaceful means, the subjugation of those elements in ourselves and others. It is through these means that He who is THE TRUTH delights to operate.

TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF COLOURED ORPHANS IN NEW YORK. We were much gratified by a visit, not long since, to the Institution which is the subject of this report. As we passed through its various departments and observed the order and neatness of their arrangements; the kindness and attention bestowed upon the sick; the efficient methods of instruction in the school rooms, and the promptness, intelligence and acquirements manifested by the children during the exercises, we were more than ever impressed with the high importance of this humane and interesting establishment. How beautiful it was to behold a hundred and fifty little children of both sexes—the despised descendants of outraged and cruelly oppressed ancestors—thus rescued from the depths of misery and degradation, and trained for paths of usefulness and happiness. Deeply was our heart affected when, in concert, they repeated,

"We are a band of orphans, we have no home or parents." The appeals of the devoted and indefatigable managers will, we trust, find a liberal response

from those who possess the means of aiding them, and appreciate the claims of an oppressed, despised and afflicted race.

Donations are received by the Secretary, Anna H. Shotwell, 105 Third Avenue, and the Treasurer, Mary Murray, 96 East Fourteenth Street, New York.

MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE PRODUCE. We give below from the London A. S. Reporter, a letter from a well known friend of the slave, the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, suggesting that a meeting shall be held at an early day for the adoption of some efficient measures to promote the use of free grown produce. This is an important and deeply interesting movement, in the success of which we should rejoice.

We have also the highly encouraging information that the Committee of the British and Foreign A. S. Society, have unanimously resolved to issue an address recommending the use of Free Labour Produce. In connection with this subject, we have placed under the head of Associated Action, some extracts from a communication addressed by that committee to the Prime Minister, soliciting the Government to recall the cruisers from the Coast of Africa, and apply the funds that will be saved thereby to the development of the free produce of British India; and also, that measures may be adopted to facilitate the operations of free labour in Africa.

These movements indicate the progress of sound and consistent views in relation to the individual responsibilities of those who deal in or consume the productions of slavery, and we confess that they not only inspire us to pursue our humble labours with renewed energy, but animate us with the hope, that the days of slavery will, ere long, be numbered.

We hope to receive the address of the Committee, and other interesting information in time for publication in our next number.

"To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter."

"It is well known to those who have taken an active part in the origin and subsequent proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that amongst the means to be employed by the Society is the following: 'To recommend the use of free-grown produce (as far as practicable) in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.'

"I am not about to enter at present into a lengthened argument in favour of the conduct thus recommended. If it be true that the receiver is as

bad as the thief, it follows clearly, in my opinion, that we are not at liberty to purchase needlessly the produce of a system involving not only wholesale robbery, but the commission of almost every wrong by which humanity is outraged and the just and benign precepts of the gospel are trampled under foot. But not only on the ground of high and sacred principles are we bound thus to act. If we look to the effect of the large demand for slave produce which has too long existed in this and other countries, we shall find that it has furnished, and still furnishes, the motive for the continuation and extension of slavery on a stupendous scale in the United States of America. In a similar manner, the demand in foreign countries for the staple articles of Brazil and the Spanish islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, occasioned a great addition to the slave population of those regions procured by means of the African slave-trade.

"We deeply lament that Great Britain is henceforth to afford a fresh motive for the prosecution of trade in men—that nefarious traffic—by becoming larger purchasers than heretofore of slave sugar; an event that has been hailed, as we are informed, by an illumination in the great slave mart of Cuba—the Havana. It is painful to dwell on these facts; but is it not time seriously to consider whether it is not a duty incumbent on the Abolitionists of Great Britain, and on those of other countries, to refuse any longer to contribute to the gain of oppression by the purchase of its fruits; whilst at the same time they use every other means in their power to promote the speedy downfall of a system hateful in the sight of a holy God, and of every enlightened Christian. It is the desire of the writer that a meeting should be held at an early day, consisting of the friends of the slave from various parts of Great Britain, to consider the propriety and practicability of carrying out to a far greater extent than has hitherto been done, the views briefly advocated in this letter, on which I shall be glad to receive communications from any of the readers of the Reporter, directly, or through the medium of its columns.

I remain, respectfully, thy friend,

GEO. WM. ALEXANDER.

Stoke Newington, 10mo. 31st, 1846."

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.—A Convention of about twelve hundred ministers of various denominations from America, and several countries of Europe, was held in London, in the Eighth month last, for the purpose of forming an "Evangelical Alliance;" the design of which, as des-

cribed by one of its members, is the "cultivation and extension of love, practical love, among the people of God; of union in heart, union in prayer, union in action."

In their deliberation on the terms of membership, it was proposed that slaveholders should be excluded; but through the opposition of the American ministers, this proposition was rejected, and it was left to the several branches on the continent of Europe and America to adopt, respectively, "such organization as in their judgment may be most in accordance with their peculiar circumstances." The final and complete organization of the General Alliance, was, consequently, deferred till another general conference. In the mean time, the several branch organizations are to be formed, and if, says a distinguished member of the Convention, they are found to introduce slaveholders into the communion of the Alliance, "the repudiation of the deed will then become our duty, and separation from those by whom the pollution has been wilfully contracted." The action of the Convention, however, gave great dissatisfaction to many of its members, who regarded it as an agreement "to hold the interests and rights of the bleeding slave in abeyance for years to come."

The British District Organization of the Evangelical Alliance, has recently been formed in Manchester. It was composed of about five hundred members of the leading denominations of Great Britain; and of that number only five dissented from a resolution which was adopted, "that no holder of a slave shall be deemed eligible to membership."

"This most gratifying fact," says the London A. S. Reporter, "cannot fail to tell with amazing force on the truly Christian sections of the church in the United States. We fully expect that the decision thus reached by the British Organization, will not only influence all who sanctioned it by their vote in their private intercourse with Americans, and other foreigners who may be implicated in the sin of slaveholding, but will lead them to use every legitimate effort in public, to promote the entire and universal abolition of slavery. We confess that we augur great things from this decision—a decision not hastily adopted—a decision which we believe was conscientiously arrived at, and which, while it will strike terror into the hearts of slaveholders, will pour the balm and oil into the bleeding wounds of the poor oppressed slave. That the decision will strengthen the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, we have no doubt."

WESTERN FREE PRODUCE CONVENTION. We have before us the proceedings of a meeting held at Salem, Indiana, on the 28th and 29th of the Tenth month last, for the purpose of devising ways and means for the promotion of abstinence from the products of slave labour, and for procuring a supply of free goods.

The meeting was organized by the appointment of a President and Secretary, and then proceeded to consider various important suggestions relating to the purpose of the Convention, which were judiciously resulted.

Among the measures adopted was the formation of a Society, under the title of the "Western Free Produce Association," having for the preamble to its Constitution, the following declaration.

"Whereas, we are convinced that Slavery receives its primary support from those who purchase the proceeds of the slave's toil, all other supports being mere guards to protect the slaveholder in the business of extorting these proceeds by brute force in order to obtain the money they demand in market; and as Slavery is an evil of the utmost magnitude, we deem it a duty of the greatest importance to withdraw as much as practicable this support and main spring from the system, and to induce the purchase and consumption of articles produced by free labour only. In order that measures and operations may be more effectually put in train to secure a supply of such articles throughout the country, and in order also that we may press the examination of the subject more earnestly upon the minds of the people, we hereby form ourselves into an Association, and agree to be governed by the following Constitution."

The Constitution establishes the name and reaffirms the principles and purposes of the Association, designates the officers and their duties, appoints annual meetings, and the manner of altering the Constitution, and recognizes as members all who acknowledge the principles and attend the meetings of the Association.

From the several resolutions adopted, which indicate a full determination to make the Association a highly efficient one, we select the following in reference to the establishment of a free labour store at Cincinnati.

Resolved, That it is important that a wholesale Free Labour Store be opened in Cincinnati in order that a due supply of free labour goods may be conveniently obtained throughout the western country.

Resolved, That books be opened for the purpose of obtaining the sum of 3000 or more dollars to be loaned by individuals without interest for five

years, in shares of five dollars each, to some person or persons suitable to undertake the establishment of such a store.

Resolved, That ten agents be appointed to act as financiers throughout the west, open the books, as contemplated in the above resolution, obtain the money if practicable, and loan the money as contemplated, and make report to the anniversary of the association next year."

The carrying out of these resolutions devolves on the Executive Committee, assisted by the ten agents appointed under the last resolution. We wish to the efforts of the committee and their assistants, all the success which the goodness of the cause in which they are embarked, should entitle them to expect.

THE FREE COLOURED POPULATION OF VIRGINIA.—We published, in our last number, some resolutions passed by a mob meeting in Mercer Co., Ohio, threatening to expel the coloured citizens from the county by force of arms. It seems that the Governor of Virginia has proposed to remove the free coloured people from that state—under cover of law. The injustice would be the same in both cases. The enactment of a law to accomplish an infringement of the inalienable rights of any class of citizens, can never change the character of the act itself. We view with alarm and abhorrence the atrocious proposition contained in the following extract from the message of the Governor of Virginia to the Legislature. Can it be that the Representatives from the Western Counties will so degrade themselves and their state as to sanction this outrageous plan?

"I regard our free negro population as one of our greatest evils, and to get rid of it as one of our highest duties. Great as may be the apparent difficulty of accomplishing this desirable measure, it would dwindle into insignificance under a bold and decided treatment. But all I now propose is the passing of a law providing that each county, at our next annual election, shall have the right to vote upon the question of removing the free negroes, within their respective limits, beyond the Commonwealth; that all counties voting affirmatively shall communicate the fact to the Executive, who shall be required to remove the free negroes within such counties, after six or twelve months notice; and that such population shall not thereafter be permitted to reside therein."

OUR PAPER AND ITS INFLUENCE.—As indications of the progress of the righteous testimony which we are endeavouring, however feebly, to advo-

cate, it gives us much pleasure and encouragement to receive, from various quarters, communications similar to one recently received from England, from which we take the liberty of making the following extract. We hope the time will come when Friends will deserve the good opinion expressed by the writer.

"I have perused the Non-Slaveholder with much pleasure from its commencement; and by the reading of it my views have been strengthened of the wickedness of the country in being the means of employing two and a half millions of slaves to grow cotton for our consumption. I think that Friends in America, and particularly in your city, must have much difficulty in bearing a testimony against the use of slave produce. To us, now, in England, it is comparatively an easy matter to bear a testimony against it: I am sorry, however, to say that, as regards the great body of people in this country, they 'do not heed the afflictions of Joseph,' by their making such free use of the recently imported sugars from Cuba, Porto Rico and Brazil.

"I have felt it very much upon me to encourage you to persevere in the good work and labour—indeed, all on your side of the Atlantic. It does seem, indeed, such a *practical* means of opposition to slavery. I think you can hardly estimate the good the 'Non-Slaveholder' will do in drawing the attention of Friends to the subject. Friends have only to be simply informed of the fact of their *direct* connection with slavery when using its products, and they will, I am sure, even at a sacrifice, abandon their use."

A further approval of our efforts, as also information of the latest movement of our British friends in behalf of abstinence from the productions of slavery, will be found in a letter, just at hand from our friend G. W. Alexander, which we present to our readers under the head of Communications.

MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—We have been furnished with the following resolutions, which were adopted at a late meeting of this Society. It may, we hope, be regarded as some evidence of an increasing desire to act consistently, that these resolutions were adopted without opposition. It is, however, one thing to resolve to do right, and another to do right. The members of the American Anti-Slavery Society pledged themselves, in the Declaration of Sentiments issued by their first Convention, to "encourage the labour of freemen, rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions." But this important mea-

sure has not only been neglected by abolitionists generally, but is even opposed by some of the most earnest advocates of emancipation. Adopting the motto—"No union with Slaveholders," they urge an individual withdrawal from all *political* and *ecclesiastical* connection with slaveholders, and seem to imagine this will fulfil their whole duty in the matter—forgetting that the *commercial* union with slavery is its main pillar. What would they think of a shopkeeper who should put "No union with Thieves" over his door, and yet purchase their stolen goods—telling the thieves how wicked they are to rob their neighbours, and yet encouraging them by his acts to bring him more goods! This case is precisely parallel with that of the abolitionist who adopts the motto—"No union with Slaveholders," and yet purchases the fruits of their robbery. When abolitionists return to the first principles of their organization, and *prove* their sincerity by consistent and self-denying action, we may hope for the full accomplishment of our object.

Resolved, That while we disclaim Ecclesiastical and Political Union with slaveholders, consistency, as well as adherence to principle, requires that we break the *commercial* bond which binds us in the unholy league with oppression—that we cease to build our 'house by unrighteousness, and our chambers by wrong,'—that we deny ourselves the blood-stained fruits of slavery, and that we 'have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness.'

Resolved, That the example set by the late lamented Henry Chapman & Son, of Boston, in so far 'despising the gain of oppression,' as to discontinue a lucrative connection in business with the south, is worthy of all imitation, and that as 'the memory of the just is blessed,' so will their light 'shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day' of universal freedom; revealing, to those who have not yet perceived it, the duty which rests on them to bear a like practical testimony against slaveholding."

BRITISH FUNCTIONARIES ABROAD.—By an act of Parliament, British subjects, wherever they may reside, are prohibited from holding slaves. To carry out the spirit of this law, the following order has been promulgated:—similar to the rule of our Discipline, which prohibits our members from acting as executors or administrators to estates where slaves are bequeathed.

Notice to British Subjects.—The undersigned has received instructions to publish, for the information of all British subjects, that Her Majesty's Government have come to the determina-

tion of prohibiting all British functionaries, residing in slaveholding countries, from administering to the estates of deceased persons, in cases in which slaves form part of the property of the deceased.

CHARLES DUNKIN WAKE,

H. B. M. Consul for the N. and S. Carolinas.
December 10, 1846.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE BOSTON ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.—There are many on both sides of the Atlantic who, themselves freely using the products of the slave's stolen labour, demand, in no measured terms, of the Free Church of Scotland, a return of the money it received, in aid of its religious operations, from American slaveholders—alleging it to be the price of blood, and that, therefore, it ought not to enter into the treasury of the Lord.

We are reminded, by the circumstances which belong to this case, of a scene which was once exhibited in Judea, in which the scribes and pharisees, more celebrated for imposing restrictions on others than for caring to carry them out in their own practice, brought to our Saviour a woman guilty of an offence, held to be capital under the Mosaic law, saying—"Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned; but what sayest thou?" "Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not. So when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself, and said unto them, 'He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.' And again he stooped down, and wrote on the ground. And they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last."

We would in no degree impair the high obligation which we consider rests on the Free Church of Scotland, to return the ill-gotten contribution which, in an hour of greatly obscured vision, it consented to accept; still there is a lesson of deep instruction in the above reminiscence, to those, who, condemning the reception by the church of the slaveholder's money, do themselves wear the clothes, and use the food, and trade in the productions which have been wrung from the slave's unrequited toil, and for which they have paid to the slaveholder the very money they now denounce as the price of blood, and which was only made such by their own act!

We have seen, with much regret, an advertisement of the anti-slavery women of Boston, asking for the presentation of "twenty pieces of American

bleached cottons," for the decoration of their splendid Fair; and which we expect was furnished to them. Twenty pieces of American cottons—bleached, did they require! Alas! no alchemy could remove the blood of the slave which was upon them. TWENTY PIECES—a truly significant number! It was for TWENTY PIECES of silver that Joseph was sold by his brethren into Egypt. It is for TWENTY PIECES of American cottons that the robbery of our brother of his rights, and his happiness, and the fruits of his toil, is assented to!

Our hearts fell within us as we read that advertisement in the Liberator. Memory carried us back to the time when a young man, fresh from the prison-house in Baltimore, and glowing with the love of liberty and truth, proclaimed in most touching language, in our city of Philadelphia the wrongfulness of southern slavery, and the equal wrongfulness of using the fruits of that vile oppression. There were those who then listened to his glowing yet truthful eloquence, into whom the words of this doctrine sank deep, and by whom they are cherished to this day.

Memory recalled to our view an assemblage of men from different parts of this union, convened "with one accord in one place," to consult on the slave's wrongs and devise a remedy. At this convention the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and a Declaration put forth to the world, stating its purposes and modes of operation. This Declaration, "done at Philadelphia the 6th day of December, A. D. 1833," pledged its signers and the body then organized—"come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation"—to abide consistently with its principles. Among these principles, it is set forth that every man is entitled to the products of his own labour, and among the means for their enforcement it is declared—"we shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions."

Memory, too, carried us back to a very eventful period in Boston, when it was no light matter to be an abolitionist, and when one of that number, being threatened with an exposure of his fanaticism in the south, to the injury of his southern trade, replied—"your intimation of loss in business comes too late—one of the first things I did when I became an abolitionist, was to give up my trade in cotton."

Where now is that young man, who once so splendidly advocated the principle of abstinence? Alas! nobly as he may feel that he is acting in other relations for the slave—touching this testimony, he "hath mixed himself among the people,—strangers have devoured his strength, and

he knoweth it not; yea, grey hairs are here and there upon him, yet he knoweth it not."

Where now is that Society, in regard to its promise "to the friends of liberty throughout the world," "to encourage the labor of freemen,—by giving a preference to their productions." Alas! it has treated this pledge as but a rhetorical flourish—it has done no act for its redemption—it has sold Joseph into Egypt for twenty pieces of silver,—the price of the difference of the cost, in treasure or convenience, between the productions of the slave's stolen toil, and the freeman's compensated labor.

And, on whom of his compatriots has fallen the mantle of Henry G. Chapman?—

SELECTIONS.

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THOMAS CLARKSON.

This distinguished philanthropist, was son of the Rev. W. Clarkson, formerly Master of the Grammar School at Wisbech. He was born in that town on the 26th of March, 1760, and received the rudiments of education under the care of his father. At twelve years of age he was removed to St. Paul's School, London, and subsequently graduated at St. John's, Cambridge. He was designed for the Church, in which he took deacon's orders, but subsequently abandoned the intention, and devoted himself to that great work, the abolition of the slave-trade, with which his name will ever be honourably associated.

It was in the year 1785, when Mr. Clarkson was twenty-five years of age, that his attention was first specially directed to the slave-trade. In that year, the enlightened Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Dr. Peckhard, gave out two subjects for Latin dissertations, the prizes to be competed for by the middle and senior bachelors of arts. To the latter he proposed the following theme: *Anne liceat Invitos in Servitutem dare?* or, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their wills?"

During the preceding year, Mr. Clarkson obtained a prize for the best Latin dissertation; and fearing that his reputation would be lowered in the estimation of his college, he determined upon a resolute effort to obtain the prize proposed by Dr. Peckard. Under the influence of this literary ambition he commenced his inquiries; but he soon found himself at a loss for materials on which to form an enlightened judgment on the African slave-trade, to which he considered the thesis to point. He therefore repaired to London where he obtained ANTHONY BENEZET'S *Historical Account of Guinea*. "In this precious book,"

he says, "I found almost all I wanted. I obtained by means of it, a knowledge of, and access to, the great authorities of Adanson, Moore, Barbot, Smith, Bosmon, and others." With this rich prize he began his work, which, as it grew upon his hands, produced a great revolution in his thoughts and feelings. The contemplation of the horrid facts which it revealed, soon dispelled the dream of literary distinction with which he had delighted himself, and induced him to produce a work of solid utility, rather than of brilliant execution. It would do injustice to the subject to substitute any other narrative than his own unaffected and touching one, of the change produced in him by the study of his subject. Mr. Clarkson says,—

"No person can tell the severe trial which the writing of it proved to me. I had expected pleasure from the invention of the arguments, from the arrangement of them, from putting of them together, and from thought in the interim that I was engaged in an innocent contest for literary honour. But all my pleasure was damped by the facts which were now continually before me. It was but one gloomy subject from morning to night. In the daytime I was uneasy. In the night I had little rest. I sometimes never closed my eyelids for grief. It became now not so much a trial for academical reputation, as for the production of a work which might be useful to injured Africa. And keeping this in my mind ever after the perusal of Benezet, I always slept with a candle in my room, that I might rise out of bed and put down such thoughts as might occur to me in the night, if I judged them valuable; conceiving that no argument of any moment should be lost in so great a cause. Having at length finished this painful task, I sent my essay to the Vice-Chancellor, and soon afterwards found myself honoured, as before, with the first prize."

The impressions of Mr. Clarkson were still further deepened on the occasion of his reading his essay in the Senate House, according to custom. On this remarkable period in his history, he observes:—

"As it is usual to read these essays publicly in the Senate House soon after the prize is adjudged, I was called to Cambridge for this purpose; I went and performed my office. On returning, however, to London, the subject of it almost wholly engrossed my thoughts. I became at times very seriously affected while upon the road. I stopped my horse occasionally, and dismounted and walked; I frequently tried to persuade myself in these intervals, that the contents of my essay could not be true. The more, however, I reflected upon them, or rather upon the authori-

ties on which they were founded, the more I gave them credit. Coming in sight of Wades Mill, in Hertfordshire, I sat down disconsolate on the turf by the roadside, and held my horse. Here a thought came into my mind, that if the contents of the essay were true, it was time some person should see these calamities to their end. Agitated in this manner, I reached home. This was in the summer of 1785."

From this time Mr. Clarkson's attention was absorbed by the question of duty. He feared that he was disqualified by his youth and inexperience for the great work to which his mind and heart were evidently directed. One thing, however, he felt was within his power. He could translate his Latin Dissertation, and that might have a tendency to abolish the slave-trade. Upon this he resolved, and commenced the work in November, 1785. By the middle of January, 1786, he had finished half of it, and enriched it with considerable additions. Having advanced to this point in his labours, he sought out a publisher. For this purpose he applied to Mr. Cadell, in the Strand, but the way in which he met the proposition did not harmonize with Mr. Clarkson's intentions, and he left him to attend an engagement in the city. What subsequently transpired, he refers to in the following terms:—

"In going past the Royal Exchange, Mr. Joseph Hancock, one of the religious Society of Quakers, and with whose family my own had been long united in friendship, suddenly met me. He first accosted me by saying that I was the person whom he was wishing to see. He then asked me why I had not published my prize essay. I asked him in return what had made him think of that subject in particular? He replied, that his own Society had long taken it up as a religious body, and individuals among them were wishing to find me out. I asked him who. He answered, James Phillips, a bookseller, in George-yard, Lombard-street; and William Dillwyn, Walthamstow, and others. Having but little time to spare, I asked him to introduce me to one of them. In a few minutes he took me to James Phillips, (who was then the only one of them in town,) by whose conversation I was so much interested and encouraged; that without any further hesitation I offered him the publication of my work."

Shortly after this he saw William Dillwyn at Walthamstow, and from him learned many important facts relating to the slave-trade and slavery as they existed in the United States, and of the measures which had been taken for their abo-

lition. "How surprised was I," says Mr. Clarkson, "to hear in the course of his conversation, of the labours of Granville Sharpe, of the writings of Ramsay, and of the controversy in which the latter was engaged, of all of which I had hitherto known nothing! How surprised was I to learn that William Dillwyn himself had, two years before, associated himself with five others for the purpose of enlightening the public mind upon this great subject! How astonished was I to find that a society had been formed in America for the same object; with some of the principal members of which he was intimately acquainted! And how still more astonished at the inference which instantly rushed upon my mind, that he was capable of being made the great medium of connection between them all. These thoughts overpowered me. My mind was overwhelmed with the thoughts, that I had been providentially directed to this house; that the finger of Providence was beginning to be discernible; that the day-star of African liberty was rising, and that probably I might be permitted to become an humble instrument in promoting it." The parties connected with William Dillwyn, in the object referred to, were George Harrison, Samuel Hoare, Thomas Knowles, M. D., John Lloyd, and Joseph Woods. The first meeting they held was on the 7th of July, 1783. At this "they assembled to consider what steps they should take for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa." They laboured privately, through the medium of the London and provincial press, and by the publication of books, the first of which, *Thoughts on the Slavery of the Negroes*, was written by Joseph Woods, a member of the committee. Mr. Clarkson was afterwards introduced to that eminent philanthropist, Granville Sharpe, the father of British Abolitionists, with whom he had many interesting interviews, and whom he discovered to be a distant relation by his mother's side.

In the month of June, 1786, his Dissertation, in its English form, was ushered into the world under the title of *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African*. He then commenced its circulation, and sought and found friends, in many directions, who greatly aided him in giving it a wide diffusion. Among those to whom he was introduced was Sir Charles and Lady Middleton, at Teston Park. Lady Middleton was deeply interested in the question, and urged on her husband the duty of publicly advocating the African cause. It was

on one of his visits to Sir C. Middleton, that Mr. Clarkson made the declaration—"I am ready to devote myself to the cause." On reflecting, however, on the declaration that he had made, and the various difficulties he would have to encounter, he became uneasy. He thought of the magnitude of the work—of the funds that would be required to prosecute it successfully—that whoever undertook it must make it the business of his life; but after a calm review of all the circumstances of the case, he felt "that if a man thought properly, he ought to rejoice that he was called into existence, if he were permitted only to become an instrument in forwarding it in any part of its progress." Yet when he thought of his profession and his prospects, he was staggered at the sacrifice he must make. Describing the conflict in his mind Mr. Clarkson says—

"I had been designed for the church; I had already advanced as far as deacon's orders in it; my prospects there, on account of my connections, were brilliant—and that appearing to desert my profession, my family would be dissatisfied, if not unhappy. These thoughts pressed upon me, and rendered the conflict difficult. But the sacrifice of my prospects staggered me, I own, the most. I had ambition—I had a thirst after worldly interests and honours, and I could not extinguish it at once. At length I yielded—not because I saw any reasonable prospect of success in my new undertaking, but in obedience, I believe, to a higher power." And, he adds, "I can say, that both at the moment of this resolution, and for some time afterwards, I had more sublime and happy feelings than at any former period of my life."

This was the mental and moral discipline Mr. Clarkson passed through to fit him for his part in the great work of slave-trade abolition. He communicated, personally, the resolution he had taken to the friends in London, and with them concerted the means for giving it effect. He was determined to proceed at once to the circulation of his Essay among the members of the legislature, to wait personally upon several of them,—and to proceed, as opportunity afforded, in enlarging his knowledge of the subject. Among those whom he visited was Mr. Wilberforce, who stated at his first interview, "that the subject had often employed his thoughts, and that it was near his heart."

This memorable interview with Mr. Wilberforce led to others, and finally to that illustrious man engaging to bring forward the measure in Parliament when better prepared for it, and pro-

vided no more proper person could be found. This resolution Mr. Clarkson was permitted to announce to his friends in London, who forthwith resolved to form a committee for the purpose of effecting the abolition of the slave-trade. On the 22nd of May, 1787, the following persons met for that purpose—viz., Granville Sharpe, Joseph Woods, Samuel Hoare, Jun., William Dillwyn, George Harrison, James Phillips, Richard Phillips, Thomas Clarkson, Philip Sansom, John Lloyd, Joseph Hooper, and John Barton, all of whom were members of the Society of Friends with the exception of Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, and Philip Sansom. At their first meeting, after taking the slave-trade into consideration, they resolved "that the slave-trade was both impolitic and unjust." Thus was laid the foundation of that mighty struggle for human rights which has, under the divine blessing, led to such glorious results. From this time the labours of these worthy men were unwearied, both in obtaining and diffusing correct information relative to the hateful traffic in human beings, and their treatment on the plantations in America and the West Indies. All the youthful ardour, the active industry, the persevering effort, and the indomitable courage of Thomas Clarkson, were called into requisition, and nobly did he fulfil the mission confided to his care. "For seven years," he says, "I had a correspondence to maintain with four hundred persons. I had some work or other annually to write for the cause. During this time I had travelled more than 35,000 miles in search of evidence, performing a great part of these journeys in the night. All this time my mind had been incessantly on the stretch upon one subject only, for I had no leisure to attend to my own concerns. The various instances of barbarity that had frequently come under my notice had vexed, harassed, and afflicted me. The wounds thus inflicted had been deepened by the cruel disappointment I had so often experienced by the reiterated refusal of persons to give their testimony after I had travelled hundreds of miles in quest of them." It was no wonder that with this pressure his health gave way, and that for eight or nine years he was compelled to seclude himself from active employment.

When in London, he was a diligent attendant on the committee, and was constantly occupied in forwarding, both in public and in private, the great cause he had so much at heart. It appears, however, that generally he was absent three months in every year, travelling throughout the kingdom, searching for and forming that great

body of evidence which proved of such signal service, in exposing the extent and the atrocities of the slave-trade, and in promoting petitions to Parliament.

Among the first religious bodies to notice the existence of the committee, was the Society of Friends. Faithful to their convictions of duty, they were led to express, in their yearly epistle, their thankfulness that among many, not of their body, there was a growing attention to the subject of negro slavery and the slave-trade. They were followed by the General Baptists, who stated that they approved their proceedings, and would countenance the object of their institution. The Baptists were followed by the Dissenting ministers of Devon and Cornwall, who expressed their high approbation of the conduct of the committee, and offered their services in the promotion of this great work of humanity and religion.

The first individual of importance that addressed the committee was Mr. William Smith, then a member for Norwich, who encouraged them in their work, and promised his co-operation. This excellent man, throughout the whole course of his parliamentary career, rendered the African cause the most essential service. He was the intimate friend of Mr. Wilberforce, and sustained him in his splendid parliamentary efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade. In the year 1791, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Muncaster, and Mr. Burgh, were elected members of the committee. Among the distinguished men who were added to the honorary corresponding members of the Society were General Lafayette, M. Brissot, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay.

The first report of the committee was published on the 15th of January, 1788. Adverting to the labours of Mr. Clarkson, they say, "To the abilities and unremitting assiduity of the Rev. Thomas Clarkson in these researches, the Society are much indebted." And to him they were eminently due.

It would be impossible to compress within the space allowed us the various incidents which stimulated the exercises of the committee from this period until the accomplishment of this work. It may be sufficient to say that, until providentially laid aside by ill-health, Mr. Clarkson was its grand moving spirit, and that on his recovery, he resumed, with his characteristic ardour, the great object of his life, until it was finished.

[A history of the efforts to abolish the slave trade, during a period of twenty years, we here omit.]

The eventful session of 1807 at length commenced. Contrary to the practice hitherto adopted,

Lord Grenville thought it advisable, that the question should be first agitated in the Lords. Accordingly, on the 2d of January, he presented a bill called, an Act for the Abolition of the Slave-trade; but he then only proposed that it should be printed, and lie on the table, that it might be duly considered. On the 4th, no less than four counsel were heard against it. On the 5th, the debate commenced. Lord Grenville opened the discussion by a very luminous speech. He was supported by the Duke of Gloucester, the Bishop of Durham, (Dr. Barrington,) the Earls of Moira, Selkirk, and Roslyn, and Lords Holland, King, and Hood. The opponents of the measure were the Duke of Clarence, the Earls of Westmoreland and St. Vincent, and the Lords Sidmouth, Eldon, and Hawkesbury. The bill was finally carried by 100 votes and proxies against 36. On the 10th of February, it was brought down to the House of Commons. On the 20th, counsel were heard against it, after which, by agreement, the second reading took place. On the 23d, on the question of commitment, Viscount Howick (afterwards Earl Grey) delivered an eloquent speech in its favour, and was ably supported, among others, by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stephen Lushington (now Judge of the Admiralty,) Lord Milton (now Earl Fitzwilliam,) and Sir S. Romilly. On the division, there appeared, for the motion 283, against it, only 16. Many of the old opponents, unable to resist the moral power of the question, either voted for it, or remained away. Such was the ultimate triumph of humanity and truth over self-interest and tyranny. On the 27th the bill went through Committee, and to the disgrace of Mr. Windham, he was found among its opponents. On the 6th of March, the Committee of the House met again, when Sir C. Pole moved that the year 1812 be substituted for the year 1807. This amendment produced a long debate; in which Sir Philip Francis, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Canning, and others took a leading part. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 125 against 17. The bill enacted, that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May, 1807, and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after the 1st of March, 1808. The bill was read a third time and passed without a division, on the 16th day of March. On Wednesday the 18th, Lord Howick, accompanied by Mr. Wilberforce and others, carried the bill to the Lords. On receiving it Lord Grenville moved that it should be printed and taken into consideration on the following Monday. In the meantime, the greatest anxiety was felt throughout the country for the

fate of the measure; the king (George the Third) having signified his intention of displacing the ministry on account of the introduction into the Commons of the Roman Catholic Officer's Bill. The bill for the Abolition of the Slave-trade, being an amended one, was to be again argued in the Lords, and to receive the royal assent. All these operations required time. On the 23d the Lords met. The bill was immediately brought forward. It was opposed by the Earl of Westmoreland and the Marquis of Sligo, and supported by the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Watson;) but here an omission of four words was discovered, namely, "country, territory, or place," which if not rectified might defeat the purposes of the measure. An amendment was immediately proposed and carried. Thus the bill received the last sanction of the Peers; Lord Grenville designating it as "the most glorious measure that had ever been adopted by any legislative body in the world." The amendment just mentioned caused the bill to be sent back to the Commons. On the 24th, Lord Howick moved its adoption, which was agreed to. The bill was carried back to the Lords, as approved of, the same day.

"But," to use Mr. Clarkson's language, "though the bill had now passed both Houses, there was an awful fear throughout the kingdom lest it should not receive the royal assent before the ministry was dissolved. This event took place the next day; for on Wednesday, the 25th, at half past eleven in the morning, His Majesty's message was delivered to the different members of it, that they were then to wait upon him to deliver up the seals of their office. It then appeared that a commission for the royal assent to this Bill, among others, had been obtained. The commission was immediately opened by the Lord Chancellor (Erskine,) who was accompanied by Lords Holland and Auckland; and as the clock struck twelve, just when the sun was in its meridian splendour to witness this august act, it was completed. The ceremony being over, the seals of the respective offices were delivered up; so that the execution of this commission was the last act of the administration of Lord Grenville; an administration which, on account of its virtuous exertions in behalf of the oppressed African race, will pass to posterity, living through successive generations, in the love and gratitude of the most virtuous of mankind."

We have glanced at these particulars for the purpose of recalling attention to the extraordinary labours of our venerable friend in the memorable struggle for African freedom. That he

preceded Mr. Wilberforce in active exertion there can be no doubt. Though less public and brilliant than the exertions of that truly great man, those of Mr. Clarkson were not less efficient. The fact is, that neither could do without the other. In their separate departments of labour, they were unrivalled; nor could either have done without the committee; this all felt. To attempt, therefore, to exalt any one party at the expense of another, would be equally unjust and absurd. To bestow praise on all, is due to the memory of all engaged in that glorious service.

In May, 1807, the African Institution was formed. Its objects may be briefly stated to have been to watch over the operation of the new law, to promote the abolition of the foreign African slave-trade, and to promote the civilization of Africa. As might be expected, Mr. Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and the other active and zealous friends of the African cause, were numbered among its office-bearers. In 1818, Mr. Clarkson visited Aix-la-Chapelle, where the great European powers were then holding a congress. On that occasion he had an interview with the Russian Emperor Alexander, who not only engaged to abolish the slave-trade so far as his own dominions were concerned, but to use his influence with other potentates for the same purpose. The African Institution terminated its labours in 1839, without having fully accomplished either of its objects.

The act for the abolition of the slave-trade was found defective in its penalties. Mr. (now Lord) Brougham moved an address to the crown for more vigorous measures against the traffic, both British and Foreign, which he carried through Parliament in 1811, by which slave-trading was declared to be a felony punishable with transportation. A subsequent act declared it to be both felony and piracy, and punishable with death. The latter penalty, however, has been repealed, and transportation now remains as the punishment in force against the slave-trade. In 1824, the acts for the suppression of the slave-trade were consolidated, and carried through the legislature by Dr. Lushington, whose labours in the cause deservedly place him in the first rank of its advocates. A subsequent act extends the provisions of the act of 1824 to British subjects residing in foreign countries as well as in any part of the British dominions. It may therefore be said, that the law against the slave-trade is now as perfect as it can be made.

The foreign African slave-trade, notwithstanding all the efforts to suppress it, still continues to

desolate Africa, and to feed the Spanish colonies and the empire of Brazil with innumerable victims. The fact is, the slave trade has its root in the system of slavery, and until that be abolished, it is in vain to expect the cessation of the traffic. The members of the African Institution became convinced of this long before it terminated its labours; and some of them, it may be said its most active men, formed the London Society for the gradual abolition of slavery in the British colonies. To this society Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Buxton, Dr. Lushington, Mr. James Stephen, Mr. Zachary Macaulay, Mr. William Allen, and others gave their most zealous support. In 1831, the society was aided in its object by the Agency Anti-Slavery Society, instituted for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the British colonies. The active labours of the two societies, and their auxiliaries throughout Great Britain and Ireland, accelerated by the dogged opposition of the West India party to all measures of reform, and the events which took place in several colonies, brought the nation to the decision that slavery must cease. An Act was therefore passed by the Imperial Legislature in 1833, which decreed the abolition of slavery in the colonies on the 1st August, 1834. It was, however, but a partial measure: it left the great bulk of the slaves in the power of their masters, as apprentices, until the 1st of August, 1840. The sufferings they endured in this condition, coupled with its manifest injustice and impolicy, again called the Anti-Slavery Associations into operation, and the zeal with which they prosecuted their labours led to the termination of the apprenticeship, amidst the unfeigned rejoicing of the friends of human freedom. Subsequently to this triumph, the Abolitionists of this country gave a wider range to their sympathies and efforts. They formed the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade. Of this society, Thomas Clarkson was the honoured president; and since its formation he was permitted to see the abolition of slavery in British India, in the British settlements in the East, and in Africa; so that, at the time of his decease, he could exultingly say there was no part of the earth's surface in which it was lawful for a British subject to buy or sell a slave, and no part of the British dominions in which it was lawful to hold or use a man as a slave.

Thomas Clarkson did not live in vain. He has left his impress on multitudes of living men, who sympathize with his principles, and are engaged in following up his efforts to free the whole hu-

man race from the scourge of slavery, and Africa from the curse of the slave-trade. Up to nearly the last moments of consciousness, when feeble both in mind and body, he did not cease to occupy himself with the abolition cause. His last public appearances were at the opening of the great Anti-Slavery Convention in June, 1840, at which he was welcomed with the respect due to his years and to his labours, by the representatives of the friends of African freedom, from all parts of Great Britain, the United States, France, Holland, the West Indies, and Haiti. His address on the occasion was both dignified and encouraging. It gave an admirable tone to all its after sittings. At the close of its proceedings, a great public meeting was held at Exeter Hall, the Duke of Sussex in the chair, supported by M. Guizot, the French ambassador, and other distinguished personages. There he again presented himself for the last time, publicly. The whole assembly was hushed into silence during his stay, in consequence of his infirm state of health. The scene was grand, impressive, and affecting; such only as could be produced by the presence of such a man. On that occasion he wrote to an old coadjutor:—

"Much remains to be done;—but take courage—be not dismayed—go on: my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause now, in the eighty-first year of my age, as it did at the age of twenty-four, and I can say, further, with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object."

Thomas Clarkson was the last link which united the Abolitionists of the present times with those of the past. May his spirit, and courage, and perseverance characterize those who have entered into his labours, until the great work of human freedom shall be successfully and for ever consummated.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

The proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance, and the discussions to which it has given rise, have developed the existence among us of not a few men, occupying important stations in the Christian ministry and in society, who not only hold that it may be lawful and even righteous, under given circumstances, to hold their fellow-creatures in slavery; but who justify the institution itself on the ground that it existed among the patriarchs, that it was allowed under the Mosaic dispensation, and that it is not forbidden by Christ and his apostles. These developments are truly alarming; and they become the more

so when it is considered that these men possess great influence in the church and in the world; that many of them are learned theologians, and that all of them are supposed to be pious, and some eminently so. Of course, if these men lived in a country where slavery was sanctioned by law, they would have no objection to sustain the relation of slave-holders. In their estimation it would be perfectly innocent to do so, and might even be virtuous. But these developments are not only alarming, they are manifestly dangerous. They who maintain the views referred to, are not infidels nor heresiarchs. According to their own protestations, they are orthodox and evangelical; and in the estimation of others, godly and conscientious men. Among them will be found ministers and members of the Established Church; ministers and members of the Free Church of Scotland; ministers and members of the Wesleyan Society; and, in fact, of the several leading denominations represented during the sittings of the Alliance. We deeply grieve to say this. We are pained to the heart that British Christianity should still be tainted by this corrupt and corrupting leaven. It weakens every effort to rescue the enslaved from his deep degradation and unparalleled sufferings. It closes up the sympathies of multitudes against the wrongs done to the slave; the wrongs done to his nature, to his rights, to his relations, to his prospects on earth, and to his destiny in the eternal world. When the Abolitionist thunders in the ears of the slave-holder, "It is not lawful for thee to hold this man, this woman, this child as thy slave," the cry is immediately heard, "God permitted it; the Bible sanctions it; the Saviour did not condemn it; the apostles recognised it;" and thus the conscience of the wrong-doer is soothed, and the monstrous evil perpetuated.

We are aware that the parties referred to qualify their defence of slavery by condemning, what they term, its abuses. They would not, for a moment, be supposed to sanction the application of the cart-whip or the cow-skin to the naked and shrinking flesh of the poor slave; they would not separate the slave-husband from his wife, nor the slave-mother from her child; they would not hunt the fugitive slave with blood-hounds, nor shoot him to death with fire-arms, if he persisted in his flight; they would not brand their slaves with hot irons, nor fetter them with heavy chains and iron collars, nor cast them into loathsome dungeons to pine away and die; they would not put out the eyes of their souls by keeping them in utter ignorance of the great verities

of the gospel. No! They shrink with horror from all this. They would be the gentlest, kindest, most humane, and patient of masters, and their slaves should be the happiest and best instructed of mortals.

Such are the visions in which these good men indulge. Their benevolent feelings, their sense of justice, their piety, would not allow them to go further than to claim the persons of their slaves as property. They would retain the thing without its incidents; and, of course, admitting the principle, they could have no objection that they themselves, their wives, and their children should be slaves, if the laws of the country in which they were found so ordained it, or the presumption, on the ground of colour, were against them. They who maintain that slavery is justified by Scripture, must admit that slavery is not restricted to any one portion of the human race, and that they themselves might as justly be held as slaves as the most swarthy negro from the wilds of Africa. The position they take is a two edged weapon, it cuts both ways, unless they mean to affirm that God has authorized the whites to enslave the blacks, or Christians to take the heathen for their inheritance.

Or, to look at the subject in another aspect, supposing they so far modified their views as to consider slavery unlawful when used for purposes of gain, and not for the exclusive benefit of the slave himself, does it not follow that all the poor, the illiterate, and the vicious, the minor, and the orphan, should be enslaved? Certainly, if it be right to hold any one human being as a slave for his good, it must be right to do so in all cases where that reason could apply. To enslave the Africans for their good was originally the plea set up to justify the slave trade; and is still used by the traffickers in human flesh to sanction their inhuman and revolting trade. It is this plea which has for nearly four centuries desolated Africa, and peopled the United States, South America, and the West Indies, with millions of victims who are doomed to perpetual slavery, and whose children, after them, through successive generations, are devoted to the same sad inheritance. In the mouths of those who use it, the plea proves too much, and is, therefore, worthless as a defence of slavery.

But has the Divine Being given his sanction to the principle of slavery? Has he authorized one portion of the human family to hold another portion of that family as slaves, and, if so, which? Certainly, if the Almighty allows one class of men to hold another as property, he allows them all the rights which inhere in property. They

may therefore be lawfully used for purposes of gain; they may be bought and sold and given away, as well as bequeathed. They may, when reluctant, be coerced to labour, as the ox is goaded to the furrow; when disobedient and unruly, be punished. If God has constituted men property, then they may be dealt with as property. It is absurd to reason otherwise. But to assert that God has done this is to place Him in hostility with himself, and in conflict with his royal law of love:—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and mind, and strength; AND THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF." Now we know "that love worketh no ill to its neighbour,"—neither to his nature—his rights—his relations—nor to his prospects for time or eternity. It is as full of justice as it is of benevolence: it respects both the person and the property of all men alike. It is without partiality. It covets nothing. It was embodied in the life of our Divine Master and Lord, "who went about doing good;" who taught his disciples that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," and left it as an authoritative rule of conduct to all: "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." Now this law is of universal obligation, and is binding upon all men. Will, then, those who defend slavery, undertake to prove that, in any form in which they can present it, it is compatible with the law of equity and love? They cannot. Take the case of the man who holds the slave, not for gain, but for his own good. Has God given to him the assurance of worldly prosperity, so as to render a change of circumstances impossible? If not—then this very slave may be seized and sold, in the public market-place, to pay his master's debts, and his misery become the more intense from the recollection that his old master, so far from exercising his legal rights over him, kept him in slavery solely for his own good. But supposing that the prosperity of his master continued uninterrupted, would that guarantee his life? At any moment he may be cut off, and, in that case, the poor slave becomes the property of his heir, whose opinions and character may be entirely at variance with those of his predecessor; or, what is more likely to be the case, the property left has to be divided. In that case a sale takes place, and this highly-favoured slave is put in the inventory with live stock, implements of husbandry, household utensils, and it may be a library of standard divinity; nor should we be surprised to learn that, in token of the piety of the defunct, part of the proceeds of the sale were directed to be given to the Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, or to some theological seminary for the education of pious youths for the ministry. In the meantime the slave is transported to Louisiana—the rest may be imagined. As an additional ingredient to the bitterness of his cup, he may have married, that is to say, he may have formed a union with another slave; for marriage is not recognized by the law of slave-states, and he may have become a parent. In that case, how will his heart be wrung by the separation—the eternal separation—from the objects of his affections. Nor is this all: This slave may have become a Christian; and that fact, so far from loosening his bonds, only enhances his price in the slave-market. So much for his thews and sinews—so much for his skill as a servant, or artizan—and so much for the grace of the Holy Spirit and the image of the Redeemer! We pause while we write this, involving, as it does, so great an outrage on our common humanity, and our holy religion.

We shall not deal in fiery denunciation of the men, who, unhappily, attempt to defend the system of slavery from the Bible, but feel bound to say that we abhor their principles, so far as they relate to this subject; and shall feel it to be a sacred duty to unmask them, inasmuch as we believe them to be practically infidel, anti-social, and anti-Christian; and, if our voice could be heard, we would entreat these men, as for our own liberty, to review the ground on which they stand, to peruse the unanswered and unanswerable Bible argument against slavery, which has, during the last few months, appeared in the columns of the *Reporter*, and which is yet to be continued. They are bound to refute that argument, drawn exclusively from the Scriptures, before they venture again to affirm that either the law or the gospel consecrates the system of slavery, or that it can be reconciled with the doctrines, the precepts, and the spirit of Christianity.—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

POETRY.

THE REFORMER.

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

All grim and solid and brown with tan,
I saw a Strong One, in his wrath,
Smiting the godless shrines of man
Along his path.

The Church beneath her trembling dome
Essayed in vain her ghostly charm;
Wealth shook within his gilded home
With pale alarm.

Fraud from his secret chambers fled
Before the sunlight bursting in;
Sloth drew her pillow o'er her head
To drown the din.

"Spare," Art implored, "yon holy pile;
That grand, old, time-worn turret spare;"
Meek Reverence kneeling in the aisle,
Cried out "Forbear!"

Gray-bearded Use, who, deaf and blind,
Groped for his old accustomed stone,
Leaned on his staff, and wept, to find
His seat o'erthrown.

Young Romance raised his dreamy eyes,
O'erhung with paly locks of gold,
"Why smite," he asked in sad surprise,
"The fair, the old!"

Yet louder rang the Strong One's stroke,
Yet nearer flash'd his axe's gleam;
Shuddering and sick of heart I woke,
As from a dream.

I looked: aside the dust-cloud rolled—
The Waster seemed the Builder too;
Upspringing from the ruined Old
I saw the New.

'Twas but the ruin of the bad—
The wasting of the wrong and ill;
Whate'er of good the old time had
Was living still.

Calm grew the brows of him I feared;
The frown which awed me passed away,
And left behind a smile which cheered
Like breaking Day.

Green grew the grain on battle-plains,
O'er swarded war-mounds grazed the cow;
The slave stood forging from his chains
The spade and plow.

Where frowned the fort, pavilions gay
And cottage windows, flower entwined,
Looked out upon the peaceful bay
And hills behind.

Through vine-wreathed cups with wine once red,
The lights on brimming crystal fell,
Drawn, sparkling, from the rivulet head
And mossy well.

Through prison walls, like heaven-sent hope,
Fresh breezes blew, and sunbeams strayed;
And with the idle gallows-rope
The young child played.

Where the doomed victim in his cell
Had counted o'er the weary hours,
Glad school-girls, answering to the bell,
Came crowned with flowers.

Grown wiser from the lesson given,
I fear no longer, for I know
That where the share is deepest driven,
The best fruits grow.

The outworn right, the old abuse,
The pious fraud transparent grown,
The good held captive in the use
Of Wrong alone—

These wait their doom, from that great law
Which makes the past time serve to-day;
And fresher life the World shall draw
From their decay.

Oh! backward-looking son of time!—
The new is old, the old is new,
The cycle of a change sublime
Still sweeping through.

So wisely taught the Indian seer:
Destroying Seva, forming Brahm,
Who wake by turns Earth's love and fear,
Are one, the same.

As idly as in that old day
Thou mournest, did thy sires repine,
So, in his time, thy child grown gray,
Shall sigh for thine.

Yet, not the less for them or thou
The eternal step of Progress beats
To that great anthem, calm and slow,
Which God repeats!

Take heart!—the Waster builds again—
A charmed life old goodness hath,
The tares may perish—but the grain
I not for death.

God works in all things; all obey
His first propulsion from the night;
Ho! wake and watch!—the world is gray
With morning light!

GENTLE WORDS.

We like the spirit of the following, by C. D. STEWART. Such poems, we believe, exert a beneficial influence. "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold on beds of silver."

A young rose in the summer time
Is beautiful to me,
And glorious the many stars
That glimmer on the sea;
But gentle words, and loving hearts,
And hands to clasp my own,
Are better than the brightest flowers,
Or stars that ever shone!

The sun may warm the grass to life,
The dew the drooping flower,
And eyes grow bright and watch the light
Of autumn's opening hour—
But words that breathe of tenderness,
And smiles we know are true,
Are warmer than the summer time,
And brighter than the dew.

It is not much the world can give,
With all its subtle art,
And gold or gems are not the things
To satisfy the heart.
But O, if those who cluster round
The altar and the hearth,
Have gentle words and loving smiles,
How beautiful is earth!

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER

Is published on the first of each month, at one dollar per annum for one copy, or five dollars per annum for six copies, and at the same rate for a greater number, payable in advance. Abraham L. Pennock, Samuel Rhoads, and George W. Taylor, are the Editors and Publishers; either of whom will receive subscriptions, payments, and communications. Letters and papers addressed to them, or endorsed Non-Slaveholder, directed to box 777, Philadelphia Post Office, will duly reach them.

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GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

Philadelphia, 1st mo. 1st, 1847.

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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 1847.

[NO. 2.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

If I have rightly understood the plan of your periodical, you are willing to diversify its pages by occasionally admitting disquisitions on other subjects than those which immediately relate to the slave. I send you, in this view, the first of a series of papers, intended to consist of but a few numbers, and which, if acceptable to you, will be furnished for insertion in your Journal, as my other engagements, and your convenience, will allow.

ALEPH.

BIBLICAL INVESTIGATIONS—NO. I.

Preliminary Remarks.

Few persons, if any, have gone into a profound examination of the Holy Scriptures without arriving at the conclusion, that the English translation of them, usually known as King James' Bible, is entitled to our high approval of its general accuracy, and its translators to our highest admiration of their intelligence and fidelity. This is not said in derogation of other versions in the English or foreign languages, whether protestant or catholic; for unimpeached intention and great research must be attributed to them also; and wherein they differ from the authorized version, first adverted to, the very difference is calculated to shed lustre upon the point which elicited the variance:—nor is it said to convey the idea that even this version is beyond improvement. None of the translations of the Bible, up to the present time, have probably been conducted by persons, however pious and prayerful, who were thoroughly imbued with the sentiment that wars and fightings of all kinds, were altogether contrary to the nature of that peaceable government which Jesus Christ came to establish upon earth. Nor were they made in view of the fulness of that sentiment, which, touching a portion of the Jewish law, was uttered by the Saviour:—"Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so." These translations bear the

unavoidable imprint of the translators' minds, and it is not improbable that, under higher convictions of the peacefulness and eternity of Christ's kingdom, various existing forms of expression in the respective translations would have yielded to other terms more in accordance with the superior light.

Numerous and decisive as are the testimonies of learned men to the great excellence of our authorized version, the erudite and orthodox author of the "Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures," Thomas Hartwell Horne, does not hesitate "readily" to admit that the existing version "is not immaculate, and that a complete correction of it is an object of desire to the friends of Religion, were it only to silence the perpetually repeated cavils of the opposers of divine revelation, who, studiously disregarding the various satisfactory answers which have been given to their unfounded objections, persevere in repeating them, so long as they find a very few mistranslated passages in the authorized version."

With great deference, then, to a version which has had the assent of Protestant Christendom during a period of more than two hundred years, and with an earnest and prayerful desire to be preserved from the suggestion of any variation from the received text which has not its evident foundation in the Truth; with a desire, too, to silence the cavils of those who array themselves against the divine inspiration of the Bible, founded on mistakes in the translation, it is my purpose to submit to the reader some errors, in that portion of it called the old testament, which, in my view at least, are clearly establishable.

To carry his mind with me into this investigation, it may be necessary for me to give, now, a very brief synopsis of the Hebrew grammar, adding hereafter such further illustrations of it as the occasions may call for.

Hebrew words may be divided into three classes; nouns, verbs and particles. A noun denotes a substance or quality. A verb declares the action or state of a being or thing. A particle is

used to connect words, and show the relation which exists between them, and also to give emphasis, and direct attention to them.

Nouns are substantive or adjective, as they respectively denote substance or quality. They have two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, singular and plural, but are without inflections indicating case. When, however, two nouns stand together in such relation that the latter would occupy the position of the genitive case in other languages, the former is said to be in *regimen*, or in the *construct state*, and frequently undergoes a change of termination. Nouns are usually traced to a root found in the third person preterite in the conjugation KAL, in which root rests the primitive sense of most words. Within nouns are included pronouns.

Verbs have three active and two passive conjugations. The active are KAL, which signifies to do, HIPHIL, to cause to do or be done, HITHPAEL, to do oneself, or to make or feign oneself to be. NIPHAL, is the passive of Kal, and signifies to be done, and HOPHAL is the passive of Hiphil, and signifies to be caused to do or be done.

Verbs have also three moods, Indicative, Imperative, and Infinitive; and two participles, the active or present, called BENONI, and the passive, or past, called PAOUL. The indicative mood has two tenses only, the past and future. The past tense, or participle active, is often used for the present time, whilst the future tense, supplying the place of the subjunctive or potential mood of other languages, is employed to indicate not only what *shall* or *will* be, but what *may*, *can*, *might*, *would*, *should*, or *could* be, and also what *has already been*, provided it was future or contingent to some other event before spoken of.

To make certain a coming event, it is usual to prefix to the verb its infinitive mood, or, as it is commonly termed, to double the verb. This doubling of the verb, also called its intense form, is represented in our English translation by the adverb *surely*, in connection with a single verb in the future tense. A negative prefixed to a verb gives certainty to a prohibition.

Particles hold a highly controlling influence over the signification of phrases. In return, the connexion often imparts to the particles a sense different from that in which they are ordinarily used. The rule of translation in the latter case is, *or ought to be*, to render the particle by a word the most proximate to its ordinary sense which the phrase will allow of, and never certainly by one which is at all questionable; it being preferable to retain a hebraism than to corrupt the text.

I have no doubt that errors, be they more or

less important, have crept into our version from want of a rigid attention to this rule. I shall have occasion to refer at a future time to, at least, one important illustration of this remark in the rendering of the particle *beth*.

In view of the range of construction allowed to the Hebrew future, the reader of the bible, with no desire needlessly to vary the English text, yet seeking the truth, cannot fail to observe many cases in which the mandatory would have been better supplied by the predictive or permissive form of rendering the verb.

Taking, as a lesser instance, the commandment to Adam respecting the trees of the garden, Genesis ii. 16—17, in which the verb *to eat* thrice occurs in the Hebrew future, and the verb *to die* once occurs, also in the same future, but in its doubled or intense form, he will probably prefer the following translation as conveying the idea that moral death was the necessary consequence of disobedience to God's law, rather than the arbitrary punishment of it.

And the Lord God commanded the man saying, of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou mayest not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou wilt surely die.

Taking, as a greater instance, the precept to Noah, Genesis ix. 6, and conceding, *for the present*, the accuracy of the version in other particulars, he will perceive the great temerity of the translators in placing the word *shall*, if they really attached to it an imperative sense, where *may* or *will* would have been the safer, and thus, to fallible man, the truer rendering. When, however, we perceive that the translators in many instances have used the word *shall* where the sense is obviously *may*, or *will*, we cannot but suppose they habitually attached to the word a less imperative sense than we now are accustomed to assign to it.

I conclude these preliminary views by the following rules, selected from Home's Introduction, and which are valuable guides to a just translation of the scriptures.

1. "In interpreting words that have various meanings, some degree of uncertainty may exist as to which of their different senses is to be preferred; yet the ambiguity in such cases is not so great but that it may in general be removed, and the proper signification of the passage in question may be determined: for the *subject-matter*, that is, the topic on which the author is treating, plainly shows the sense that is to be attached to any particular word."

2. "Another most important assistance for investigating the meaning of words and phrases, is

the consideration of the *context*, or the comparison of the preceding and subsequent parts of a discourse. If we analyse the words of an author, and take them out of their proper sense, they may be so distorted as to mean any thing but what he intended to express. Since, therefore, words have several meanings, and consequently are to be taken in various acceptations, a careful consideration of the preceding and subsequent parts will enable us to determine that signification, whether literal or figurative, which is best adapted to the passage in question."

3. "If the meaning of a single verse is to be ascertained, the five, six, or seven verses immediately preceding should first be read with minute attention."

4. "A verse or passage must not be connected with a remote context, unless the latter agree better with it than a nearer context."

5. "The parentheses which occur in the sacred writings should be particularly regarded; but no parenthesis should be interposed without sufficient reason."

6. "No explanation must be admitted, but that which suits the context."

7. "Where no connection is to be found with the preceding and subsequent parts of a book, none should be sought."

ALPH.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Founded in the City and County of Philadelphia by Charter from William Penn.

The institution of these schools originated in a concern felt by the members of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, for the establishment of a grammar school in that city. To this end the gifts and annuities liberally contributed by individuals, members of the religious Society of Friends, were entrusted to the care and management of a Committee appointed by that Monthly Meeting. Under its direction the business was conducted with such reputation and evident usefulness, as occasioned an encouraging increase in the means of sustaining the institution, and extending its advantages. The weight of the trust thus increasing, the expediency of a Charter of Incorporation became manifest.

In the year 1697, "upon the petition of Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, James Fox, David Lloyd, William Southby and John Jones, on behalf of themselves and others, desiring that a Public School for teaching and instructing children and servants, both male and female, might be founded," an order was granted

by William Markham, Lieut. Governor, and the Council of the Province, for the foundation of such a school. This was carried into effect, and the order was confirmed by the Proprietor in 1701, but not being sufficiently extensive in its powers and privileges, two subsequent charters were granted by William Penn, one in 1708, the other in 1711, under which the Corporation now act by the name of "the Overseers of the Public School, founded by Charter in the town and county of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania."

The following is the language of the preamble, "Whereas the prosperity and welfare of any people depends in a great measure upon the good education of youth and their early instruction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves by breeding them in reading, writing, and learning of languages and useful arts and sciences suitable to their sex, age, and degrees which cannot be effected in any manner so well as by erecting Public Schools for the purposes aforesaid."

In the charter William Penn directs that the common seal shall have engraved upon it his coat of arms, with this inscription, "Good instruction is better than riches." The Overseers, fifteen in number, are directed and enjoined in case of death, resignation, or removal of any of their number, to appoint a successor within forty days after due notice being given of such vacancy.

The first meeting recorded under the charter was held 4th of 10th month, 1712, present Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, Anthony Morris, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Jonathan Dickinson, Thomas Masters, and James Logan, who acted as Clerk.

Their minute states, "The said charter being read was received with grateful acknowledgments to the Proprietor, for his favourable care and regard to the welfare of this place, and the education of the youth of it, on which depends principally the happiness of the next generation."

The plan early adopted by the overseers, appears to have been, to build school houses and furnish them to teachers of suitable qualifications rent free, on condition of their receiving as many poor children as should appear reasonable, and instruct them in reading, writing and arithmetic. This is noted in the year 1730. Eight years after it is mentioned that the Latin tongue was also taught to the poor scholars gratis. The teachers were allowed to take pay scholars at reasonable rates, which were generally fixed by

the overseers, the course of instruction being probably as liberal as the qualifications of the teachers would warrant.

The minutes of the overseers show that they had great difficulty in procuring persons qualified to teach the higher branches of education. They corresponded frequently with Friends in London, soliciting their aid in procuring such for them, offering to pay the expense of their passage, and to give them salaries, considered no doubt liberal in those days. (£100 sterling, and 20 guineas for the passage.)

In the year 1742 appears this minute: "Any of the members of this corporation are desired to inquire for such poor boys among Friends as may be objects of charity, and recommend them in order to be admitted into the school to be taught gratis; and if a sufficient number cannot be found among Friends, then to admit those of other persuasions, till the whole school consists of thirty scholars." The same year Anthony Benezet proposed "to undertake to teach writing, arithmetic, accounts, and the French language, and the Overseers agreed to allow him the use of the school room, and the sum of £50 out of the public stock for one year, in consideration of his teaching fifteen poor children,—to which terms Anthony agreed."

A large and commodious brick school house was built in 1746, at the cost of nearly £800.

In 1748, at the request of the overseers, Robert Willan, of Scarborough, Yorkshire, was engaged by John Fothergill and John Hunt of London, to teach the Latin and Greek languages in the corporation school.

The solicitude of the overseers for the religious instruction of the scholars is frequently manifested, and in 1755 it was concluded to request the meeting of ministers and elders to appoint some of their number to attend meetings for worship, to be held in the school house with the children every three months. The following report was made after one of those meetings: "The Board was now informed that on the first sixth day of the week in this month (4th mo., 1756,) a meeting was held in the school house, at which most of the children in the several schools attended, and in general behaved well, and it is hoped received some advantage from the excellent and weighty advice and doctrine communicated to them by our worthy friend Samuel Fothergill."

They also exhorted the masters to keep the scholars to the frequent reading of the Bible, and frequently visited the schools, as the following minute in 1749 indicates.

"After much conversation on the present state of the schools, and the perusal and consideration of some proposals made by both the masters, (A. Benezet and R. Willan,) the overseers present being concerned to promote the laudable intentions of the first founders of the school, and to render the service thereof as beneficial and extensive as they can, have concluded it may be expedient once in each quarter of the year to appoint three of the overseers to visit the schools as often as they see it to be necessary, and that they should at least once within that time, make a particular inquiry from the masters whether the rules agreed upon are duly put in practice, and if in the course of their observation any further rules should appear to them to be necessary they are desired to communicate their sentiments thereon to the Board."

The capacity and usefulness of the schools steadily and largely increased. In 1759 it appears "that for several years past upwards of 200 children have been constantly taught in the schools, a large proportion of whom were orphans and poor children of the several different denominations of Christians, freely admitted and instructed at the expense of the institution, in the most useful parts of learning, and by this means some of them have been qualified for school masters, who are now of service both in this city and county."

In answer to a renewed application to Friends in London for teachers, in 1760, John Hunt writes, "Good and able teachers are greatly wanted here, and hard to be found. It therefore looks as if you must advance the pay, or not be supplied with a person properly qualified." "The education of Friends' children was weightily considered by our Yearly Meeting this year, and a proposal for the encouragement of masters and mistresses was agreed to,—if that plan should be put into execution we shall be in want of able teachers here." "However, our endeavours shall not be wanting to fulfil your request, and be assured it will afford us no small satisfaction to have it in our power to serve you and the Society."

The overseers in reply to this say, "in case of your meeting with a person fully qualified to answer our expectations, we shall not be averse to increase the salary proposed, rather than fail of obtaining such an one."

The following instructions issued in 1748 "for the Latin and English masters and mistress of the Public School in Philadelphia," appear to embody very fully the sound judgment and religious concern of our worthy forefathers.

First,—That they strictly enjoin and require their respective scholars to apply themselves diligently to their several studies in school time, not suffering them to idle their time away by talking, staring about, moving from place to place in the schools, or frequently running out upon any pretence; but enure them early to application and industry at their books which will render them an agreeable sight to every person that observes their diligence and decorum; be a reputation to their teachers, of singular advantage to themselves, both at school and in business when men, and highly praiseworthy.

That the Latin scholars be early accustomed to analyze or parse their several lessons, and the English to learn the English language grammatically; an exercise indispensably necessary for the correct writing the latter, and ready construing or writing the former, in which they should likewise be early employed.

That the foremost of the Latin boys be required to give, in writing, the most elegant translations or versions into English of the Latin authors they have read, whether prose or verse, that their capacity will allow, to be fairly transcribed and kept as copy books; by this practice they will more strongly impress upon their memories the language and subjects they are reading, improve their hand writing, style, and spelling; learn readily to write their native language correctly, with elegance; invite them to read history in English, give them a relish for the best English authors, and induce them to an imitation of their style and sentiments when they come to be exercised in composing English themes, or upon any occasions in public or private life.

Let not the scholars be allowed too frequent play days, and none upon such days as are commonly though improperly called holy days for reasons obvious to every sober minded person, that has observed the many disorderly companies that are strolling about at such times, both in town and country, which children will be too apt to mix with, and be in danger to imitate. But rather let their relaxation from study be the reward of their diligence or extraordinary performance at their books, and not to gratify an idle sauntering disposition, that will surely endanger if not ruin their morals and fortunes, if they are entitled to any; and if not, will effectually prevent their raising any for themselves. Such must be the consequence of an early and repeated taste of sensual pleasures, and an aversion from study and business. Yet when it may be thought convenient to allow them some relaxation from their studies, let it be understood not to be commenda-

ble in them often to desire it, for that is a concession to encourage them to pursue their studies more earnestly, when they return to their books, which are always preferred by men of sense before diversions or idleness, and therefore at such times especially they should have some easy tasks appointed.

Let the children of both sexes understand that they are required to be at meetings twice on the first day of each week, besides the week days already appointed, unless sickness, weather, or something very material prevent, and if any fail therein, let strict inquiry be immediately made for the cause, and no method omitted to detect and discountenance every inclination observed in them to screen or hide their misconduct in this or any other instance, by that truly mean and scandalous practice so frequent among children, of deceiving their parents and tutors by quibbling, equivocating and lying, a vice they should know is thoroughly detestable in the sight of God and good men, and worthy of correction more than any neglect of books, and, on the contrary, let openness, candour, and integrity be duly extolled and rewarded by proper instances of favour.

But above all, let there be frequent opportunities taken and every occasion employed to inculcate in their tender minds the necessity and advantage to themselves, both present and future, of strictly observing every social, moral and Christian duty, and let any breach thereof be more severely reproved than any other neglect, because all judicious parents will allow it is far more necessary and advantageous that their children be taught how to obtain the favour of God and religious men, than the language or sentiments of any Pagan poet or historian; and, therefore, as one great means to attain those good ends, let all the children be regularly required to read, thrice a week, some parts of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament. For the Apostle says, "They are able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim. chap. iii. verse 15—17.

[To be continued.]

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.]

Newport, (Indiana,) 29th Dec., 1846.

I take the liberty to enclose a paper prepared last fall, with a view to bring this project to the notice and consideration of the public; or at least

of those who duly appreciate the destitute condition of the coloured people in the free states, and our own obligation as friends of humanity, to aid them in their moral progress. The circular enclosed, was written with too much haste, and the whole subject presented in a more crude form than could be desired, if it had been intended for distant circulation. It is hoped, nevertheless, that it will afford you a general idea of our design and plan of operations in this undertaking. If you should judge it not inappropriate for the "Non-Slaveholder," its appearance in your columns might aid us materially in this work.

The erection of a boarding house is deemed by the managers to be indispensable to the successful progress of the school. The work is now going on, and will be completed some time in the spring. The managers had very much desired so to conduct the operations as not to become involved in debt; but this indispensable appendage, the boarding house, will go several hundred dollars beyond the amount of means as yet subscribed. Although the friends of the coloured man have done well, and come nobly up with their means to aid in this business, yet the imperative family claims on those in mediocrity of circumstances settling a new country, greatly limit and circumscribe their munificence; and of the more wealthy "but few are called" to sympathize or make sacrifices for the man of colour; or, if called, they have not obeyed the heavenly monition. Hence there is difficulty in obtaining the pecuniary means to carry forward any enterprise of a benevolent character, especially if such enterprise have for its object the elevation of the negro race in this country! Could contributions to this school be obtained from the friends of the coloured race in your city?

I would fill the rest of my blank space on the subject of free produce; but do not know that I have any thing to communicate that would aid in the good work in which you are engaged. It has been some two years since I removed from North Carolina to this place. I am aware that there is a considerable quantity of cotton raised by free labour in that state, and if a trusty agent could be found in the town of Fayetteville, I should suppose that several hundred bales might be collected and shipped from that point each year. A letter addressed to ———— would elicit full information on the subject. Mr. ———— is a member of the Society of Friends, and a man of business. I had the pleasure to labour with him in the Manumission Society from about the year 1815 up to the unfortunate period when the pernicious efforts of the Colonization

Society deceived many by its false pretensions to anti-slavery principles, disgusted others by its hypocrisy, and paralysed the Anti-Slavery, or Manumission Society, which at that time had forty organized branches in North Carolina.

With ardent desires for your success in the free produce enterprise, and with much esteem for the work's sake,

I am truly yours,

MOSES SWAIM.

CIRCULAR.

Newport, Ia., September, 1846.

SIR:—I am instructed by the Board of Managers to address you in behalf of the UNION LITERARY INSTITUTION; in the hope that the object of this School will meet your favourable regard, and through you be acceptably presented to the benevolent of your acquaintance, who may take an interest in the moral elevation of the African race in this country.

We cannot conceal from ourselves the helpless condition of this people;—proscribed by an unjust social prejudice—disfranchised by the State—unprotected by the law, and excluded from our Schools. Shall we make no effort to stay their downward course in ignorance and its attendant crimes?

A people is in our midst from whom all educational facilities are withheld, while their ignorance and moral degradation are insulted and spurned by a most unjust and capricious prejudice.

What is it but this prejudice against the coloured man, evoked through the legislation of the country, that surrounds him with disabilities, fits him for delinquency and crime, that it may visit him with punishment?

Can we trace to any other source those absurd legal and constitutional disabilities imposed on the coloured man? Can we reconcile their degrading effects and tendencies, on a numerous and increasing class of people in our midst, with any sound principles of political philosophy, or justify ourselves on any principle of Morals or Religion?

And are not the operations of our laws and social policy in reference to this people equally disgraceful to us, and unjust and injurious to them? Do not their moral degradation proclaim aloud the infamous triumphs of perverted Legislation, corrupted Morality, and abused Religion?

Does it not behove the benevolent and the good to make one effort to extend to this people the means to counteract, or at least modify, the force of a prejudice which has borne upon them

from earlier and darker times with such blighting power?

Disfranchised as are these people, and the protection of the law virtually withheld from their persons and property, yet we see individuals among them, by dint of native energy and perseverance, rising above the force of circumstances that surround them; triumphing over barriers thrown in their way, without uttering a complaint or betraying impatience of the laws that oppress them, or reviling the social caprice and folly that proscribe and insult them; going steadily forward, gaining a competence, approaching to wealth, and winning a moral and even intellectual character that should at once shame thousands of their white brethren and provoke their emulation.

With a people in her midst, holding the anomalous position of disfranchised citizens, our Republican State, whose municipal laws demand their obedience, punish their delinquency and tax their persons and property, around which they throw no adequate safe-guard, closes her Courts of Justice to their complaints. She excludes them from her Schools, and yet requires them to learn the relations and perform the functions of Citizens. What duties, as Christians and Citizens, do we not owe to these people and to the State? Shall we continue to seek in that depravity we have forced upon them, an excuse for continuing these proscriptive laws, and that social persecution, until we compel them again to flee!—Ah! whither, with their wives and little ones? And where shall they find shelter from the Legal, Social, and Religious tyranny which overshadows this land of their birth, in the nineteenth century? Or shall we not rather, out of the abundant means with which Providence has blessed us, extend to them the helping hand of brethren? Shall we not take them under the healing wing of Education until the day of their persecution shall have passed away, and the Government shall resume its proper and legitimate functions, *The protection of the weak against the strong, and the Education of every child in the State?*

Can any Christian citizen hesitate as to his course in relation to this people?—Can the enlightened Statesman withhold his co-operation in aid of an institution, having for its object their moral elevation, and consequent preparation to fill the relation and perform the duties of Citizens?

Such an Institution has recently been started ten miles north-west of this place, (Newport.) Though humble in its beginnings, it may be made the instrument of incalculable good, both to ourselves and to those who have become outcasts in

the land of their birth, and whom it is designed more directly to reach and bless.

It had its origin in sympathy and benevolent regard for these people. A few citizens of this State (Ia.) and Ohio made donations of small tracts of land contiguous, amounting in the aggregate to near four hundred acres; others contributed money and goods to the amount of some fifteen hundred dollars, which, with all future donations and endowments, are, and will be, rendered inalienable in the hands of five Trustees; who with six others chosen at different periods will constitute a Board of Directors to have a general supervision over the School, and control and direct its police and pecuniary matters.

While the great principles of the Christian Religion will be carefully inculcated, with a view to impart a high moral finish to the character of the Student, the School will be equally guarded against the biasing influences of Sectarianism and Bigotry.

It was not until the Autumn of the last year that the first movement was made in this undertaking, and the first donation given. Since that time a house has been built on the land large enough to accommodate eighty or an hundred pupils—a competent teacher has been employed—a farmer has also been engaged and located on the premises, and a *Manual Labour School* has been opened; where it is intended, so soon as the funds at command or in prospect will justify the Managers, to enlarge the accommodations for boarding and provide the proper facilities for teaching the higher branches of science, and prepare young coloured men to take charge of schools in different neighborhoods where they are so much needed.

Such, Sir, is a brief summary of the motives and design in founding this School,—of the principles on which it is to be conducted, and the progress already made. Permit me to ask at your hands a candid review of the present and prospective condition of that class of our population for whose benefit it is mostly intended. If your judgment and your heart approve the object, and regard with favour the plan, no further appeal is needed to your liberality for aid in the *pecuniary means* to give to it permanency and success. With this, the enterprise can be speedily carried forward to the most happy results: without such aid it must languish.

The undersigned will be happy to respond to all enquiries that may be addressed to him in relation to the School. He will receive and acknowledge such donations and contributions as may be transmitted, reports of which will also be re-

gularly published by the Board. He will also attend in person to calls that may be made by the friends of the coloured race, where it may be judged expedient to present their moral destitution and the claims of this School in their behalf more directly to the people. M. SWAIM,
Agent and Corresponding Secretary.

MONKTON, (Vt.) 1st mo. 9th, 1847.

To the Editors of the Non Slaveholder.

Several causes have hitherto prevented me from furnishing you, as you proposed, with some account of my late journey through a part of Virginia.

Although the principal inducement I had to visit Virginia was to discharge a duty to which I felt bound as companion to another friend, a minister, who was on his way to pay a religious visit to Friends and others, within the limits of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, yet I confess I was not wholly uninfluenced by the opportunity which the journey would probably afford me, of seeing with my own eyes, something of that institution which is attracting so much attention from the thinking portion of mankind. I also hoped that I might be able to obtain some information relative to procuring, through *free labour*, some of those articles in common use which are generally the proceeds of *slave labour*.

We spent only a few weeks in Virginia, including parts of the 9th and 10th months. Of the many meetings which we attended in that State, several were held in meeting houses that were evidently designed to accommodate a much greater body of Friends than generally assemble in them at the present time,—the balance having mostly emigrated to the western States, to avoid as much as possible the inconvenience of living in the midst of slavery. It is to be hoped that the unholy prejudice against the dark skin was not among the inducements which led them to forsake what might be called “advanced posts” in the moral warfare against this sin of sins. Of the few remaining, not a small proportion appeared to consider their hands materially weakened by those removals, to the no small loss of the nominally free blacks in the State. I confess it was by no means difficult to coincide with them in that sentiment, after hearing of the cases which frequently occur, where the liberty of those legally free is placed in jeopardy, requiring the friendly aid of some one on the spot, to have all the liberty that the law allows them, secured to the claimants. Many cases undoubtedly occur to which, from a variety of circumstances, the care of the few Friends now in the State cannot

be extended. As there is a willingness manifested by many slaveholders that I conversed with, to allow Friends to bear their testimony against slavery in their own way, plainly, if needful, it seems the more to be regretted that they which have removed, had not remained, and patiently endured, for the negro's sake, those inconveniences of which perhaps they have not entirely rid themselves by removing.

Whilst tarrying in the Old Dominion, if there was one conviction by which my mind was more particularly impressed, as connected with our duties to the American negro, it was, that we should embrace every opportunity that offers of furthering the intellectual and moral elevation of that portion of the race over which the slaveholder has neither a moral nor legal right to exercise authority.

Gov. Smith's recent message, although justly deprecated by the leading journals of Virginia, must necessarily be regarded as an index of the feelings towards the free blacks entertained by an influential class in this State. He speaks of them as “moral lepers,” and regards it as among the highest duties of the State to get rid of them. It has occurred to me that there is another and better way to cure them of their leprosy than banishment, and that is to educate them and treat them *courteously*. The law which stands opposed to their receiving an education at school, is so construed by many, as not to prohibit their receiving some instruction from the family in which they may be inmates. This instruction, of course, is extremely limited; the consequence is that the black population of the State is truly illiterate.

As long as this law remains in force, it is not to be expected that much can be done in Virginia, by the best combination of the friends of the coloured people; still, I think they are not entirely out of our reach. By the many small patches of rice which I saw waving triumphantly before the wind, I was assured that both the climate and soil of a considerable part of the south-eastern counties were favourable to the growth of that species of grain. Many persons, including some Friends, who do not own or employ slaves, would very cheerfully go into the culture of rice, if they could be assured of a market for it when raised, and I was informed by those competent to judge, that it could be delivered on board a vessel in James River, at Smithfield, for instance, at a price low enough to insure a favourable reception in the wholesale markets, after passing through the hands of the manufacturer, to free it of its husk. The quality of the rice, a sample of which I left with you, appeared to me to be nearly

or quite equal to that from Carolina. Another item in the account, which should not be forgotten is, that those counties that have suitable soil for producing rice, and where some Friends reside, contain also some thousands of Gov. Smith's “moral lepers” who would probably find employment in this business.

If such Friends and others, as have come to the resolution to no longer give their money patronage in favour of the *slave* system, would take some pains to throw that patronage into this part of the *free labour* scale, they may have the satisfaction of seeing more good result from it than many predict. First, the direct benefit which the free blacks of a part of Virginia would receive by this additional demand for their labour; and secondly, as far as their condition is improved by this bonus on their industry, so far will an obstacle be removed which blocks up to a certain extent an anti-slavery feeling, which unquestionably does exist in the minds of many who are numbered among slaveholders. I think, from the conversation I had with several Friends in that State, that I am warranted in saying, they coincided with me in this sentiment, and probably hold themselves ready to reply to any suggestions which they may receive upon this subject.

Trusting that the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia, will feel themselves warranted in forwarding to the Friends alluded to in Virginia, sufficient encouragement to induce them to make a beginning the coming spring,

I am your affectionate friend,

HENRY MILES.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Address of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Friends of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout the World,

ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE PRODUCE.

The abolition of slavery and the slave-trade through every portion of the territorial possessions of Great Britain, is, perhaps, the greatest event which has marked the progress of the present age. In it we cannot fail to discover the triumph of Christian philanthropy and national justice, over a system of heartless selfishness and inhuman oppression. By the laws which have been passed, millions of slaves have been emancipated, and their posterity, through successive generations, declared free. To measure the

misery from which these liberated slaves have been relieved, the degradation from which they have been raised, the privileges to which they have been exalted, and the blessings which they enjoy, would be impossible.

But whilst we are permitted to rejoice in this triumph of justice, humanity, and religion, we have still to deplore the existence of slavery and the slave-trade to an enormous extent, and under the most aggravated circumstances, in foreign countries. So long as they exist, we consider it to be the duty of philanthropists to use every practicable means for their removal; and hence, we earnestly call on the friends of the slave throughout the United Kingdom and the World, to combined and persevering efforts in promoting this great and good work.

The number of Africans and their descendants now held in bondage under professedly Christian governments, is estimated at upwards of seven millions. In the rice swamps and cotton plantations of the United States, nearly three millions of innocent human beings languish in slavery and chains. An equal number are compelled, under the dreadful stimulus of the slave-whip, to cultivate the vast territory of Brazil, and to work its mines; and about 800,000 more are driven to their toil on the sugar and coffee plantations of the Spanish colonies. To these we may add 400,000 who pass a wretched existence in the colonial possessions of France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. The variety and intensity of the privations and sufferings endured by these poor slaves can only be fully known to him who is omniscient, and “whose ear is open to their cry;” yet enough is known of their sorrow and degradation to excite the tenderest compassion for them, and the most earnest prayers and efforts for their deliverance.

In this brief statement of human wrong, one melancholy fact should not be forgotten. Nearly one half of the millions of the human race, now held in slavery, are women; and on them it falls with dreadful severity. Within the grasp of their brutal masters, neither the innocence of youth, nor the virtue of womanhood is respected. No law protects them from the deep pollution to which, in most cases, they are subjected.

The great extent and multiplied horrors of the African slave trade have engaged too much of public attention to require more than a mere reference. At the least computation, from 80,000 to 100,000 men, women, and children are torn from Africa annually, to meet the demands of the slave-markets in the Spanish colonies and Brazil. Yet these form scarcely more than one-third of

the whole number of victims of this dreadful traffic. From 150,000 to 200,000, besides those led into hopeless captivity, are estimated to perish in the wars engendered by it in the interior of Africa, in their transit to the coast, in their detention at the barracoons for sale, and in their conveyance across the Atlantic to their place of final destination and bondage.

In all countries where slavery prevails, especially in the United States, an immense internal slave-trade is carried on, under the most revolting circumstances. There, husbands and wives, parents and children, are publicly exposed to auction, handled and examined like cattle, and sold and separated without compunction or remorse; and in some states, they are reported to be raised like brute beasts for the market.

Our friends are aware, that during the past year an act of the British legislature was passed, which allows of the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the home market for consumption. The tendency of this measure is to extend and strengthen the system of slavery, and to give a dreadful stimulus to the slave-trade, by affording increased profits to the inhuman traffickers in their fellow-men, as well as those who build up their fortunes on their uncompensated toil. Under these circumstances, it is for Christian philanthropy, influenced by a deep sense of moral obligation, to counteract the effects of a commercial intercourse which invades human liberty, retards civilization, and destroys the life and the happiness of men.

This consideration induces us to direct your serious attention to the fourth rule of the Society, where, among the means referred to for promoting the abolition of slavery is the following, viz.: "TO RECOMMEND THE USE OF FREE-GROWN PRODUCE (AS FAR AS PRACTICABLE), IN PREFERENCE TO SLAVE-GROWN." This is a practical measure which all can adopt; it would be an efficient one, were all, who love the freedom of the human race, to follow it. Under any circumstances, as auxiliary to other measures, it could not fail to force the conviction on the minds of slaveholders, that we would not voluntarily be partakers of their crimes. In asking you to adopt this recommendation in your daily practice, permit us to suggest it as a matter of consideration, whether those who needlessly purchase slave-produce are less accessory to the crime of the slaveholder, than is the purchaser of stolen goods, to the robbery by which they are obtained? Slaveholding involves in itself nearly every crime by which the physical and moral nature of man is wronged and outraged. The slave is robbed of his person and the fair reward of his toil;—he is,

in a multitude of instances, deprived of the means of mental and moral improvement; and doomed, after a life of suffering, frequently to a premature death. It must be obvious to all reflecting minds, that it is the demand which exists for slave produce, which is the chief support of slavery. It is this which keeps open the slave-markets. May it not, therefore, be said, that to the commission of a great amount of crime, and the infliction of unparalleled sufferings on a large portion of mankind, do the consumers of slave produce, however unintentionally, furnish the motive?

The articles produced by slave labour, in common use, in this country, are principally cotton, rice, coffee and tobacco; to which sugar has recently been added. With the exception of cotton and tobacco, a supply of these articles, the produce of free labour, can be readily obtained. So far as we are individually concerned we can lessen the demand for slave produce by steadfastly and conscientiously refusing, where we have the power, its consumption. To carry this determination into effect may involve acts of self-denial; and the substitution, for a season at least, of other fabrics for those of cotton; but the conviction that by so doing, you lessen the toil of the slave, and withhold a great incentive to the slave-trade, will prove an abundant compensation for any sacrifice that may be made. It may also deserve remark, that in proportion as you limit the demand for slave produce, you increase it for free, and thus give a stimulus to human industry and commerce in the right direction. There is reason to hope that the experiments which are now being prosecuted in British India, and other parts of the empire, to increase the quantity and improve the quality of cotton will succeed, and that the difficulties which at present exist in manufacturing cotton goods wholly from the produce of free labour, will be removed.

It is an important and encouraging circumstance, that in the United States a Society has been established for the especial purpose of promoting the use of free labour produce only. As a personal and standing testimony against slavery, it is already producing excellent moral effects. We rejoice greatly in this fact, and would encourage our friends in that country, both in this, and all other legitimate efforts, on behalf of the slave.

To the female heads of families we would especially and earnestly appeal on this important subject, under the well-grounded persuasion, that their judgments and feelings will alike combine to lead them to the adoption of the course suggested in this address. They will not, we are convinced, turn a deaf ear to the cries of Africa, ravished of

her children; or consent, by their practice, to add a pang to the sorrows of the slave in the land of his captivity and exile.

In conclusion, we would observe, that it is far from our intention, by pressing on your consideration the disuse of slave produce, to induce a suspension or relaxation of other efforts for the abolition of slavery. It is to be regarded simply as one among the various means which may be used to awaken the conscience of individuals and the justice of legislators, and thus to promote the extinction of one of the greatest crimes by which humanity is afflicted, and heaven defied.

From the same.

ADDRESS OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

To British Shareholders in Foreign Mines in which Slave-Labour is employed, and to other Subjects or Natives of Great Britain who hold or hire Slaves in Foreign Countries.

Whilst anxiously and earnestly occupied in attempting to promote the abolition of slavery in foreign lands,—by which system upwards of seven millions of immortal beings are regarded in law, and treated in practice, as chattels, in countries professedly Christian; and whilst seeking the extinction of that traffic by which hundreds of thousands of Africans are annually condemned to death in their own land, or to bondage on a foreign shore;—our thoughts are naturally directed to the part which our countrymen yet take in these dreadful practices.

We are sensible that when we make an appeal to the people of other Countries against these iniquities, we shall be in some, if not in many instances, met by prejudices which would not be equally felt, did it come from their own fellow-citizens; and especially that familiarity with slavery and slave-trading, and the debasing effects of this familiarity, will do much to prevent a candid and just attention to our remonstrances. These remarks will not equally apply to you. You are not wholly unacquainted with our character; and you will not, we believe, generally doubt that our single object is to advance, what we consider to be, the just rights of our enslaved brethren, the sum of human happiness, and the honour and interests of that religion which you in general profess as well as ourselves. Neither have many of you been reconciled to the atrocities of slaveholding and slavetrading, by the frequent or constant sight of those practices. On the other hand, you know how indignantly the Christian public of Great Britain has risen up against them, and have caused them to be swept

from the British dominions. How hopeful, then, may seem to be our task of persuading you to perform that duty, which is evidently required at your hands, of giving liberty to those whom you now hold as bondmen—but we do not conceal from you or from ourselves, that the greatest obstacle to emancipation, the love of gold, exists with too many amongst you, as well as with the foreign slaveholder.

We proceed to state, so far as we are aware of the fact, the extent to which British subjects, or natives of Great Britain, are implicated in slaveholding in foreign countries.

There were several Brazilian mining associations, established about twenty years since, the shares in which are principally held by Englishmen. The mines belonging to these associations have been, during that period, and still are to a great extent, worked by slaves, the number of whom held as property, or hired, is estimated at about 2,000. In the Cobre Copper Company, in the island of Cuba, which is largely owned by British proprietors, the labour of slaves is also employed. We are unable to state the precise number claimed as property, or hired by that company, but there is reason to suppose that it amounts to some hundreds. We are not sure that the Cobre Copper Company is the only one principally sustained by British capital, and conducted under British management, in which slave labour is employed. Besides the slaves held by the Mining Associations in Cuba, we are informed that natives of Great Britain are concerned as proprietors of plantations, cultivated by slaves, both in Cuba and Porto Rico. In Surinam, a Dutch colony, there are a large number of plantations that belong to Englishmen and Scotchmen individually, or jointly with others. The slaves on these plantations, appear from the last Surinam Almanac to which we have access, that for 1843, to be not fewer than about 7,000, and constitute one-sixth, or nearly that proportion of the whole number of slaves in the colony. In the island of St. Croix, under the rule of Denmark, there are several plantations with slaves upon them, owned by, or mortgaged to British subjects, or natives of Great Britain.

Allow us now to call your attention to the extent of slavery and the slave-trade, and to some of the dreadful evils with which those crimes are accompanied, in the various countries in which you hold property in your fellow-men. Brazil and Cuba together contain nearly 4,000,000 of slaves, and are to a fearful extent engaged in the African slave-trade, the number of whose victims, brought to their shores, having often reached

or exceeded 100,000 annually. We need not remind many whom we address that this fact, painful as it is, represents only a small part of the horrors of the slave-trade, to supply which traffic wars are constantly waged in Africa, its villages plundered of their inhabitants, and large numbers of them destroyed by the hardships of the march to the coast, privations at the place of embarkation, and the intolerable sufferings of the middle passage. We have not adverted as we might have done to the cruelties endured by the slaves in Brazil and Cuba; but we may observe, that a principal cause of the great difficulty which exists in the suppression of the slave-trade in those countries, arises from the large demand for fresh hands, to supply the waste of life among those employed in the mines and on plantations. In Surinam a system of the most galling oppression prevails, and has, in a period of little more than twenty years, destroyed one-third of the slave population formerly existing in that colony. In the Danish West India Islands a large portion of the same class has also been destroyed by similar causes, and although the number of slaves in the Danish islands has within the last few years exhibited little decrease, or has been nearly stationary, that result is very far from satisfactory, opposed as it is to the general experience of all free countries. Not only is slavery a murderous system in the countries of which we have spoken, but some of the other features by which it is distinguished are scarcely, if at all, less to be deplored. We allude to the general neglect of intellectual, moral, and religious instruction among slaves—the severe labour usually exacted from them—the cruel punishments to which they are exposed—the deep demoralization incident to their neglected and unprotected state—and finally, the frequent separation of the nearest domestic ties, by sale or otherwise. These results, and many more that we cannot stay to particularize, are the natural fruits of a system founded upon violence and injustice, and which can only exist in a community by the commission of those crimes.

This system of slavery which we have imperfectly sketched, and the existence of which furnishes a never-failing incentive to a foreign or domestic slave-trade, you whom we address have now for many years sanctioned; and still sanction by your example—a consideration which we trust will be felt to be most serious and painful by not a very small number amongst you.

We rejoice to know that there are some, who having become proprietors of shares in a Brazilian Mining Association, in ignorance of the fact

that the company held or hired slaves, are not only dissatisfied with their position as slaveholders; but have besought those with whom they are associated, to restore to the slaves, belonging in law to the company, their rightful freedom. Permit us at the same time to express to you, of whom we have last spoken, and to whose conduct we look with the deepest interest, our decided opinion that you can only escape from being partakers of other men's sins, by a constant renewal of efforts similar to those made by you some years since, and by a frequent protest before the world, so long as your efforts are unsuccessful against an iniquity, perpetrated contrary to your earnest counsel and will. Such steps will, we believe, accomplish their object eventually, and we hope speedily, whilst we cannot doubt that you will feel satisfaction in these efforts on behalf of those whose dearest interests you cannot neglect without implicating your character as professed Christians.

The duty incumbent upon British members of foreign mining Associations who have hitherto taken no part in the attempt to procure liberty for the slaves, or who have opposed their emancipation, is no less imperative, than on the part of those to whom we have just alluded.—We beseech you, therefore, who have hitherto been indifferent or hostile, where the liberty of your fellow-men is at stake, to be so no longer. We beseech this of you by every consideration of honour, of justice, of humanity, and of religion. Thus may the blessing, and not the curse, of those who are ready to perish, come upon you!

We have heard it asserted that the example of the mild treatment of the slaves of an Anglo-Brazilian mining company, has promoted a better feeling towards that class of persons in Brazil. We possess information, which leads us to disbelieve the statements of the alleged treatment; but were it true, it must be the height of folly to suppose that such a circumstance would influence the conduct exercised towards any considerable portion of three millions of slaves, scattered over the vast territory of Brazil. An example of the abandonment of slaveholding by one, and still more by all of the Anglo-Brazilian Mining Associations, would, it may reasonably be supposed, excite no inconsiderable attention; and might be followed by some of the best disposed among the slaveholders of Brazil. It might also, by the discussion and consideration to which it would lead, prove the first important step towards the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in a country, where those crimes exist upon a stupendous scale. Our remarks on the conduct which we deem it

the duty of British holders of Brazilian mining shares to adopt, are no less applicable to the slaveholders of mines in Cuba.

We now direct ourselves to those of our fellow subjects who are individually, and not in connection with others, holders of mortgages of slave property in foreign countries.

To those who hold such property unconditionally, we submit that the duty is plain, at once, to give liberty to those whom they have hitherto unjustly deprived of that right. You have the unfettered power to perform this Christian obligation. Can you doubt that this act is required from you by Him who came to preach glad tidings to the poor, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; who, when upon earth, went about doing good; and who left this injunction to his followers, "whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do you even so to them."

To British mortgagees of slave property, we would say:—We deeply regret that by taking the persons of your fellow-men as a pledge, you have become slaveholders; and are consequently responsible for that crime and for the cruelties by which it may be, and generally is, accompanied. You are likewise accountable for the pernicious influence of your example. We entreat you at once to abandon your present conduct; and should those whom you now hold as chattels, fall into your hands from the inability of the mortgagor to repay the advance made, or from any other cause, on you will rest the duty of giving to those men, who are thus shamefully degraded, and wronged, their immediate freedom.

Some among those we address, hire, and do not otherwise use the labour of slaves. This, however, really is but another form of slaveholding. It may exist for a shorter period in some instances, than is often the case, when slaves are purchased or inherited, but it involves a participation in that injustice by which the slave is deprived of his freedom and of the fair reward of his toil.

We have not hitherto particularly referred to the case of slaves who are held or hired as domestics by Englishmen who reside in foreign countries, or by their agents. Although the treatment of these may, in some instances, be less severe and degrading than that of predial slaves, or of slaves employed in mines, it is liable to the same insuperable objection which exists to all slavery, in the right claimed over the person of the bondman, and in his uncompensated labour. The almost unlimited power possessed in this, as well as in all other cases of slaveholding, is also,

in a vast number of instances, attended with a large amount of cruelty.

It may be proper that we should briefly notice the allegations easily made, and which we have seen made in one instance, of superior treatment of slaves on the part of companies in which British interests are largely represented, or of individual British slaveholders. It would not be difficult to prove, that the mode of treatment adopted not only by certain mining companies, but by other proprietors, towards their slaves, affords much ground for dissatisfaction apart from the essential wickedness of the system. This might be shewn by the large mortality among the slaves, in many instances, or in other ways equally decisive. A similar pretence of superior treatment we have heard advanced on behalf of slaves, under the rule of subjects of nearly every slaveholding country of Europe, and to those of America and Brazil. If the statement were true in some cases, it does not lessen the duty which devolves upon all slaveholders of abandoning a practice irreconcilable with the first principles of morality, and over which the cases we have supposed throw a partial and delusive gloss.

In conclusion, we once more beseech each one of you, whom we have addressed, that, for the sake of the slave—for your own sake—in order to maintain a conscience void of offence, and a character without reproach—for the sake of your country's honour; and above all, that you may obey the precepts and promote the advancement of that holy religion which you profess—that you at once take measures to restore to the victims of an intolerable and unchristian oppression, that liberty, to which they have a right no less sacred than your own.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH 1, 1847.

A SEASONABLE WARNING.—Our observation of the course pursued by a numerous portion of the religious community in relation to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, has long since brought us to the conclusion that not only do they stand in the way of the slave's emancipation, by denouncing whatever efforts are being made to effect it, but that also they bring into discredit with the world the religion they profess to love, and which, practiced, would make them the foremost to proclaim deliverance to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. It has often fallen to our lot to hear a justification of slavery from the lips of men who name the Sa-

viour with reverence, and to hear them denounce the ardour with which others less professing than themselves, yet more honouring the Saviour in their practice, seek to carry out the precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?" If the world shall at length come to believe that the professors of the christian religion do either typify its principles in this relation, or use them as a mask, judging the tree by its apparent fruits, they will be apt, without further research, to pronounce the Religion itself a convenient pretension, or its principles as coming far short of the requirements of Humanity. It should indeed go further, and look into the real principles which this blessed religion inculcates; and the result of this inquiry would make "God true," however untrue it might make "every man" professing his name. We are Bible Abolitionists, and have in that book, and in our hearts beating consentaneously with it, a warrant for the most strenuous efforts in behalf of the down-trodden, imbruted image of God in our brother in bonds. We are willing all should act for the slave impelled by every grade of moral and religious motive. Our associates in the work must, however, be such as recognize and are willing to carry into practice the religion of Jesus Christ. Other and better foundation can no man lay than this, and our vocation, we believe, is preeminently to call the professors of this religion to their long neglected duty of remembering those who are in bonds as bound with them.

Our attention has been recalled to these important considerations by reading in "the Charter Oak" published at Hartford, Connecticut, an article given as an "extract from the Rev. Mr. Patton's Sermon on the connection of Anti-Slavery with infidelity;" portions of which we furnish below and commend to the careful notice of our religious readers.

"Our investigation," says the speaker, "will not be even generally complete, unless we notice the effect produced upon many of the opponents of slavery, by the past action of the church. The truth is precisely this, unpalatable as it may be to the mass of the churches. There are many ardent advocates of Anti-Slavery principles, men, who, from the bottom of their hearts, loathe slaveholding, who are moral in their lives, men of truth, of charity, of honesty, of moral daring, from whose lips no oath, no impure word proceeds, but who nevertheless, are thoroughly infidel in their principles. I could name some of the most prominent, if necessary. I have heard them denounce the Bible, and have more often read their words of condemnation. Their number is in-

creasing, and their principles are successfully instilled into minds, whose ardour out-weighs their judgment. Every year that passes, witnesses the conversion of many from Christianity to infidelity.

"I am well aware that pro-slavery ministers have derived an argument, from these very facts, against the anti-slavery cause. They have denounced it as tending to infidelity, and made the opinions of some, attached to the party, a text, from which to warn their people against labouring for the slave. I am as keenly alive to the evil influence of the Anti-Church abolitionists, as firmly opposed to their extravagance of opinion and action, as willing publicly and privately to deprecate their course, as are those to whom I have referred. But, nevertheless, I have a word of truth, in the name of crushed humanity and of the living God, to speak to these ministerial friends of oppression.

"Rail on, scoff on, at this infidelity—if you please; but know two things, that you scoff at the work of your own hands, and that the longer you continue your position, the larger will be the number of such infidels who will attack the church. Nay! start not at this announcement, as though it were something strange. I re-affirm it, that the infidelity of certain abolitionists, whose names have become a by-word with you, is occasioned by your conduct. You often call them 'the troublers of Israel.' I will answer in their behalf, out of that blessed book which your inhumanity has brought into contempt: 'And it came to pass when Ahab saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him, Art thou he that troubleth Israel? And he answered, I have not troubled Israel: but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim.' There was a time when these men believed in the religion of Jesus Christ, when they attended upon the worship of God in the sanctuary, and respected the ambassadors of the Saviour. What has occasioned the sad change over which I, as well as yourselves, mourn? Hear me, ye ministers and church members who have been false to humanity and to God, in the cause of the slave! These men were sensible to the wrongs inflicted on their brother-man; they saw the scourge which descended upon his naked body, and buried itself in his quivering flesh; they beheld him as the tear ran down his cheeks; they listened to his groans—his cries for help thrilled through their hearts; they were witnesses of the degradation of body and soul to which he was reduced, and were roused to action as he crouched before them, spoiled of his rights—a

miserable dehumanized chattel. Their souls, burning with anxiety to abolish a system which thus outraged millions of their fellow-men, they came to you, expecting that the ministers and followers of the compassionate Saviour would remember those in bonds as bound with them! What was the reception with which they met? You denounced them as fanatics; you refused to open your houses of worship, that the voice of the slave might be heard; you defended the slaveholder, and declared that the Bible sanctioned the claim of property in man; you admitted slaveholding preachers and professors to your pulpits, and to your communion tables; and were, in fact, so busy in 'tithing mint, anise and cummin,' in regulating church government and correcting heretics, that you 'omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith.' With you joined the theological seminaries, the religious press, the ecclesiastical bodies of the land, all asserting that the rights of the master were guaranteed by the book of God. One extreme begets its opposite. They took you at your word—they believed that the Bible did sanction slavery, and, as their consciences condemned it, they followed out the path you prescribed, and cast away the Bible. I do not defend their course,—but I charge its guilt in a great measure upon you. And now what is the result? Your indifference to humanity, your wanton practical perversion of the sacred scripture, drove them to 'come-outerism' and infidelity; and now, forsooth, you strengthen yourselves in opposition to anti-slavery principles, by reference to their irregularities! This reacts upon them, and they again upon you, and thus the breach widens, the evil increases, the cause of emancipation suffers, and the Bible is dishonored!

"A few words in conclusion, and I have done. My hearers, the present crisis is one of intense interest to the true follower of Christ. A new race of infidels has arisen, not profane, unchaste, immoral, as were their predecessors, but EVINCING A REGARD FOR GOD, FOR TRUTH, FOR HUMANITY, FOR MORALS, and whose complaint is, that the churches are arrayed against God, against truth, against humanity, against sound morals. It is an evil hour when INFIDELITY can marshal its forces, with Humanity for its watchword, with the conscience of the world on its side, while CHRISTIANITY, in the hands of those who betray it, leads its host to battle for oppression. In such a conflict, infidelity must triumph—the Bible must fall. Then will be true of the church, what was anciently said of Jerusalem:—All that pass by, clap their hands at thee; they hiss, and wag their heads at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying, Is

this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth?"

LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA RELATIVE TO FUGITIVE SLAVES.—The Constitution of the United States contains the following clause:—"No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

A law of Congress, dated February 12, 1793, prescribes the manner in which a person so held to service or labour in any State or territory, and escaping into any other State or territory, shall be delivered up to the claimant; and the Supreme Court of the United States holds this to be the law of the land, and any State laws prescribing other modes of proceeding are declared null and void. But the same tribunal has decided that, inasmuch as Congress possesses no constitutional right to impose duties upon State officers, the legislatures of the several States may prohibit their judges, magistrates, jailors, and other officers and citizens from arresting or detaining, and from aiding in the arrest or detention of any person for the reason of his being claimed as a fugitive slave.

Several of the New England States have accordingly enacted prohibitory laws of this character. That of New Hampshire was published in the Non-Slaveholder, Vol. 1, p. 143.

Efforts have been made from time to time to obtain the passage of a similar law in Pennsylvania. During the session of last year a bill was introduced but not passed. Petitions on the subject have been presented at the present session, from various quarters, and a Committee of the Philadelphia meeting for Sufferings has attended at Harrisburg, for the special purpose of promoting the passage of the bill reported last year. We are glad to learn that the Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary has again brought it forward, and we shall rejoice if our legislative body can be induced to sever every legalized connection with slavery.

Beside the prohibition upon all officers and citizens of this State to arrest or detain, or to aid in arresting or detaining a fugitive slave, the bill, as we understand it, contains provisions to prevent kidnapping, and to repeal that part of the Act of 1780 which permits persons passing through or sojourning in this State to retain their slaves for six months.

It has been the general opinion that the law of Congress passed in 1793, and the laws of Penn-

sylvania relative to the arrest and delivery of slaves *escaping* into this State from another State, are also applicable to the cases of slaves brought into it by the master or coming with his consent. A case was tried by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1795, from which it was inferred, as appears by a note in Purdon's Digest, that "a citizen of another State, on a visit to this State with his slave, in case of the slave's refusal to return, is entitled to the aid of the magistrate to carry him out of the State." It is not clear, however, that this conclusion was warranted by the facts of the case; for the opinions from which it was drawn were merely expressed by the Judge in a charge to the jury, and had not the weight of an adjudication.

In 1825, Judge Barnes, President of the District Court in Philadelphia, refused to grant a certificate for the return of a slave, on the ground that he had not *escaped* from one State into another, but came by his master's consent from Maryland to Pennsylvania. We are satisfied that the view taken by Judge Barnes is correct, and perfectly tenable; and that neither the Federal Constitution nor the law of Congress or of this Commonwealth, provides for the case of a slave who refuses to leave the State after he has been brought into it by his master, or has come into it with his master's consent. Consequently, in such a case, no officer has any right to interpose his authority in support of the master's claim to carry his slave out of the State. Under the laws of 1780 and 1788, "persons passing through or sojourning in this State," may retain their slaves for six months; but these laws contain no provision for the removal of such slaves, by any legal process, out of the State, either within the period of six months or after its expiration.

We consider this a subject of great importance, both as regards the character of the State and the rights of slaves who may be brought here by their masters, and we intend to pursue it more at large.

THE "BLACK LAWS OF OHIO."—Several attempts have been made in the Ohio Legislature, at various periods, to effect a repeal of these odious restrictions on the rights of the coloured population of the State. It is satisfactory to find that Governor Bebb, in his message to the legislature, has recommended their repeal. He says: "Let those enactments, very properly, by universal consent, denominated 'the Black Laws of Ohio,' be repealed. They are impolitic, unjust and inhuman; at war with the genius of our free institutions, and the spirit of the age in which we live." In reference to this subject, a correspondent in

Ohio writes as follows:—"Our meeting for sufferings met for the special purpose of taking into consideration the oppressive laws of this State in regard to our coloured population, and if way should open therefor, to petition our legislature for their repeal. The subject was entered upon with much unanimity, and a memorial was prepared to be presented at the approaching session. I hope this measure may not be altogether without effect, as at the present time these laws are awakening considerable attention, more especially in consequence of the maltreatment which J. Randolph's emancipated slaves have so recently received in this State."

We shall rejoice if the hopes of our friends should be realized, but we are not sanguine in our anticipations of such a result. On the contrary, it would not greatly surprise us if the Ohio Legislature should pass, and the Governor approve, laws of a still darker character. We do not know what support may be given to a bill recently introduced into the Senate, but we cannot regard the movement as a favourable indication of an improvement in the moral or religious "spirit of the age."

The first section of the bill provides for the registration of each particular black, mulatto and quadroon in every township in the State.

The second section provides for the expulsion from every township of any coloured visitor from another township, and from the State of any coloured immigrant from any other State.

Sections third, fourth and fifth, direct the public sale of any coloured person who, after having been removed from the township or the State, shall return thereto;—six months for the first offence, and twelve months for the second.

"It ought to have been entitled," says the National Era, "a bill to register and *enslave* a portion of the people of Ohio. It is introduced by a Senator, not of a slave State, but of Ohio, the most enlightened State of the West; by a Senator, not from some obscure, semi-civilized district, where ignorance might be alleged in palliation of brutality, but from Cincinnati, the boasted Queen City of the West."

"It attempts to restrain the locomotion of eighteen thousand free people of the State; to confine them to the limits of the townships in which they severally reside; to punish them with limited slavery, should they, in pursuit of employment or the means of happiness, in necessary attendance on their business, or in discharge of the duties of parents or children, be found in any other townships than those in which they are registered."

Small as is our confidence in the integrity of politicians, we can scarcely believe that this most monstrous and tyrannical bill will be passed into a law, if the truly religious portion of the people make their voices heard in the legislative hall.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE PRODUCE.—Under the head of Associated Action, our readers will find the Address to which our friend G. W. Alexander alluded in his letter, published in our last number. We hope it will be inserted in every Anti-Slavery paper in America, and that every "friend to the anti-slavery cause," into whose hands it may come, will examine the subject with an earnest desire to perceive the truth, and to be enabled, through the divine blessing, to fulfil its requisitions. We would by no means inculcate the sentiment, that simply disusing slave produce is all that a faithful testimony against slavery demands of us. But we believe that such disuse on the part of "all who love the freedom of the human race," would not only strengthen them individually, but would so increase the moral power of every other proper effort for the abolition of slavery, that the great result could not but speedily follow. Entertaining this view, we rejoice at every new manifestation of the extension and adoption of this principle. The slaveholders readily comprehend its truth, and in almost every debate in Congress and elsewhere, reproach with inconsistency and hypocrisy those who condemn slavery and yet share its gains.

We desire the attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery to the fact that large quantities of cotton and tobacco are cultivated in this country by freemen, and that efficient arrangements might be made which would secure the transmission of those articles from the cultivator to the merchant and manufacturer in England, unmixed with such as are grown by slave labour. We feel authorized to say, that the Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends would gladly co-operate with any parties in England who may desire to enter into such arrangements.

STORE FOR THE SALE OF FREE PRODUCE.—The senior Editors of this paper ask the attention of its readers to the advertisement of our colleague, George W. Taylor, on our last page. The increasing desire throughout many sections of our country to procure the necessaries and conveniences of life, free from the labour of slaves; and a religious concern, on his part, to promote the good work by every means in his power, have

induced him to enter into this business. He will most scrupulously investigate the sources of his supplies, and, in this and other respects, will be assisted by the operations of the Free Produce Association of Friends.

Many applications have been received for a supply of groceries and cotton goods to be sold on commission. Without entering into details, we may state that this plan is quite impracticable. If several individuals in a neighbourhood would join in raising such an amount of money as may be convenient to them, they could receive its value in goods at wholesale prices, and divide them in the proportions of the several sums contributed.

Many persons who do not profess a decided religious scruple against using slave produce, yet declare their *preference* for the productions of free labour, and even a willingness to pay more, if necessary, for them. We hope that such as these will avail themselves of the opportunity now afforded, to gratify their preference. Faithfulness to faint glimmerings may lead to larger openings—a proper use of feeble rays of light may prepare the spiritual eye for greater clearness and strength of vision—and those who have seen "men, as trees, walking," may eventually see "every man clearly."

To another class, who, under various outward disadvantages and difficulties, feel religiously restrained from contributing their support to slavery, we would extend the encouragement which we have gratefully received ourselves in a recent letter from our dear friend Thomas Willis, of Long Island. In reference to a discouraging circumstance, he says: "It has no effect to abate my concern on this subject, [the disuse of slave produce] but rather stimulates to greater faithfulness on my part. I sincerely hope that the apathy, so prevalent in the Society, relative to this branch of our testimony against injustice and cruelty, may in no wise abate the Christian concern and perseverance of those who have associated together for the promotion of this work of righteousness; for such I truly esteem it. And it does appear to me that if our Society have any real testimony to bear against slavery and the slave-trade, the time has arrived that we are called upon to make it manifest—not in word only—but in deed and in truth; so that our example may be consistent with our profession and set the seal thereunto."

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS. The present session of Congress has been marked by proceedings of a deeply interesting character. At its commence-

ment in the 12th month last, there was addressed to it by the President, an elaborate message detailing the state of our public affairs, but especially vindicating our war upon Mexico, and carefully excluding any suggestion of its real motive—that of sustaining a slaveholding preponderancy in our confederacy, and of giving extension to the area of slavery. The true purpose of the war was, however, made evident to the world, by the vote of the South at the last session of Congress, on the Wilmot proposition to exclude slavery from any territory which the United States should hereafter acquire by conquest or treaty. That vote shewed it to be the clear intention of the South, to have no settlement of our ostensible differences with Mexico, while the real end of the conflict, that above asserted, was unaccomplished. In no portion of Mexico has slavery at the present time any legal existence, so that for the United States to allow of its introduction into territory to be acquired from that power, would be to create slavery. The Northern mind spontaneously revolts at doing this; and nothing but the strong trammels of party spirit, or a yet meaner venality, will seduce it into the position of bringing upon this nation, the guilt of being instrumental to so vile a prostitution of a yet free soil. South, there is no distinction of party on this question. Whig and democrat coalesce into one great phalanx when the paramount interests of slavery are at hazard. Why should it be different at the North, when the hallowed cause of Freedom and Humanity demands Union? We look with great confidence to such a union, for though the northern democracy profess to justify the war on the official declarations of the administration, they generally express their determination that it shall not be the means of extending slavery. On the 4th ultimo, Preston King of New York introduced into the House a bill which, omitting the preamble, was in the following words:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That the sum of thirty thousand dollars be, and the same hereby is appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the President to enter upon negotiations for the restoration of peace with Mexico, whenever it shall be in his power to do so.

"Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States, other-

wise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, that any person escaping into the same from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed out of said territory to the person claiming his or her labour or service.

"Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the sum of two millions of dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the President to conclude a treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico, if the said treaty shall call for the expenditure of the same, or any part thereof; full and accurate accounts for which expenditures shall be by him transmitted to Congress at as early a day as possible."

On the motion to postpone the special order to allow the introduction of this bill, the yeas were 88, the nays 89. The motion was thus lost by only one majority. Of those voting against the postponement were many, it was said, who were decidedly in favour of the restriction on slavery, but preferred some other occasion of declaring it. A subsequent occurrence shows this to have been the fact.

The Washington "Union," an administration paper, expressed its alarm at the above vote in the following terms:

"Signs appeared in the House of Representatives to-day, which bode the renewal of the Missouri contest. We deprecate any such controversy, and every measure which is calculated to produce it. The Democratic party must continue united. This portentous question threatens to shiver them in pieces. The North, and the South, and the West should respect the Union of the States like the holy Ark of the Covenant. But these controversies, by drawing lines and severing interests between different sections on the most delicate question that can be suggested, tend to alienate the feelings and weaken the ties which should bind this holy Union together for ever.

"Is it necessary to force this question upon our public councils, in a period of war, when all our energies should be united against the common enemy? Is it at all necessary at this time? It is an affair of internal regulation among ourselves. It cannot enter into a treaty of peace with a foreign country. If we are to obtain new territory by a treaty of peace, it will then be time enough to meet this difficult question. When Rome was at war she commanded her domestic differences to cease. When peace comes and brings with

it new territory, then, amid the tranquillity of peace, we may settle this matter to our own satisfaction."

The New York "Tribune" thus commented on the above:—

"This talk about the sacredness of the Union, from a journal which advocated the annexation of Texas, and which never sticks at any outrage upon the Constitution that promises to give additional security and strength to slavery, is decidedly rich. It all means, of course, that the Free States should so venerate the Union as to let the South trample the Constitution under her feet whenever it suits her purposes to do so. We hope the day of Northern subserviency and degradation is passing away."

The New York "Evening Post," a democratic paper, in an editorial reference to the speech of Preston King, said:—

"There is but one way of settling the question which the people will tolerate. The new acquisition of territory must be exempt from the curse of slavery, and open to the emigration of free labourers from the North and West. It will be the wisdom of the South to consent to this arrangement early, as we believe most of the southern members had made up their minds to do at the last session. The determination to insist upon the exclusion of slavery from the domain we may yet acquire, is far more earnest and firm than superficial politicians at Washington are aware of."

Ensuing the above vote was an effort on the part of the South to obtain *inferentially* an extension of the Missouri compromise into the new territories which it is *expected* will be added to the United States, and thus to allow of slavery South of that line. This intended *coup de main* was a total failure, as the following proceedings will show!

"FRIDAY, January 15. When the bill to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon was about to be voted on finally by the House of Representatives, Mr. Burt moved to amend the twelfth section, in the seventh line, by adding, between the word "and" and the word "shall," the words: "inasmuch as the whole of said Territory lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, known as the line of the Missouri compromise."

The vote on this amendment was—Yeas 83, all except 6 being from the slave states; Nays 113, all from the free states.

FAMINE IN IRELAND.—The starving condition of a large portion of the population of Ireland has, for a few weeks past, been generally known in

this country, and successful measures have been adopted, in various places, to raise contributions in money and provisions for their relief. The collections in New York and Philadelphia are forwarded to a committee of Friends in Dublin; all parties having full confidence that the trust reposed in its members will be faithfully and impartially executed.

The London Treasurer for the contributions of Friends in England had already received, at the last date, upwards of £22,000; some persons who are not members of our religious society, having also become donors to this fund. Our friend William Forster has felt it his duty to go over to Ireland and visit the most suffering and remote districts, to ascertain the best mode of applying the funds collected, prepare suitable channels for distribution and assist in the formation of soup establishments. We have received an interesting but very painful account of his first week's progress, written by his companion. On the 26th of 12th month last, he was in the north west county, Mayo, and intended to proceed southward through the most desolate and isolated portions of the island. In our land of abundance, it is difficult to conceive the utter destitution which exists in that country. In some districts, two-thirds or three-fourths of the inhabitants had neither food nor the means of obtaining it, and in one neighbourhood, visited by some Friends of Cork, the condition of the people came up to the most horrible descriptions of famine on record. These dreadful sufferings, at the very beginning of winter, threaten a most awful and alarming state of things before another crop can be available.

The present duty is to rescue the famishing thousands from a miserable death. To aid in this work, contributions, in money, are received by Thomas P. Cope, and, in provisions, by Henry and Alfred Cope, Walnut street wharf, Philadelphia.

The potato disease—to which, principally, the famine in Ireland is attributed—has also caused great suffering in other parts of Europe. "The state of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland," says the editor of the London Friend, "is represented as rivalling that of Ireland."

UNION LITERARY INSTITUTION.—We commend the letter and circular relating to this establishment, and which appear in the department of Communications, to the notice of our benevolent readers. The education of the coloured race is all-important to its elevation, and this is so well appreciated by the friends of that people, that we need not add any thing to the cogent motives

which are presented in the circular, to incite in their minds a liberal feeling towards the object of the enterprise.

We shall gladly receive, and duly forward, any contributions which may be entrusted to us for transmission in aid of that object.

"THE NATIONAL ERA."—We hail with no ordinary satisfaction the appearance of this new paper, published at the seat of the Federal Government. Judging from the three first numbers, it promises to be an able advocate of the cause of equal liberty and equal rights. Indeed, from the known character of its conductors, we have a right to expect a dignified and energetic paper;—calm, argumentative, truthful; liberal, charitable, and faithful. We would say to the editors in the language of Holy Writ, "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." "Reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." "Be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves;" observing "sound speech, that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you."

SELECTIONS.

THE HEROISM OF PHILANTHROPY.

In a letter of the Bey of Tunis to the British consul at Malta, announcing that, "for the glory of God, and to distinguish man from the brute creation," he had decreed the abolition of human slavery in his dominions, honourable mention is made of "the most excellent Richardson."

The gentleman here alluded to, James Richardson, has recently returned from one of the most perilous expeditions ever undertaken for the welfare of humanity. For the purpose of ascertaining from personal observation, the actual features and extent of the slave trade carried on between the Great Desert and Tripoli, he followed the route of the slave caravans towards Central Africa, visiting all the principal cities of the continent north of the Mountains of the Moon; the old and famous marts of Mourzouk, and Soudan, and Ahmeer; passing through the midst of the unscrupulous and keenly-intelligent slave merchants of the great oasis of Fezzan; the wild, warlike, but handsome, light-hued Touaricks; the cruel, licentious, and mercenary Tibboos of the Lybian desert; and the cowardly and treacherous men stealers of Bornou, on the southern rim of the Sahara—a route of more than 2,500 miles. Apart from fatigue, privation, and suffering from want of suitable food and water, in that terrible climate, he incurred a frightful

risk, from the circumstance of his errand as an abolitionist being known to the slave-traders. Conversing, as he found opportunity, with slave-dealers and slaves, visiting the great markets where the slaves taken in the wars of the Sultan of Zindie were brought together, in waiting for the Moorish merchants of Tripoli, and travelling for weeks with the returning caravans, he has obtained a vast amount of valuable information, which it is to be hoped, will be turned to the service of humanity. At the great and flourishing city of Kanon he saw slaves of the Fullan country brought in by the robber soldiery. They were a fine looking race of men, with beautiful, regular features, and as white as the Portuguese or Spanish. These white slaves sell for enormous prices; and our traveller thinks that wars are instigated by the Moors for the purpose of securing so superior a class. The following are some of the facts which he has laid before the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:

"1st. That the slave-trade is on the increase in the Great Desert.

"2d. That slaves were flogged to death *en route* from Ghat to Tripoli, and others were over driven or starved to death.

"3d. That the youngest female children are violated by their brutal captors or masters on the route from Bornou to Ghat and Fezzan by the Tibboos.

"4th. That slave children of five years of age walk more than one thousand and thirty days over the Great Desert, and through other districts of Africa, before they reach the slave market of Tripoli, to be sold.

"5th. That three fourths of the slave traffic of Central Africa and the Great Desert is supported by the money and goods of European merchants resident in Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Egypt.

"6th. That a considerable traffic in slaves is carried on in the southern provinces of Algeria, under French protection, by the Shouif and Shanbat Arabs.

"7th. That, at present, there are no wars in Central Africa, but those undertaken exclusively for the capture of slaves. To these I add other two facts or statements.

"8th. That slaves are the grand staple commerce of the Soudan and Bornou caravans, and without slaves this commerce would hardly exist, at least without a great exchange in African commerce.

"9th. That the trade of Tripoli, at the present time, entirely depends on slaves, other commerce being neglected or abandoned."

The London Anti-Slavery Reporter for the 10th month last, contains several extracts from the jour-

nal kept from day to day by James Richardson, while travelling with the Tripoli caravans across the Desert. The details are almost too revolting for publication. He was compelled to be a silent witness of the murder of young females under the lash, and of the brutal flogging of children five years of age, for picking up herbage and chewing it, to assuage the horrible thirst of their desert march under the burning sky. One wretch of a slave-dealer, Haj Essnousee, a man of Lockna, is described as a fiend incarnate. He was born for a slave-driver, with a cunning ferocity and sensuality stamped on his countenance, all that can be conceived of loathsome lust and beastly obscenity, and cowardly inhumanity, seems to have been imbodyed in this unmitigated monster. Nothing but the long exercise of irresponsible power over human beings could have so imbruted and hardened one born of woman, and claiming to be a man.

After leaving the oasis of Fezzan, on the route of Tripoli, the caravan, which had left its track of blood for a thousand miles across the desert, was swept over by the Ghiblee, or terrible hot wind of the south. The weary and wretched negroes sank under this new affliction. They seemed literally to wither and shrivel beneath it. The stern Arab drivers resolutely set their thin leathern faces against the furnace-blasts, urging on the miserable slaves with blows and execrations. Haj Essnousee distinguished himself on this dreadful day by his active ferocity, dismounting from his camel, chasing the lagging slave, flogging unmercifully all who were sick and weak. At length, the horrible tempest of heat became insupportable. The melancholy cavalcade halted under the lurid sky, crouching behind the camels and sand hills, the groans of suffering women and children mingling with the curses of the drivers.

"Heaven and earth," says Richardson, "seemed to conspire against the unhappy slaves. It was an awful moment—one of those seasons when the sinking mind might exclaim, 'WHERE IS GOD? Has He abandoned His creatures?'"

The description which the traveller gives of the arrival of the caravan at the sea coast near Tripoli, is graphic and descriptive:

"When within two days of Tripoli, after a sultry day, we had a cold sand storm, for we were among the sand hills of the coast. The sand filled our eyes, ears, and nostrils; the air was darkened, and we were obliged to grope our way. Here, again, the whip alone could keep the wretched slaves on their legs. We encamped at noon, under the protection of a high cliff by the sea shore, which sheltered us from the savage

gale, sweeping the bared bosom of the desert above. But here the slaves first saw the sea—the white surf chafing and roaring at their feet. And their first sight of this new element, in its wildest form, will be hereafter in memory associated with their most aggravated sufferings in journeying over the Great Desert. I could not help watching the countenances of these miserable victims of mercantile speculation, who, from the fair banks of the Niger, its sweet waters and pellucid streams, had been forced away, to gaze at the wide and boundless sea, now lashed by the tempest into mountainous heaps. Some gazed at it with most stupid indifference; others laughed and grinned; others looked blank horror; and others hid their faces, after gazing a moment, under their tattered clothes. All seemed to say, 'How and what is this? Surely the devils of the white men inhabit these waters!'"

Personally, the noble-hearted Englishman could render the poor slaves with whom he travelled no assistance, beyond allowing the weakest to ride upon his camel, while he walked over the desert. This was his daily practice. Occasionally, he shared with them his food and water. The poor creatures were sadly puzzled to know why a Kafir, or infidel, as the Moors called him, was so kind to them.

At the slave market of Ghat, he found that the traders professed to be conscientiously opposed to making slaves, looking upon those who did so with as much abhorrence as an American slave trader does upon those engaged in the foreign traffic. Yet, their whole business was in buying slaves whom the less conscientious Touaricks of Tibboo had stolen.

We hope the entire journal of this heroic philanthropist will be published. He deserves the highest commendation for his disinterested and noble efforts. He belongs to that new and glorious band of Christian knight-errants—the chivalry of humanity—who, in generous endeavours to ameliorate the condition of their fellow-men, have associated with their names that romance of personal peril and intrepid adventure, which has been too long monopolised by those who have added to the afflictions of our race, and stained our common inheritance with the blood of brethren.—*National Era.* J. G. W.

A NEW VIEW OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

It may be useful to inquire, what have been the doings of the emancipated negroes in the West Indies? In connection with a return lately furnished to the British Government, as to the number of emancipated negroes who have become

freeholders, &c., in British Guiana, is appended a list of estates which they have purchased either in partnership or association. From this list we extract the following instances:—

Perseverance Estate.—Four hundred and seventy acres, purchased by sixty-three labourers in association, for 5000 dollars; and two hundred and fifty acres, purchased by one hundred and nine labourers, for 1,715 dollars, in the same manner.

Littlefield Estate.—Five hundred acres, purchased by twelve labourers, in partnership, for 9,000 dollars.

Lovely Lass Estate.—Five hundred acres, bought for 1,715 dollars, by fourteen labourers in association.

North Brook Estate.—Five hundred acres, purchased by eighty-four labourers in partnership, for 10,000 dollars.

These are only examples from a list extending over five large folio sheets of paper. From the facts gathered from them, we see no cause to doubt the wisdom of these enfranchised blacks. They have even set an example to the working classes of the whites. In a country where little labour is required for the sustenance of life, they appear determined to discontinue the oppressive system of overworking hired labour. This they effect by becoming freeholders through co-operation, in association, in partnership. In all this there is no lack of wisdom.

INTELLIGENCE.

REPORT OF THE POST MASTER GENERAL. RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

Accompanying the report of the Postmaster General, are several tables of statistics connected with the Department. But one table is not given: that of receipts in each of the states. This is the more remarkable, as the expenditures in each state are specified, and hitherto it has been the practice to report the receipts. As it is, no correct idea of the working of cheap postage in the several states can be formed. There can be no doubt that the experiment has worked far better in the non-slaveholding than slaveholding states. It is well known that there has been an annual deficit in the receipts of the Department in the latter of some half million of dollars, which has been made up by the surplus revenue in the former; and this fact has been often pointed out as one striking illustration of the injurious operation of slavery on the general welfare. Was it in view of this, that the important table alluded to was this year omitted?

But there is another table which may be examined with some profit: that of expenditures

for mail service in the states severally. From it we compile the following statement, showing the total annual transportation in each state, with the aggregate cost in each; also, the total annual transportation in the slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections of the Union, with the aggregate cost per mile, in each:

	Total annual transportation, miles.	Total annual rate of cost, dollars.
Maine	1,114,422	40,791
New Hampshire	705,348	25,409
Vermont	727,724	26,723
Massachusetts	1,910,810	105,898
Rhode Island	158,394	9,102
Connecticut	732,008	43,863
New York	4,944,499	237,918
New Jersey	733,841	58,850
Pennsylvania	2,864,432	155,304
Delaware	150,914	7,887
Maryland	923,000	133,069
Virginia	2,420,549	193,586
North Carolina	1,586,748	172,557
South Carolina	1,017,088	117,959
Georgia	1,228,622	150,162
Florida	348,061	44,909
Ohio	3,098,412	166,954
Michigan	830,152	48,288
Indiana	1,212,576	68,875
Illinois	1,884,534	125,291
Wisconsin	302,104	15,691
Iowa	74,408	8,658
Missouri	1,477,008	68,259
Kentucky	2,282,188	125,850
Tennessee	1,326,368	91,160
Alabama	1,456,324	227,412
Mississippi	831,272	95,109
Arkansas	590,668	56,264
Louisiana	365,960	42,670
Total	37,398,414	2,665,078

	Total transportation.	Total cost.	Cost per mile.
Free States	21,393,564	\$1,137,565	5.3 cts.
Slave states	16,004,850	1,527,513	9.5 "

Were the cost per mile the same in the free as in the slave states, the total cost of mail service in them annually would be more than two millions, or nearly twice as much as it is now.

There is and can be no economy where slavery exists.—*National Era.*

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN DELAWARE.

There is quite an extensive and powerful sentiment awakened against the continuance of slavery in Delaware. A Wilmington paper says that petitions are in circulation recommending

the Legislature to abolish slavery on fair and equitable terms. The paper very quietly adds: "We have heretofore said that no other measure would conduce so much to the prosperity of little Delaware. A tide of emigration would set in here, to buy up and improve our old and worn-out lands, and the million acres supposed to be contained in Delaware would be worth more than five millions of dollars more as soon as such a law is passed. Our interests require it. There are only about 2,000 slaves in Delaware."

SOUTHERN EXPORTS.

Statement of the exports of the principal staples of the South, for the last ten years, as follows:

	Aggregate of exports in each year.
During the year ending—	
Sep. 30, 1836.—Cotton*	\$71,284,925
Tobacco†	10,494,104
Rice	2,548,750
Naval stores‡	912,376
Indigo	1,020
	\$85,241,175
Sep. 30, 1837.—Cotton	63,340,102
Tobacco	6,223,438
Rice	2,309,279
Naval stores	823,419
Indigo	
	72,596,238
Sep. 30, 1838.—Cotton	61,556,811
Tobacco	7,969,449
Rice	1,721,819
Naval stores	703,394
Indigo	50
	71,931,533
Sep. 30, 1839.—Cotton	61,238,982
Tobacco	10,449,155
Rice	2,460,198
Naval stores	688,800
Indigo	
	74,837,135
Sep. 30, 1840.—Cotton	63,870,307
Tobacco	10,699,628
Rice	1,942,076
Naval stores	602,529
Indigo	209
	77,112,749
Sep. 30, 1841.—Cotton	54,330,341
Tobacco	13,479,547
Rice	2,010,107
Naval stores	684,514
Indigo	
	70,504,509
Sep. 30, 1842.—Cotton	47,593,464
Tobacco	10,066,245
Rice	1,907,387
Naval stores	743,329
Indigo	1,042
	60,311,467

*Unmanufactured cotton.

†Both manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco.

‡Turpentine, pitch, rosin, and tar.

During the nine months ending—	
June 30, 1843.—Cotton	49,119,806
Tobacco	4,929,298
Rice	1,625,726
Naval stores	475,357
Indigo	198

56,150,385

During the year ending—	
June 30, 1844.—Cotton	54,063,501
Tobacco	8,933,853
Rice	2,182,468
Naval stores	818,962
Indigo	1,176

65,999,692

June 30, 1845.—Cotton	51,739,643
Tobacco	8,008,317
Rice	2,160,456
Naval stores	814,969
Indigo	70

62,723,455

Exports in 1836	85,241,175
Exports in 1845	62,723,455

Decrease in value 22,517,720

June 30, 1846.—Cotton	\$42,767,341
Tobacco	9,174,184
Rice	2,564,991
Naval stores	1,085,712
Indigo	80

55,592,308

Rep. of Com. of Patents for 1845, pp. 1124 to 1142.

It will be remarked that the export of tobacco has been continually varying, being sometimes greater, sometimes less. The export of rice has been more uniform. The chief falling off has been in the value of cotton, which has been steadily decreasing ever since 1836, until it has sunk from seventy-one millions in that year, to forty-two millions in 1846.

In 1840, the population of the Southern states was 7,255,746, so that the value of these exports per head was \$10.62; while in 1845, the population was estimated at 8,229,000, so that the value of the exports per head in 1846 was little more than \$6.

The principal falling off, as we have seen, is in the value of the cotton export. This, it should be remembered, arises, not from a decrease of growth, but a reduction of price; for the growth, and the amount exported, have vastly increased.

Since 1836, the value of exports from this country has been fluctuating. In that year it was, in round numbers, \$128,000,000; in 1840, \$132,000,000; in 1842 it had fallen to \$104,000,000, but in 1846 it rose again to \$114,000,000. Generally it may be said that while the value of exports of these Southern staples has decreased, that of exports of the staples of other parts of the country has increased. Thus, while the diminution of the former from 1836 to 1845 was twenty-three millions of dollars, the decrease in the total

value of all exports was but fourteen millions, so that there must have been an increase of nine millions in the value of other exports.

These facts are not to be disregarded by southern men. Why should they be so anxious to acquire additional territory for slavery? The decrease in the total value of their staples does not result from *under*, but *over* production. Would they raise more cotton on their new territory? The market is already glutted. It is not territory they want, but *free labour and diversified industry*.

The following pithy comment upon these facts is extracted from the letter of a correspondent:

"It appears important that the fact of the great decline in the *value* of southern staple articles should be known and weighed by all merchants and jobbers, as well as by all anti-slavery men. Calhoun, in his letter to King, a few years ago, insisted that the fact of the falling off of West India exports was proof that emancipation was a failure, &c. By a parity of reason, the falling off of slave-grown exports is equal proof of the unprofitableness of slaveholding, and of its decline."—*National Era*.

POETRY.

From the *National Era*.

A DREAM OF SUMMER.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

Bland as the morning breath of June
The southwest breezes play;
And, through its haze, the winter noon
Seems warm as summer's day.
The snow-plumed Angel of the North
Has dropped his icy spear;
Again the mossy earth looks forth,
Again the streams gush clear.

The fox his hill-side cell forsakes,
The muskrat leaves his nook,
The bluebird in the meadow brakes
Is singing with the brook.
"Bear up, oh Mother Nature!" cry
Bird, breeze, and streamlet free,
"Our winter voices prophecy
Of summer days to thee!"

So, in those winters of the soul,
By bitter blasts and drear
O'erswept from Memory's frozen pole,
Will sunny days appear.
Reviving Hope and Faith, they show
The soul its living powers,
And how beneath the winter's snow
Lie germs of summer flowers!

The Night is Mother of the Day,
The Winter of the Spring,
Ever upon old Decay
The greenest mosses cling.
Behind the cloud the star-light lurks,
Through showers the sunbeams fall;
For God, who loveth all His works,
Has left His Hope with all!

In the following brief prayer, the wants of the humble Christian are condensed in a manner worthy of Quarles or Herbert:

PRAYER.

BY THOMAS ELWOOD, A QUAKER OF 1660.

Oh! that mine eyes might closed be
To what concerns me not to see—
That deafness might possess mine ear
To what concerns me not to hear;
That truth my tongue might always tie
From ever speaking foolishly;
That no vain thought might ever rest
Or be conceived in my breast;
That by each word and deed and thought,
Glory may to my God be brought!
But what are wishes? Lord, mine eye
On Thee is fixed, to Thee I cry—
Wash, Lord, and purify my heart,
And make it clean in every part;
And when 'tis clean, Lord, keep it too,
For that is more than I can do.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Free Produce Store, Wholesale and Retail.

N. W. corner Fifth and Cherry Streets.

(LATE JOEL FISHER'S.)

THE subscriber having procured a new stock of Dry Goods and Groceries, in addition to that purchased of Joel Fisher, all of which may be relied on as the product of *Free Labour*, now offers them for sale at the above place. He respectfully invites the patronage of those who give a preference to such goods, and of his friends and the public generally. Being the wholesale and retail agent of the Free Produce Association of Friends, and the retail agent of the American Free Produce Association, for the sale of the cotton goods manufactured by those associations, he will be prepared to furnish a greater variety of dry goods than has heretofore been offered at this establishment.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

Philadelphia, 1st of 2d mo., 1847.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER

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"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 1847.

[NO. 3.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BIBLICAL INVESTIGATIONS—NO. II.

David, Joab and Shimei.

It has pleased the Divine Being to graduate his laws for the government of men to the degree of their capacity for receiving a knowledge of his will, and of their disposition to carry out that will into practice. God is eternally the same, and with him absolute right is unalterable: yet from the time when Adam fell by placing himself in opposition to God's will, and enstamped on his progeny the consequences of that terrific defection, four thousand years had to elapse, and, with it, myriads of human beings had to be born and to die, ere the world was fitted to hear the anthem of "Peace on earth," and to receive the doctrine of "life and immortality, brought to light through the gospel." During this period as much light and as perfect a law were given to men as were accordant with their state, but as men were not in the position the most agreeable to the Divine mind, so were the laws and so was the light which God bestowed upon them. We are not therefore to look back to the law of Moses, or to any other law antecedent to the coming of Christ, or to the persons living under them, for a full exemplification of the Divine will. Still we are to regard the history of God's dealings with man, contained in the ancient scriptures, as an invaluable legacy "given by inspiration of God, and profitable," in the light of christianity, "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." We so approach them.

In perusing the history of David, as contained in these records, we are deeply admonished that the most favoured of God's people may fall through unwatchfulness, and are also exemplified that any so falling, should by deep penitence and submission to God's chastisements seek to be restored to his favour. But, above all David's errors, grievous as they were, his love to his

Divine Lord, his confidence in His boundless power, his recognition of His supreme authority, his devotion to His holy cause are so predominant, and his prophetic foreshadowing of Messiah's coming so remarkable, that we expect to find, in the closing moments of his life, some near approach of his mind to the Christian temperament in which Love and Forgiveness abound.

Our English version, in narrating the last words of this great king to his son and successor, disappoints our expectation in this respect. Very impressive indeed is the language of David when he thus addresses his son:—"I go the way of all the earth: be thou strong, therefore, and show thyself a man; and keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses, that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself; That the Lord may continue his word which he spake concerning me, saying, If thy children take heed to their way, to walk before me in truth, with all their heart, and with all their soul, there shall not fail thee a man, said he, on the throne of Israel!" But how unsuited to this solemn occasion is the seeming direction to his son, following this pathetic exhortation, to take the lives of Joab and Shimei, as if VENGEANCE was the last sentiment of his heart!

I am happy to believe that our version of this matter is a libel on the character of the dying king, and in great derogation of that magnanimity which, a true rendering will show, led him to desire that, so far as was consistent with the safety of his son's government, PROTECTION, and not death, should be extended to the persons whose wrong doings he rehearsed and deprecated.

That the past course of both Joab and Shimei, though with many instances of fidelity on the part of the former, had been such as made it proper to call the attention of the new sovereign to a consideration of it, and to invoke his wisdom for the adoption of such guards as would defend him against the turbulent and insubordinate disposition it too surely indicated, is obvious. Still his

wisdom was not invoked for the punishment of acts, however heinous, which David had himself passed over, or forgiven, and with the perpetrators of which he had subsequently stood in friendly and confidential relations.

In reading the fifth and sixth verses of the second chapter of 1st Kings, so opposite are the connections in which the translators, by misrendering a verb, have placed the words "in peace," that it escapes the attention of most readers that these words do actually occur in each verse. When they come to know that they equally represent the same Hebrew term *בְּשָׁלוֹם*, *beshalem*,* they quickly suspect that the same sense attaches to each occasion of their occurrence. Now the word peace is evidently used in the first instance to designate a social state or condition the exact counterpart of war; a state of civil peace, and not simply a state of personal quietude. The words *in peace* are therefore to be regarded in this instance as technically equivalent to the expression *in time of peace*.

It is true that David was not at peace in his external relations, when either of the murderous acts of Joab was committed; still his internal government was firmly and peacefully established, and the persons on whom Joab had perpetrated his act of war, instead of being enemies, which they once were, had given in their adhesion to David's government, and now stood in the most peaceful relations to it: and thus Joab was correctly represented as shedding "the blood of war in peace," or according to the French version,† as "having shed during the peace the blood that one sheds in time of war."

If this be a correct exposition of the sense of the words "in peace" in the one case, why should it not be in the other? In the degree that David reprobated the shedding of the blood of war in time of peace by Joab, would he desire to guard his son against any imitation of it.

Without insisting on this identity of meaning, which the context leads to, I shall proceed to

* In the system of pronunciation which will be followed in these essays, there are five textual vowels and one supplied one. Of the former, *a*, *aleph*, has the sound of *a* in fate; *h*, *he*, of *e* in mete; *vau*, of *u* in true; *yod*, of *i* in pine; and *oyin*, of *o* in cone; excepting that *y* between two vowels has the consonant sound of *r*, and *v* before a vowel that of *y*. The Greek *z*, is the supplied vowel, and is uttered quickly, as *e* in *met*. The textual vowels are pronounced full and strong, and do not run into diphthongs.

† — "ayant répandu durant la paix le sang qu'on répand en temps de guerre." Martin's translation. So also Ostervald's, and substantially so the Catholic version.

show that whatever was the sense in which the words in the second instance were used, it was the intention of David to prohibit in that sense the taking of Joab's life. To assume that, out of that sense, it was a direction for taking it, is a presumption in which we have no right to indulge.

Let us then see what is directed to be done or avoided in the sixth verse. The verb which the translators have improperly rendered "let—go down," is found in the Hebrew word *תָּרַד*, *tured*, where it stands in the second person singular future of the conjugation Hiphil, the *y*, *yod*, characteristic of Hiphil being dropped, as is frequently done in that conjugation. The verb is derived from its root *רָד*, *ired*, in Kal, where it means simply to descend or go down, and has no transitive action whatever. Much less could we expect such an action in its passive Niphal. In Hiphil it signifies to bring down, and in Hophal to be brought down. It being in the second person we are especially compelled, in order to give it a bearing on a third, to assign to it the Hiphil signification. I shall therefore follow the example of the translators in verse ninth, in considering the word to mean *thou wilt bring down*—the direction being converted into a prohibition by a preceding negative. The particle *vau*, first rendered in our received version, *therefore*, and in the next place *and*, is better expressed, in view of the connection, by *now*, and *yet*. The word *שִׁבְטוֹ*, *shibtu*, rendered *his hoar head*, is also better translated *his gray hairs*, which is the customary rendering. Gray hairs have from all time been considered to claim sympathy, deference and protection, and it was probably in allusion to this circumstance that David adverted both to Joab and Shimei's gray hairs. It is difficult to assign any other reason for his doing so.

With these amendments, and without stopping to inquire into the exact definition of the noun *שָׂדֵה*, *shal*, translated *grave*, the following construction of the verse will ensue:

Now do according to thy wisdom, yet bring not down his gray hairs, in peace, unto the grave.

This construction will require that *vau* at the commencement of the seventh verse should be rendered *and* instead of *but*.

The term *שָׂדֵה*, *shal*, above adverted to, is never used, so far as I have been able to discover, in describing a peaceful descent into the grave. The local grave, always associated with this agreeable sentiment, is expressed by the word *קֶבֶר*, *qever*, of which we have examples in 2d Kings xxii. 20 and 2d Chronicles xxiv. 28. Had the version of the translators been the true one, the grave should have found its counterpart in this

word. When David rested with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David *יְקָרָה*, *iquider*, is the verb which denotes his sepulture. The word *שָׂדֵה*, *shal*, or *שְׂדֵה*, *shaul*, is rendered *Hades* in the Greek, and in the Doway Bible *Hell*, meaning the place or state of the dead, as it was in the earlier English versions. In our own version it retains this rendering in several instances. It has its root in a verb which signifies to ask, interrogate or crave, and its sense is defined to be "the invisible state of the dead"—"the place and state of those qui in questione sunt, who are out of the way and to be sought for." With a descent into it is always connected some sentiment of sadness, distress or terror. Examples of this occur in Genesis xxvii. 35, xlii. 38, and xlii. 31.

I had fully arrived at the conclusion that a just rendering of the ninth verse was an inhibition, also, to the taking of the life of Shimei, when on recurring to Parkhurst for further authority in the case, I had the great gratification to find myself anticipated in this opinion by that distinguished linguist.

In his lexicon, page 167, he gives among other senses of the particle *vau*, the following, which is the 16th of the series.

"16. After a negative or prohibitive particle, *And not, nor, neither*. Exod. xx. 4, 17. Num. xxi. 14. Lev. xix. 12. Deut. xxxiii. 6. Prov. xxx. 3, and al. freq."

To this definition he subjoins the annexed remarks, the pronunciation of the Hebrew words and names of the letters being of my insertion.

"This very common use of the particle *vau*, clears the sense of *וְעָרַדְתָּ*, *ueurdet*, 1st Kings ii. 9. Let the reader attentively consider in the original Hebrew the eighth and ninth verses, and he will clearly perceive that the middle of the ninth, from *וְיָ*, *ki*, to *וְלֹ*, *lu*, inclusively, must be understood parenthetically: *And now וְעָרַדְתָּ אֵל, al tenqueu, do not hold him (Shimei) guiltless (for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou shouldst do unto him), וְעָרַדְתָּ, ueurdet, neither bring down his gray hairs with blood to the grave: i. e. plainly, for his past offences against David. Accordingly Solomon held him not guiltless, by confining him to Jerusalem, under pain of death, and when he violated this condition, to which he himself had expressly assented and sworn, Solomon, for this fresh offence, as a wise man, caused him to die; and so Jehovah eventually turned Shimei's wickedness against David on his own head. See ver. 35—46; and compare in the Hebrew, Deut. vii. 25; 2 Sam. i. 21; Ps. xxvi. 9; Prov. vi. 4; Ps. cxliii. 7; but especially Deut. xxxiii. 6, where the *vau*, prefixed to the verb *וְיָ*, *yei*, signifies *and not*,*

neither, referring to the preceding *וְאֵל, al*, just as in 1 Kings ii. 9; and this interpretation fully explains the text, and acquits David of the charge of cruelty and treachery in his conduct towards Shimei."

I now present in connection, the several verses from the fifth to the tenth inclusive of the second chapter of 1st Kings, according to my views of the true rendering sustained by the above remarks.

5. And also thou knowest what Joab the son of Zeruiah did to me, and what he did to the two captains of the host of Israel, to Abner the son of Ner, and to Amasa the son of Jether, whom he slew, and shed the blood of war in (time of) peace; and put the blood of war upon his girdle that was about his loins, and upon his shoes that were on his feet.

6. Now do according to thy wisdom, yet bring not down his gray hairs in (time of) peace, unto the grave.

7. And to the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, show abundant kindness, and let them be of those that eat at thy table for so they came to me when I fled because of Absalom thy brother.

8. And behold there is with thee Shimei the son of Gera, a Benjamite of Bahurim, which cursed me with a mighty curse in the day when I went to Mahanaim: but he came down to meet me at Jordan, and I swore to him by the Lord, saying, I will not put thee to death with the sword.

9. And now, do not hold him guiltless, (for thou art a wise man and knowest what thou shouldst do unto him,) neither bring down his gray hairs with blood unto the grave.

10. So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David.

ALEPH.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

The more I examine the Christian religion and the laws of my being, and compare them with the popular notions of War and Slavery, the more clearly is it demonstrated to my mind, that these practices are anti Christian, and subversive of man's true happiness. The Christian religion is emphatically a religion of love; peculiarly adapted to our wants and condition, and the only principle that is capable of conferring upon us, or bringing us into, a perfect state of happiness. It is to me a matter of surprise, how any who profess to be qualified by the Spirit and power of God, to be teachers of the blessed and holy doctrines of the new dispensation, as revealed by Jesus Christ, and set forth in the New Testament, can so readily appeal to the Old for a justification of the above practices. They profess to believe that the New was designed to supersede the Old, and is in every respect superior to it. How would it be possible for them, if they were sincere in this belief and faithful to live in accordance with it,

to go to the Mosaic dispensation for a justification of any practices that are prohibited by the Christian. "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?—A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." These sayings of Christ are perfectly agreeable to our every day's observation. We all know that a good man cannot do a bad act, neither can a wicked man do a good act; therefore by their fruits they shall be known. I hold it to be an incontrovertible truth, that it is utterly impossible for a follower of Christ to kill, enslave, or designedly and maliciously injure a fellow being. A true disciple must be influenced by the spirit of love, which, from its nature, must of necessity govern and regulate every passion within us of an opposite kind. It is perfectly preposterous for any of us to call ourselves Christians, and claim a Christian's reward, whilst living in opposition to the heavenly and benign influences of the doctrines of the Christian religion.

I have no confidence in a man's profession, unless his life be in accordance with it. How much more honourable and consistent would it be, in those who approbate war and slavery, at once to say, "We have not faith to believe that the doctrines of the Christian religion, as inculcated by Jesus Christ, are adapted to man's wants and conditions. Those of the Mosaic dispensation appear to be more in harmony with the laws of our being."

I propose calling the attention of the Society of Friends, particularly, to the consideration of the subjects of war and slavery. Friends profess to bear a testimony against these anti-Christian practices; believing them to be contrary to God's law and spirit of love, as revealed through his Son Jesus Christ, and also to man's experience of what constitutes his true happiness. I observe that, in their Book of Discipline, they request their members to avoid giving any encouragement to war. They also advise and exhort them to be no ways accessory to the enormous national evil of the slave-trade; and they earnestly recommend to the Meeting for Sufferings to embrace every suitable opportunity for advancing their testimony in this respect, and for calling the attention of the public mind to this awfully interesting subject. They also prohibit their members from hiring slaves of their masters, to labour for them. My object is to draw their attention to a daily warfare which is carried on in the most shocking and revolting manner, that it is possible to conceive of, by one portion of the human family, against another, not for an alleged crime, but simply for the unhallowed purpose of pecuniary gain, and administer-

ing to the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life. It appears to me that this species of warfare, from the capturing of the negro in Africa and conveying him to other climes, with the sufferings and death attendant thereupon, to the outrages against his inalienable rights during the whole period of his existence, is as much at variance with the Christian religion, as truth is with error. How it is that Friends have not felt it their duty to discourage this species of war, in every possible manner, is to me a mystery. Perhaps I may be answered, they have done so in discouraging the slave-trade, and the system of slavery. This brings us to the consideration and examination of their life and conduct, to ascertain how far they are in accordance with their discipline in reference to those subjects. In the first place, they advise and exhort their members not to be accessory to the slave-trade in any manner, nor to encourage their fellow men to hold others in a state of involuntary servitude, by hiring those thus enslaved. I hope Friends will carefully and prayerfully examine the propositions I am about bringing to their view; that the consumers of the products of slave labour, are the essential supporters of the system of slavery, and are accessory to the slave-trade. Also that they are encouraging a daily warfare, that is as anti-Christian as any other war. It is an undoubted truth, that every man, in his profession or calling, is sustained and encouraged to continue in it, in consequence of the demand for his services, or the productions of his labour. Withdraw this demand, and he will of necessity change his occupation. Upon the same principle, if you do away with the demand for the productions of slave-labour, you do away with the system of slavery, the slave-trade and the war that is necessary to enforce them; inasmuch as the demand for such productions stimulates to these practices, with all of their concomitant train of evils. I am utterly at a loss to see how Friends can reconcile the practice of consuming the products of slave-labour with their discipline, and the benign and heavenly doctrines of Jesus Christ, which they profess to venerate, embrace, and live in accordance with. I am aware, that there are various reasons given in justification of the practice. Some say that the Society, as a body, have never borne a testimony against it; hence the inference, that it is not contrary to what God's spirit of love would lead into, otherwise this spirit would have lead them out of it. If we test the practice by the principle of truth, and find it to be in opposition thereto, our duty will lead us to discontinue it, notwithstanding our predecessors omitted testing it by that standard which, when faithfully followed,

leads into all truth. Others say, they do not feel at liberty to move in any moral reform, without an immediate revelation from heaven, requiring them to do so. Upon the same principle they should not be willing to continue in any practice they have been accustomed to from habit and education, without an immediate revelation from heaven that God requires them so to do. In the absence of such a revelation, in either case, what is our reasonable duty? Is it not to bring our deeds to the light, that they may be judged by the light? I apprehend that when we wish to arrive at the truth of any proposition, it is absolutely necessary that we become acquainted with the rule or principle by which alone it can be solved, otherwise our efforts will be fruitless. I have no question that Friends have sustained a great loss in reference to the subjects under consideration, as well as others, in consequence of settling down in a lukewarm state of indifference; expecting an immediate revelation from God, manifesting his will to them in reference to their conduct towards their fellow men. This revelation, upon a general principle, has certainly been given to us, through his Son Jesus Christ, wherein he commands us to love him above every thing else, and our neighbour or mankind, as ourselves, which obeyed, would lead us to fulfil another of his commands—to do unto others as we would they should do unto us. Agreeably to these views, it would appear to be our duty to examine all of our acts and conduct towards our fellow men, by the above commands, and prayerfully ask the witness of truth within us, to decide, whether they are in accordance therewith, and to act conformably to its decision. It is in vain to say that the small amount they consume, would have no perceptible influence in the abolishment of the sinful practice of enslaving our fellow men. The amount consumed by Friends, would probably require the labour of from five to ten thousand slaves; therefore, they are accountable for that number being held in the most abject state of servitude imaginable; besides the lives which are sacrificed in obtaining that number, and in coercing their labour. They are still further accountable for the encouragement they thus give to others, to brutalize their fellow men, who, undoubtedly, are as much the objects of God's regard and love as themselves, and equal candidates for the kingdom of heaven. In view of these facts, it is unquestionably our duty to abolish slavery individually, so far as we are sustaining it; and to make use of all consistent, Christian means to influence others to do the same. My sincere desires and prayers are, that Friends and others will severally and carefully examine

the above views, by the principle of truth within themselves, and if consistent therewith, embrace them, and live in accordance with them; inasmuch as such a life is the only one that leads into the kingdom of heaven, wherein alone we can enjoy that peace and happiness which the world or the things thereof can neither give nor take away. C. C.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Founded in the City and County of Philadelphia by Charter from William Penn.

(Concluded.)

The Corporation, though not officially connected with the religious Society of Friends, has always been composed of members. A minute of 1772 states:—"It has been the care of the overseers of the school hitherto, and it is our earnest desire the same care may ever be maintained, to nominate such only to be overseers who are members of our religious Society in fellowship with the quarterly and monthly meetings of Friends, in this city and county. It is now agreed that so far as it may be in our power we ought to support and confirm such a connection with the said meetings, so that on any occasion in which the reputation and interest of the Society may be promoted in the discharge of the trust committed to us, agreeably to our Charter, we may ever be ready and willing to hear and consider any thing which may be offered to us by the said meetings."

During the revolutionary war the Corporation had many trying difficulties to contend with. Their school-houses were occupied by the military; their schools were broken up by test acts, passed by the assembly, requiring all teachers to take oaths of allegiance, with which Friends could not conscientiously comply; and their resources were greatly reduced by the derangement of the currency, which rendered it nearly impracticable to collect rents and other debts, except in a depreciated paper money. The following minutes, in relation to these difficulties, may prove interesting.

"First mo. 30, 1777. A number of soldiers, part of the American army, being placed by their deputy quarter-master in a forcible manner in our Latin school-house some time in the last month, and on application made by some of the overseers, removed, and since twice in the like manner forced into that school-room, John Thompson, after consulting with some of the overseers last week, opened his school in the chamber of Pine street school-house, 12 mo. 25, 1777. Our

school-house having been ordered to be vacated by Sir William Erskine, quarter master general of the British troops, for the accommodation of the soldiers, several of the overseers waited upon him with a view to have his order revoked, which he declining to do, it was concluded most prudent to remove the school furniture and other effects belonging to the corporation, and it now being necessary to provide other places for keeping our schools in, a committee was appointed for that purpose."

"Ninth mo. 24, 1778. Joseph Yerkes having been arrested and bound with his two sureties to appear to the city court next month, to answer for teaching school without taking the affirmation prescribed by a late act of Assembly; although on considering the case, it is not clear this Board would have advised him to give bail on the occasion; Samuel Rhoads, Nicholas Wain, and James Pemberton are desired to advise and assist him."

The yearly meeting of 1779 having revived the concern of more attentively promoting the religious education of the youth, and of encouraging the establishment of schools under pious tutors for their profitable instruction, the monthly meetings of Philadelphia were desirous to acquaint the next yearly meeting with the care that had been early manifested, and the progress made on this important matter. A joint conference of the overseers of the school, and the committee of the monthly meetings was agreed upon, and held on the 9th of 7th mo. 1779, at which the committee laid before the Board several important queries which after a free conference on the subject of instruction and education of youth were deliberately considered, and the following members were appointed to prepare answers to them, viz.: Nicholas Wain, Henry Drinker, James Pemberton and John Pemberton. At the next meeting of the Board an essay of answers was produced, and, with some alterations, adopted and forwarded to the committees of the monthly meetings, from which the following valuable remarks are taken, viz.:

"It is our judgment that the preservation of our children from a corrupting connection with such whose example and conduct are injurious to their moral and religious education, depends principally upon the strict care and concern of parents and the heads of families, without which the endeavours of others, who are entrusted with their instruction and the oversight thereof, will be rendered difficult or wholly ineffectual, and we think it is the duty of parents to restrain them from running at large in the streets, or associating with such company whose conversation and example

are not influenced by the pure principle professed by us, whereby they become greatly injured when from under the immediate notice and oversight of their tutors.

"From our observation and experience, we are convinced that the necessity and importance of this duty and care hath been too little attended to by parents and heads of families in general, notwithstanding the many salutary and pressing exhortations frequently given forth by our Yearly Meeting, the revival of which we believe may have a tendency to excite to more diligence and circumspection in a matter so essentially necessary."

It appears from the above essay of answers that there were then under the trust and inspection of the Overseers ten schools, one of which was a "grammar school" for the Greek and Latin languages. In the others were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and some branches of mathematics. In the school for girls, such branches as were peculiarly suitable for them were also taught, as sewing, &c. Two of the schools (one of them the grammar school) were composed of members and professors, the others, of mixed religious denominations; the number of scholars in each school varied from twenty-four to fifty.

Care was taken that the children of poor Friends should freely partake of learning in the several schools, and, when the funds would allow, the like charity was extended to others: but the circumstances of public affairs caused many difficulties and disabled the Overseers from extending this charity in the same manner as heretofore.

"On the whole (the Overseers conclude) we have ground to hope if the concern of the Yearly Meeting is duly attended to by parents and others who have the oversight and care of children, and our endeavours to promote it fervently united, that a reformation may take place for the essential good of the youth and our religious Society in general, in which necessary work the Overseers of the schools in this city will gladly co-operate with their brethren as far as comes under their notice and trust."

In 1779 the test laws which had been in some parts altered and repealed were again revived. The Board endeavoured to encourage their teachers to firmness in maintaining their stations, but four of the male teachers discontinued their schools, not having sufficient stability to withstand the opposition they feared, and the penalties to which they might be subjected.

The Overseers had seriously considered the subject of remonstrating against the law, but the meeting for sufferings having prepared a memo-

rial and address embracing this and other subjects affecting the religious rights of Friends and other conscientious people, it rendered action on their part unnecessary.

COPY OF THE MEMORIAL.

"To the General Assembly of Pennsylvania:

"The memorial and address of the religious Society, called Quakers, respectfully sheweth—That divers laws have lately been enacted which are very injurious in their nature, oppressive in their manner of execution, and greatly affect us in our religious and civil liberties and privileges, particularly a law passed by the last assembly entitled 'A further Supplement to the test law of this State,' in the operation whereof the present and succeeding generations are materially interested. We therefore apprehend it a duty owing to ourselves and our posterity to lay before you the grievances to which we are subjected by these laws.

"Our predecessors, on their early settlement in this part of America, being piously concerned for the prosperity of the colony and the real welfare of their posterity, among other salutary institutions, promoted at their own expense, the establishment of schools for the instruction of their youth in useful and necessary learning, and their education in piety and virtue, the practice of which form the most sure basis for perpetuating the enjoyment of Christian liberty and essential happiness.

"By the voluntary contributions of the members of our religious Society, schools were set up in which their children were taught, and careful attention hath been given to the instruction of the children of the poor, not of our Society only, but our liberality hath been extended to poor children of other religious denominations generally, numbers of whom have partaken thereof, and these schools have been in like manner continued and maintained for a long course of years.

"Duty to Almighty God, made known in the consciences of men, and confirmed by the Holy Scriptures, is an invariable rule which governs their judgment and actions; He is the only Lord and Sovereign of consciences, and to Him we are accountable for our conduct, as by Him all men are to be finally judged.

"By conscience we mean the apprehension and persuasion a man hath of his duty to God, and the liberty of conscience we plead for is a free, open profession and unmolested exercise of that duty—such a conscience, as under the influence of Divine Grace, keeps within the bounds of morality in all the affairs of human life, and teacheth

us to live soberly, righteously and godly in the world.

"As a religious Society, we have ever held forth that the Gospel dispensation was introduced for completing the happiness of mankind, by taking away the occasion of strife, contention and bloodshed, and therefore we are conscientiously restrained from promoting or joining in wars or fightings, and when laws have been made to enforce our compliance contrary to the convictions of our consciences, we have thought it our duty patiently to suffer, though we have often been grievously oppressed.

"The principle we hold in this respect requires us to be a peaceable people, and through the various changes and revolutions which have occurred since our religious Society hath existed, we have never been concerned in promoting or abetting any combinations, insurrections or parties to endanger the public peace, or by violence to oppose the authority of Government—apprehending it our duty quietly to submit, and peaceably to demean ourselves under every government which Divine Providence, in his unerring wisdom, may permit to be placed over us, so that no government can have just occasion for entertaining fears or jealousies of disturbance or danger from us; but if any professing with us deviate from this peaceable into a contrary conduct, and foment discords, feuds or animosities, giving just occasion of uneasiness or disquiet, we think it our duty to declare against their proceedings.

"By the same divine principle we are restrained from complying with the injunctions and requisitions made on us of tests and declarations of fidelity to either party who are engaged in actual war lest we contradict, by our conduct, the profession of our faith.

"It is obvious in these days of depravity, as in former times, that 'because of oaths the land mourns,' and the multiplying the use of them and such solemn engagements, renders them familiar, debases the minds of the people, and adds to the number of gross evils already lamentably prevalent which have drawn down the chastisements of Heaven upon our guilty country.

"We are not actuated by political or party motives, we are real friends to our country who wish its prosperity, and think a solicitude for the enjoyment of our equitable rights, and that invaluable privilege of liberty of conscience, free from coercion, cannot be justly deemed unreasonable; many of us, and other industrious inhabitants, being exposed to heavy penalties and sufferings, which are abundantly increased by the rigor of mistaken and unreasonable men under

the sanction of law, whereby many are already reduced to great straits, and threatened with total ruin, the effects of whose impoverishment must at length be sensibly felt by the community at large, through the decline of cultivation and other necessary employments.

"We have been much abused and vilified by divers anonymous publications, and our conduct greatly perverted and misrepresented by groundless reports, and the errors of individuals charged upon us as a body in order to render us odious to the people, and to prepossess the minds of persons in power against us; being conscious of our innocence, and submitting our cause to the Lord who judgeth righteously, we have preferred patience in bearing the reproach to public contest, not doubting that as the minds of the people became more settled and composed, our peaceful demeanour would manifest the injustice we suffered, and being persuaded that on a cool, dispassionate hearing we should be able to invalidate or remove the mistaken reports and suggestions prevailing to our prejudice.

"The matters we have now freely laid before you are serious and important, which we wish you to consider wisely as men, and religiously as Christians, manifesting yourselves friends to true liberty and enemies to persecution, by repealing the several penal laws affecting tender consciences, and restoring to us our equitable rights, that the means of education and the instruction of our youth, which we conceive to be our reasonable and religious duty, may not be obstructed, and that the oppressed may be relieved. In your consideration whereof, we sincerely desire you may seek for, and be directed by, that Supreme Wisdom which is pure, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits; and are your real friends.

"Signed, on behalf of a meeting of the representatives of said people, held in Philadelphia the 4th day of the 11th mo., 1779, by

JOHN DRINKER, Clerk."

In 1784 a report was made to the Board by its committee of the condition of the schools, and the number of the children taught, from which the following statement is taken, viz:

In the grammar school (then under the charge of Robert Proud, the historian of Pennsylvania,) there were 30 scholars; Barclay's Apology in Latin, and the Greek and Latin Testament were read by them; the price charged was six pounds per annum, one guinea entrance fee, and five shillings for fuel. In addition to this school, the committee remark, their attendance at meeting on

Fifth day should be further enjoined, and a regulation with respect to (some) of the authors read by them, considered; to which purpose a list of sundry books in the Latin and Greek languages is lately received from our friend Richard Shackleton, master of Friends' School at Balitore, in Ireland, which we intend to communicate to Robert Proud for his opinion of the propriety of substituting them in his school, if they can be procured, instead of Roman Classics usually made use of.

In the nine remaining schools, the charges are from three to six pounds per annum, according to the age of the children and the branches taught. The whole number of scholars was 434, of whom 70 were taught gratis.

In the report of the committee it is also stated, "That the board had endeavoured for many years past to promote a separate school for teaching the most useful and instructive branches of mathematics, and had procured some apparatus for this purpose, and they now desire that a prudent, well qualified teacher might be sought for which may prevent some of our youth from going elsewhere to obtain such knowledge."

In the year 1786 the number of schools was increased to 14, and the number of free scholars to 177, a large majority of whom were of other religious denominations.

For the further promotion and encouragement of the mathematical department, a considerable importation of apparatus from London was made in 1787.

In 1793, "the usual meetings and customary attention to the duties of this very interesting trust suffered some months interruption from the spreading and prevalence of a calamitous disease, which through Divine Providence visited the city and liberties, attended with a mortality more general and extensive than has been known since the settlement of this country." Four of the most useful teachers were taken off in this awful visitation.

There are frequent evidences, on the minutes, of the watchful care of the overseers in regard to the books used in the schools, and their concern to admit none that would lead from the testimonies of our religious society. The following advice to the teachers was issued in 1796: "The variety of style in our language being much increased, and too much attention being paid to that which is merely ornamental, we think it our duty to recommend to you to teach the children as much as possible what may with propriety be called a plain style. This will necessarily include the attention to the plain language, and will lead to the use of some of the best authors who have

sought to be intelligible and useful without attempting to set off their sentiments by any thing but their intrinsic worth; it will further lead to a proper attention to the rules of grammar."

By a report made in 1798, it appears that the applications of persons of other religious denominations for the admission of their children into the corporation schools, had much increased, and had induced the teachers to admit more into the schools than they could rightly bring forward in their learning, or train in that "stillness, sobriety and industry, wherein children cannot be too early initiated, and which may be of essential advantage to them during the remaining course of their lives."

A committee was appointed to consider the subject, and proposed a plan for the better conducting of the schools. In the plan recommended by the committee and adopted by the board, a reduction of the number under the care of each teacher was considered essential, and "that the schools be confined primarily to those of our religious society, conformably to the manifest design of the promoters, real benefactors and supporters of the institution."

At the same time, their Christian liberality was marked by the expression of their wishes that "The poor of other religious denominations may have such share of our ease and income as is fully consistent with the original design, and the express or general tenor of the charter."

That their plan might be effected without circumscribing the income of the teachers, it was concluded, if a sufficient number of scholars of the desired kind did not apply, that the deficiency should be made up out of the funds of the corporation, and as the charge of tuition was fixed at a low rate, a salary should also be paid in addition to the amount received from the parents and others.

In conformity with this arrangement, several select schools were formed in different parts of the city, under the care of well qualified teachers, members of our religious Society, but not without considerable exertion and large expense on the part of the corporation.

In 1803 an accidental fire destroyed a large portion of one of the principal school houses, and also the classical library and entire collection of mathematical and philosophical apparatus. Accommodations were immediately provided elsewhere, and but little interruption of the several schools ensued. The building was quickly repaired.

By the report of a committee of general visitation in 1810, it appeared that in the 14 schools, there were 475 children, about 232 of whom were

members of Society, and many of the others were either professors with us, or not being immediately in membership with any other religious society, attended our meetings for divine worship. The schools generally were in an encouraging state, though there appears to have been some causes of concern to the overseers, especially in regard to their attendance of our religious meetings, held near the middle of the week, not being as diligent as it should be.

In 1815 a costly set of apparatus was imported from London, and renewed exertions made to establish on a more liberal scale, mathematical as well as classical instruction. Several years subsequently courses of lectures on natural philosophy, botany and mineralogy were delivered.

The report of the visiting committee in 1824, states that there were then in the 15 schools 479 scholars, the majority of whom were members. Several of the schools continued to be very nearly select. The Holy Scriptures were read in all the schools, and the conduct of the children was generally satisfactory to the committee. 137 of the pupils were taught at the expense of the corporation.

In considering the report of this committee, the board were "brought under a renewed exercise for the true advancement of the pupils, and issued advices to the teachers, the object of which was to impress upon them the necessity of imbuing the minds of the children with such a feeling of the nature of the Christian religion and its happy effects, obvious in the lives of the truly pious, as might through the Divine goodness draw them into a love of it, and engage them in an earnest desire to seek after it as for hidden treasure." In order to qualify the teachers for this, they were exhorted to "daily fervent aspirations to the source and fountain of all perfection, to preserve them in his fear and lead them in his counsel; that through the aid of His Holy Spirit, they might go in and out with propriety and acceptance before the children committed to their care, with their minds bowed in religious concern for their own preservation, they might be enabled, whilst imparting literary instruction, to convey to the minds of their scholars a savor of Christian virtue exemplified in calmness, patience, and a steady adherence to the testimonies and principles of our religious Society."

For a number of years subsequent to this period there was but little change in the schools. At the present time although the number of the schools has been diminished, the corporation continue to educate, gratuitously, about one hundred and thirty children annually, and to afford to

others, at much less than the usual rates, the opportunity of having their offspring instructed in a more guarded and select manner than at the public schools.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

A REVIEW

OF A PAMPHLET ENTITLED

"An Appeal to the Public on behalf of a House of Refuge for Coloured Juvenile Delinquents."

The undersigned, a Standing Committee of the "Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African Race," appointed to advise and aid the coloured people in matters pertaining to their moral and physical well-being, and to have a general oversight of their interests, having had our attention drawn to certain statements contained in "An Appeal to the Public, on behalf of a House of Refuge for Coloured Juvenile Delinquents;" a careful investigation of the facts therein set forth was instituted, and in conformity with the direction of the Society, we respectfully present the following as the result of our enquiries.

The "Appeal" referred to, (the substance of which has recently been republished in the form of a circular) is in the opinion of this committee calculated to convey to the public, an impression of degradation and crime amongst the coloured population, which does not actually exist; and thereby to increase the popular prejudice against them. The statistics which it contains, although a correct transcript from the Records, are unaccompanied with such explanations as they require, and which would materially alter their bearing and tendency; hence are not to be taken alone, as the basis of conclusions touching the moral and physical condition of this class of our population.

We allege that the facts presented in the "Appeal" are partial and disjointed, and if received independently of other facts and circumstances, would present a picture of depravity of the coloured race amongst us, alarming to their friends, and as favourable to the idea of their inferiority and worthlessness, as their most prejudiced and bitter opponents could desire. It is to counteract such impressions, and to take away from the slaveholder, and his apologist, an argument with which we fear these statistics would supply him, that this committee have felt called upon to present a view of the question, which they think

will place the coloured people in an entirely different light, so that instead of looking upon them as a burden and nuisance, and as occupying a very low position in the scale of morals, they will be viewed rather as a useful and improving class—notwithstanding the moral, social and political disabilities under which they labour.

In attempting this task, the committee have no invidious charges to make against the respectable individuals whose names appear to the "Appeal." Some of them we recognise as known friends of the coloured people, and several are members of the Abolition Society. They doubtless have appended their names to that document, without perceiving its pernicious tendency, and we trust they will join with us in efforts to correct any false impressions which it may make. Nor would we stand in the way of any wise and benevolent efforts to afford an Asylum for coloured juvenile delinquents. We have long believed that this class of offenders should be the objects of care, equally with those of a different complexion. Our labours to that effect are well known to the Managers of the House of Refuge, to whom we have constantly protested against their exclusion of coloured children from the benefits of the present institution, as being contrary to the dictates of benevolence, and in opposition to the wishes and expectations of many of the original contributors to the Refuge; as well as to law and sound policy.

The first statement in the appeal to which we would call attention is as follows, viz.:

"It appears that whilst the proportion of coloured to white population in Philadelphia City and County is as one to twelve, the ratio of coloured to white paupers in Blockley Alms House on the 3d of January, 1st mo. 1846, was more than one to seven, and of untried prisoners received into the County Prison in the last five years, the proportion of coloured was still greater, or more than one to two."

This extract is taken from the abridged "Appeal" in circular form, and is a condensed statement or summary derived from statistics which are given at length in the pamphlet.

We will pass over, for the present, the first part of this extract, which relates to pauperism, and proceed at once to examine what we consider the most important; having more immediate connection with the objects of our concern, and as directly affecting the moral standing of the coloured people. To wit:—

Moyamensing Prison.

In the second clause of the "Appeal" in which

the number of untried prisoners received into the county prison is given, the proportion of coloured to white prisoners is stated to be more than one to two. Without presuming to deny or call in question the sad reality of the fact, here stated in all its simple and naked deformity, we will briefly remark, that it is altogether ex-parte; and under this view of the subject, are grieved and surprised that the authors of the "Appeal," in attempting to give the public an idea of the moral condition of the people of colour, should not have discriminated between the actual criminals, and the unfortunate sufferers from a cruel prejudice.

The committee have taken special pains to investigate the alarming state of things indicated by the above statement. Two of our number were deputed to that service; they accordingly, in July last, spent an afternoon at the County Prison, and were obligingly furnished by the officers with every facility to prosecute their enquiries. They were informed that more than half of the commitments of the City and County came from a district including about twelve squares, lying on the southern line of the City proper, and including Moyamensing. The population in this district was roughly estimated at 20,000, about one half of whom are coloured. In the month of January, 1846, the whole number of commitments, white and coloured, from the city and county was 409. Of these, 212 were from the district referred to, and the balance 197 from all other parts of the City and County.

The number of coloured persons out of the whole number of commitments was 129, of these ninety-two were from the infected district, and thirty-seven from other parts. Here we have a fact, which gives a clue to the fair average proportion of crime between the whites and coloured. If from two hundred and twelve, the whole number of commitments shown by the Prison records in January last to have come from the twelve squares spoken of by the officers of the Prison, we deduct ninety-two, the number of coloured persons included in that category, as the proportion of blacks from the same range of population, it gives us one hundred and twenty, as the ratio of white prisoners, which is rather more than 25 per cent in favour of the coloured race in this particular district, where the population is about equally divided; and we do not hesitate to express our firm conviction that under the same circumstances, having the same opportunities, and exposed to like temptations, there is a greater amount of crime amongst the whites than amongst the coloured people.

Farther. Of these one hundred and twenty-

nine coloured commitments in January last, only twenty-three were convicted when brought to trial, fifteen of whom were from the district of twelve squares spoken of—and every one of the whole number (twenty-three) for no higher grade of offence than larceny! This certainly does not argue such alarming depravity amongst the coloured people, as appears to have been intentionally indicated by the statements in the "Appeal." If out of a population estimated at some twenty thousand souls, in that portion of the districts where they are most thickly settled, amid all the temptations of a city life, and the greatly increased temptations (to the poor) of mid-winter, when the cold is severe, and work scarce, to have but fifteen convictions for crime in one month, and they for the lowest grade known in law, is an argument rather in favour of, than against the moral character of the coloured people as a class.

But what became of the enormous number of one hundred and six coloured prisoners in a single month, who were discharged without being convicted of crime? These are herded together under the general head of "untried prisoners in the County prison," and thus as an aggregate are presented to the public, as affording evidence of the alarming moral destitution of our coloured population. Whereas, in point of fact, they only serve to show the gross prejudice and injustice of committing magistrates towards this people. The facts here stated are not new. In a printed Report published by this committee under its original organization in 1837 it was shown by official documents that not more than one in six of the coloured persons thrown into the County prison as offenders were ever brought to trial. The Grand Jury of the Court of Quarter Sessions for the County, for June term 1837, were so satisfied of this fact, that they made it the subject of special presentment in the following words:

"The Grand Jury would also state they consider the conduct of many of the Magistrates highly reprehensible in permitting very many cases of assault and battery to come before them; if they were to use a proper influence, they have it in their power to settle many of them, which would save the County, and relieve the Courts of considerable time, trouble and expense. The course pursued by many of the magistrates in Southwark and Moyamensing is truly astonishing; it would seem that they are in the habit of committing individuals who appear to be almost penniless and destitute to prison, on the most frivolous grounds, (merely for the sake of private emolument)."

The conduct of Committing Magistrates in re-

lation to this defenceless portion of the community has since been noticed on several occasions by Grand Juries in their presentments, and by the Judges of our Courts.

The next point to which we would call attention is the

Eastern Penitentiary.

In relation to this Prison the following statement is given in the "Appeal," viz.:

"Number of Convicts committed to the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, from the opening of the Institution in 1829, to December 31, 1845.

White Convicts,	1,367
Coloured Convicts,	692

Total, 2,059

Ratio of coloured to white prisoners rather more than 1 to 2."

In contemplating the great disproportion between the white and coloured convicts here set forth, and picturing in imagination the number of whites which would have been confined there had they been equally vicious, we have not felt the degree of alarm manifested by the authors of the "Appeal." And we would ask the unprejudiced enquirer to consider several circumstances in connection with their statements, before they pass judgment upon this class of our population.

First. It must be remembered that the statistics of the Eastern Penitentiary, quoted in the Appeal, include coloured convicts of all ages, the House of Refuge not being opened to youthful coloured offenders, which, had it been, would have certainly diminished the ratio, to some extent. But suppose that from the opening of the Eastern Penitentiary in 1829, to December 31, 1845, comprising a period of seventeen years, six hundred and ninety-two coloured persons out of two thousand and fifty-nine, have been sent to that prison from Eastern Pennsylvania, does even this fact furnish an argument for the increased moral depravity of the coloured people, under the peculiar circumstances in which they are found amongst us? We think not.

Because, secondly. It will not be denied that prejudice against colour is one of the most inveterate, wide spread and deep rooted sentiments in this community. Not the less unjust, that it pervades all classes from the lowest to the highest—that its insidious influence is continually seen and felt in the social and political structure of society. This being the fact, it is not wonderful that it should find its way even into courts of justice. We have already shown how it operates amongst the inferior magistracy, and how mate-

rially the statistics of the County Prison are affected by it. And we would respectfully enquire whether the same rule will not apply in both cases. Who will deny, that the circumstance of an offender being a negro, (as these people are contemptuously called) is not against him with the great mass of the community? Or that many convictions occur to the black man, which the white man under similar circumstances would have escaped? Or that a great inequality exists between white and coloured convicts in the severity of punishment for the same grade of offences—the coloured convict as a general rule getting a much longer sentence—let the criminal reports in our daily papers answer. And who does not know the influence which wealth and station—the power of eloquent counsel and interested friends (of which the coloured prisoner is generally destitute) have over the minds of the community, and of courts and juries in forming their estimate of guilt? Or in how many instances the consequences of crime, even of a serious character, are evaded by those possessed of ample resources, and ingenious tact in eluding the penalties of the law.

As strongly corroborative of the estimate we have placed upon the general good character of the coloured people, and confirmatory of the sentiments advanced in our former Report, when treating upon the subject of crime, we cannot refrain from introducing an extract from some remarks published in the Colonization Herald, as having been made in the Senate of Pennsylvania, on the resolution relative to the right of petition, by Jesse R. Burden, the decided and uniform opposer of the course of abolitionists, and denunciator of their measures, and at that time in high standing in the community.

"In the prisons they (coloured persons) were numerous, their offences seldom of a high grade, generally those incident to poverty. The number of commitments was in a great measure to be accounted for from prejudice against their colour, and from want of friends. Our Pennsylvania system of 'squires' looks less to the satisfaction of justice, than to the justice's pocket—obedience to the laws is starvation to the magistrate—his interest is made to consist in having the laws broken, or in committing men under colour of law. He will discharge a white man from prison because a few dollars can be raised among his friends; the coloured man for want of funds, remains in prison until term time."

"He said he had never known an instance of a coloured person using disrespectful language to a white man, when spoken to in the manner

which a gentleman ought to speak. He believed the conduct of the coloured people had been as good as any person had a right to expect, considering the circumstances under which they were placed."

Under this view of the subject, we would again enquire whether the crimes of the poor black—which in the largest proportion of cases are not of the highest grade, and where all the surrounding circumstances favour detection, conviction and consequent severe punishment, are to be set down to the account of his degraded moral condition; and a strict comparison drawn between him, and the more favoured race, when the circumstances of the two classes are so widely different.

Were all the violators of law and morals, all the offenders against the peace and good order of the community, brought to justice with the same rigor and pertinacity as are those of the African race, and were the laws administered with equal strictness in the cases of all, we strongly suspect that the apparent inequality in the criminal calendar would present a far different aspect.

These views are not presented in the language of censure or complaint against any class of our fellow citizens, or in extenuation of the crimes which unhappily exist in too large a degree amongst the coloured population; but as facts which belong to the examination of the actual moral condition of these people, without the consideration of which, it is impossible to draw a just comparison between them and the more favored classes amongst whom they dwell.

(To be Continued.)

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH 1, 1847.

TESTIMONY AGAINST WAR. When members of the Society of Friends speak of bearing a testimony against any evil practice, they do not mean an open attestation or profession, merely, but a public evidence, by their whole life, of their belief in its sinfulness. It has happened, however, that they have not, in all cases, at once perceived the full extent to which their principles would legitimately lead them. Although the first members of that Society held the sentiments and principles which now prevent their descendants from purchasing or holding slaves, yet, for more than a century after the rise of the society, both slavery and the foreign slave-trade were tolerated amongst them. Spirituous liquors were used by Friends universally, as a common drink, until a period

comparatively recent, and there are even instances on record of monthly meetings appointing committees to see that all their members were provided with rum or other spirits in time of harvest. In both these cases their testimony has been progressive.

From its origin, the Society of Friends has always declared that all wars are in opposition to Christianity, yet, during a long period, its members appear to have been satisfied in a connection with war, which was subsequently repudiated.

John Woolman left an interesting account of the difficulties in which Friends were involved during the war against the Indians, in Pennsylvania, in 1755. He did not feel easy to pay a tax which was laid to carry on the war, and he relates that he "had conversation with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes; some of them I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time; yet there was in the depths of my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and at certain times I was greatly distressed on that account." "To refuse the active payment of a tax which our Society generally paid, was exceedingly disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and in my distress I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow him wheresoever he was pleased to lead me."

At the Yearly Meeting of 1755, a Committee was appointed to correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings in London, and another to visit the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. These committees met together and had "a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time," says John Woolman, "I perceived there were many Friends under a scruple like that before mentioned." This conference held by adjournments for several days. "Friends thus met," continues he, "were not all of one mind in relation to the tax; which, to such who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment, at such a time, might be construed into an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here, but in England. Still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends, that nothing moved it; it was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at, and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some Friends, of the said committees, who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments withdrew; others of them continued till the last. At length,

an Epistle of tender love and caution, to Friends in Pennsylvania, was drawn up by some Friends concerned, on that subject; and being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such of them as were free to sign it, and afterwards sent to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings."

Samuel Fothergill, in a letter to his sister, dated Philadelphia, 12th mo. 17th, 1755, says:—"A number of substantial Friends from divers parts of this province having appointed a meeting for conference together in this city, and requesting my meeting them, I found some engagement of mind for the service. Our conference continued, by several adjournments, until this evening." He signed the Epistle adopted by the committees, and, in his subsequent correspondence, several times alluded to the subject. Before he left America, he learned that the advice it contained was disapproved by some Friends in England; and after his return home, he wrote to John Churchman thus:—"I found in almost every mind a secret displeasure against the Friends who signed the Epistle of caution and advice; and fully expected to be tried by the Meeting of Sufferings, for being concerned in it. But innocently conscious of my own and friends' integrity, and mindful of that which engaged us, I was quiet, and yet bold. I have this remark to make, although subscribing that epistle hath made me the butt of professor and profane, I never once repented it; I believe it was right, and leave the effect to Him, whose ways are unsearchable, yet faithful, just and true."

In a letter subsequently written to Israel Pemberton, he expresses a strong apprehension of an attack, at the time of the Yearly Meeting in London, from the "opposers of the progress of the Church from strength to strength." He again alludes to the subject, in another letter to John Churchman, dated 9th mo., 1757, in these terms: "The desolations on your frontiers are very distressing, but the difference in Friends' judgment, the disunion within the gates of our Zion, affords more cause of mourning. I am glad to hear mutual condescension prevails amongst you, that ancient signal of best fellowship."

In the year 1757, when John Woolman was in North Carolina, a Friend, "who laboured for his living, having no negroes, and had been a minister many years," related a difficulty he had been under, as follows:—"That as monies had been raised by a tax of late years to carry on war, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and chose rather to suffer restraint of his goods than pay it; and as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any

one else was in the like circumstances, he signified that it had been a heavy trial to him, and more so, for that some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case."

The faithful perseverance of those who found themselves thus constrained practically to advance the testimony, which all *professed*, against war, finally overcame their opposers; and for nearly seventy years, the Discipline of the Society has directed that its members should "carefully avoid engaging in ANY trade or business promotive of war; sharing or partaking of the spoils of war by purchasing or selling prize goods; importing or shipping goods in armed vessels; paying taxes for the express purpose of war; grinding of grain, feeding of cattle, or selling their property, for the use of the army, &c."

The principle having been fully adopted, that no act promotive of war is to be committed, Friends are, individually, and as a Church, called upon to carry it into practice, under all the circumstances which the mutations of time may bring into existence. Few, perhaps, will venture to assert, that the "progress of the Church from strength to strength," has arrived at its ultimate point; or that the members of the Society, in their individual practice, are now observing in all respects and to its full extent, their *testimony against war*. The present state of our country ought to lead them into a renewed examination of their real position, individually, in regard to this matter; and if, in pursuing it, any should find a scruple in their minds respecting some practice, in which "our Society, generally," indulge, may they, like John Woolman under similar circumstances, feel it very "dreadful" to do a thing contrary to their conscience.

The Federal Government is now waging a war against our neighbours in Mexico, for the purpose of adding a vast territory to the United States. If this purpose should be accomplished, that territory will be the "spoils of war;" and it must clearly follow, that it will be "inconsistent with his religious testimony and principle" against war, for a Friend to purchase any part of it. Upon this point there can scarcely be a difference of sentiment, although the forcible possession of the country may be attempted to be justified under the cover of a treaty of peace.

A Member of Congress used the following language, in the House of Representatives—plainly indicating the *character* of any territory which may be given up by Mexico to the United States: "The President has said that the war must be prosecuted until ample indemnity shall be obtained of Mexico. We have already expended

fifty millions of dollars, and in another year will have expended one hundred millions. How is she to indemnify us? She has no money; then of course, by territory. Will she voluntarily yield one-half or two-thirds of her territory? Any child knows better. Then the war is prosecuted to COMPEL her to give up her territory! In other words, for conquest."

Let it be supposed that our Government, not content with despoiling the Mexican nation of its fertile lands, should, to this wrong, add another and an incomparably greater outrage upon the inhabitants; and, robbing them of themselves, their wives and their children, reduce them to the condition of slaves, and dispose of them to new occupants of the soil, to cultivate, by their coerced labour, the newly acquired sugar and cotton plantations. Is there one amongst us who would not, instinctively, reject the fruit of that stolen labour—the avails alike of war and slavery?

But our testimony against war is not confined to our own or to any particular country. It is not limited by geographical lines. The Christian regards all mankind as his brethren, and no "mountains interposed" or intervening seas, can present a barrier to the extension of his religious principles and duties. In whatever portion of the globe, therefore, wars may be waged, he will, in every case, feel impelled to avoid any trade, business or practice, which may promote, prolong or sustain them.

We will turn for a moment to bleeding Africa! It would greatly exceed our limits to attempt a description of the wars which are now, and have been for centuries, prosecuted in that greatly injured land. For our present purpose, it will be sufficient to give the following extracts from a sketch of the slave trade, written by the Editors of the "Friend's Library," and to be found in that work at page 433 of volume 4th.

"It appears that after making ample allowance for all doubtful cases, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand slaves are annually imported from Africa into Cuba, Brazil and Porto Rico, besides a large number (not less than fifty thousand) who are carried every year to Texas, the United States and other countries.

"As these slaves are chiefly the victims of rapine, or prisoners taken in predatory warfare, the number who are killed in procuring them is great, not less probably than those who are captured. During the long forced marches to the sea coast, over burning sands, destitute of food and of water, and subjected to great cruelties, vast numbers perish; and while waiting for a market at the places of deposit on the sea-board, contagious diseases and

sickness, occasioned by grief, confinement and starvation, occasion great mortality.

"On the passage across the Atlantic, it is well ascertained, that the deaths are fully twenty-five per cent. of the whole number shipped; and of those who are landed at the places of destination, twenty per cent die in the seasoning and from other causes.

"Thus we are warranted in the conclusion, that at a moderate estimate, for the two hundred thousand slaves annually taken from Africa, three hundred thousand are sacrificed, and that the continent is thus DESPOILED OF HALF A MILLION OF ITS INHABITANTS EVERY YEAR.

"We have already said that many of the slaves were prisoners of war:

"These wars are not the consequence of a disposition naturally quarrelsome, but are the immediate offspring of cupidity, sharpened up and roused to action by the arrival of a slave-ship. Others of these wretched beings are the innocent victims of a corrupt system of jurisprudence, which owes its existence to the same fruitful source of human misery. This unjust system places the poor natives wholly at the mercy of the petty despots who rule the country. He who has enriched himself by his industry, or who has a numerous family of fine children, the sale of which would produce a handsome sum, seldom escapes the notice of his chieftain. Crimes are invented and promoted, and accusations multiplied, solely with the hope of procuring condemnations, the punishment annexed to which is, 'sale to the slave-merchant.' Many are the victims of a system of avowed rapine and plunder—peacefully pursuing their agricultural or mechanical occupations, they are seized by ruffians who had concealed themselves in ambush, are gagged, bound, and borne away to the slave-ship.

"All these are the effects of the strong temptations held out by the white men who visit their shores, to procure cargoes of slaves; for the natives, when unprovoked by their artifices, evince mild and pacific dispositions; but NO SOONER DOES A SHIP DROP ANCHOR, than avarice, hatred, revenge, and all the malevolent passions which agitate the human breast, seem at once roused to action."

Dreadful, indeed, is this picture of war and misery, and deeply does it behoove every professor of the religion which proclaims, "on earth peace, good will toward men," to inquire, for what purpose this awful sacrifice of human life and wicked violation of the heaven-bestowed rights of man, are maintained.

For what object is Africa "despoiled of half a million of its inhabitants every year"? The answer is found in the destruction of human life on

the plantations of Cuba, Porto Rico and Brazil, which, without this annual supply, would in a few years become depopulated of their coloured labourers.

To what end is this annual supply of 200,000 slaves directed? The production of the cargoes of sugar, coffee, cotton and tobacco, which fill the warehouses of Europe and America, and are found on our tables, in our wardrobes and on our persons. It is then, indisputably, the purchaser and consumer of these articles who send to the shores of Africa, the slave ship whose arrival rouses, in the natives, avarice, hatred, revenge, cupidity, and all the malevolent passions which agitate the human breast, and produce and perpetuate the most horrible scenes of carnage and misery.

Do Friends maintain a faithful testimony against war, whilst their daily practice promotes and sustains it? Do they truly exemplify the principles of their religious society—the doctrines and precepts of Christianity—by holding out the temptations which induce the heathen of Africa to forget their “mild and pacific dispositions,” and to wage perpetual and desolating wars against each other?

THE DEATH PENALTY.—The most prominent opponents to the repeal of the punishment for murder by death, are to be found in the professedly religious world. These respectable and influential antagonists to a reform which other pious and humane persons believe is required by the spirit of Christianity, take the ground that murder is so heinous an offence against God that nothing short of the death of the murderer will satisfy the divine justice. This requirement they suppose is written in various parts of the Scriptures, but especially in the code given to the Jewish nation, which embodies, in their opinion, the *entire*, as well as the *unalterable* law in relation to murder. While we wholly dissent from the view of these individuals, we nevertheless think a vast gain would accrue to the cause of humanity by an accommodation of our penal code, in that particular, to the law of Moses. We are clearly of the opinion that the latter not only excluded circumstantial testimony, which the other admits, but demanded also the testimony of two positive witnesses to the commission or confession of any crime worthy of death. The following are the provisions of the Mosaic law in relation to witnesses, which we think will justify this view:

“Whoso killeth any person, the murderer shall be put to death by the mouth of witnesses; but one witness shall not testify against any person to cause him to die.”—Numb. xxxv. 30.

“At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death; but at the mouth of one witness he shall not be put to death.

“The hands of the witnesses shall be first upon him to put him to death; and afterwards the hands of all the people. So thou shalt put away the evil from among you.”—Deut. xvii. 6, 7.

We apprehend that under this law the horrible incident narrated in the following statement, copied from the Boston Whig, could not have taken place. Here was a real murder, though done according to law. We submit to those who vindicate the religious duty of making an atonement for murder by the death of the murderer or murderers, the question, Who in this case should be sacrificed to the divine justice? Should it be the judge who charged the jury—the jury who rendered the verdict—the hangman who enforced it—the legislature which made the law—the people which permitted it, or the individuals who inculcated on all these, its religious necessity?

“Sir,—In reading the narrative of circumstantial evidence in your paper, I was forcibly reminded of a case which came under my personal notice many years since. A schooner sailed from New York for Charleston, S. C., with some eighteen or twenty passengers. On the voyage some hashed meat was served up for dinner, and while eating it, several of the passengers became sick, and it was suspected that poison was the cause. The cook, a black man, was suspected, and after charging him with the deed, which he denied, the captain asked him to eat the meat, which he declined. Some one or two of the passengers died. When the vessel arrived at Charleston, the cook was arrested and held for trial.

“The mate of the vessel was not to be found, and no one knew him or where he had gone. The cook was brought to trial. A New England lawyer defended him. I was present at the trial, and all the evidence against him, was the fact that he refused to eat the poisoned meat. All the eloquence of his young attorney could not save him. He was found guilty and sentenced to be hung. I visited him in prison, and heard him many times assert his innocence. He was allowed a minister of the Gospel to visit him, to whom he asserted his innocence in language so convincing, that on the scaffold he stated his firm belief that he was innocent. I saw him hung, and the last words he uttered, I shall never forget.—‘I die an innocent man,’ said he in a solemn and convincing tone, that seemed to carry conviction through the spectators, of his innocence, but nothing could save him. Many years past, and this scene, buried in the thoughts of those

who witnessed it, but I never could forget it.—We all remember the pirates who were hung in this city some years ago. One of them was Gibbs who confessed that he was mate of that schooner, put the arsenic in that mince meat, and suffered on the arrival of that vessel at Charleston. This is no fiction, but a melancholy fact—and witnessed by the writer; and this is one of the many instances of legal murder—the result of circumstantial evidence.”

OHIO, PENNSYLVANIA, RHODE ISLAND AND DELAWARE.—A Bill providing for the decision, by the votes of the people, of the question of abolishing the “Black Laws” of Ohio, passed the House by a vote of 34 to 30, but was lost in the Senate, 18 to 16.

The Bill, to which we referred in our last paper, as having been introduced into the House at Harrisburg, to prevent kidnapping; to prohibit officers of the State from aiding in the arrest, detention or carrying away of fugitive slaves under the law of Congress, and to repeal that part of the act of 1780, which allows certain persons to hold slaves six months in this State, has passed that body by a unanimous vote. Just as this paper is about to be put to press, a report has reached us that it has also passed the Senate. It now awaits the signature of the Governor.

In Rhode Island, a bill of a similar character passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate.

A Select Committee of the Delaware Legislature reported a bill, agreeably to the wishes of a number of petitioners, for the Abolition of Slavery in that State; but it was lost in the Senate by a majority of one, after having passed the House.

These movements indicate an encouraging progress in public sentiment, and raise bright hopes of the future.

DEATH OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.—In recording the decease of this distinguished individual, we may adopt the lamentation of King David: “Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?”

This mournful event took place at his residence, Earlham Hall, near the city of Norwich, England, on the evening of the 4th of 1st mo. last. On the 22d of the preceding month, while he was returning home from a Meeting of the District Visiting Society for the benefit of the poor, the horse on which he rode, stumbled, and with its rider, fell to the ground. He did not appear at the time to have received serious injury, and resumed his ride homeward. On the following evening, he

attended a Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and next day, the Quarterly Meeting. On First day, the 27th, he attended meeting both in the morning and afternoon, and was, most acceptably to his friends, engaged in the ministry and in supplication. He was at a meeting of the District Visiting Society on the 28th, but feeling unwell, withdrew before its conclusion. Internal inflammation, to which he had been subject for several years, ensued the following day, but it was not until the evening of First day, the 3d of 1st mo., that danger was apprehended. A telegraph despatch was then sent to London for Dr. Prout, who reached Earlham at 10 o'clock on 2d day morning, and pronounced the case hopeless! At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, J. J. G. attempted to walk across his chamber, but, finding himself too weak, lay down on his bed; a stupor came on, and at 10 o'clock, P. M., without a struggle, he passed to his everlasting rest! His age was 58.

From a Norwich newspaper we derive the following account of the funeral. It is apparent that the writer was not a member of the Society of Friends.

“The Funeral of Joseph John Gurney.—During the interval between the death and the funeral of Joseph John Gurney, the sensation created by the mournful event which has cast so unprecedented a gloom over the ancient city of Norwich, has continued rather to increase than to abate. By realizing their loss, the inhabitants have come to feel so much the more intensely its gravity and its extent. It has furnished the principal topic of conversation in every family, in every private circle, in every group by the wayside. Persons of all classes and of every age, however various in opinion on other subjects, have united in their high estimate of the character of the deceased, and in the melancholy satisfaction of recalling excellencies of which now, alas! the memory alone remains. Each individual has had his own story to tell of some public benefit, or of some kindness shown to others or himself; and innumerable acts of beneficence, long forgotten amidst the crowd of more recent instances, have been related and listened to with the mournful pleasure incident to such a theme. In the mean while, the outward manifestations of grief remained until the day of the funeral, unchanged. The half-closed shops and the darkened windows of the private houses in every part of the city, gave unequivocal testimony to the sorrow which reigned within.

“Other demonstrations of affection and esteem were made. We are not aware that either history or tradition tells us of seven days civic mourn-

ing in the case of any private individual whatever.

"The funeral itself, as might have been expected from these unusual preliminaries, was of an extraordinary character. At a very early hour, on the morning of Tuesday, the appointed day, the few shops which had opened, closed again, and the entire city suspended business, in order to witness or take part in the approaching ceremony. The procession set out from Earham at about ten o'clock. It consisted of the hearse, and carriages containing the relatives, followed by the equipages which had arrived from Norwich, making in all more than fifty, and accompanied by a considerable body of pedestrians. The cortege would no doubt have been more numerous, but it was understood to be the wish of Mr. Gurney's family that no empty carriages should attend. A simplicity in harmony alike with the practice of the Society of Friends and with the habits and character of the departed, marked all the arrangements. As was fitting in such a case, there was no parade, no hired sorrow, no needless insignia of grief. There was, however, the pomp of mourning multitudes. As the procession moved on towards the city it was met by a gradually increasing number of the inhabitants, who had issued forth in a continuous stream to pay their last tribute to the memory of Joseph John Gurney. Silently and sadly they stood while the hearse passed slowly by, and many a tearful countenance among the crowd, bore witness to their sympathy with the surviving relatives, and their reverential attachment to the dead. At St. Giles' gates the throng became yet more dense and imposing. Every vacant space was occupied with spectators, and the road sides were like living walls. All, however, appeared to be impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and with the desire to preserve a becoming order. But for the obvious traces of sorrow every where displayed, it might have been imagined that the voice so often heard with delight amongst us, was not yet stilled by death, and that the well known benignant smile, and the accustomed eloquence were employed in marshalling that vast assembly. The departed spirit seemed to resume for the time its wonted influence over the citizens of Norwich.

"At this point a body of Sunday School Teachers to the number of about two hundred, joined the procession, now greatly swollen by numbers who had already fallen in with the line of carriages, and accompanied it on foot. The passage through the city presented a striking spectacle. The closed shops, the thronged but quiet streets, the

windows every where filled with persons looking on with mute emotion, the unadorned hearse and its attendants moving slowly through the motionless and crowded ranks, all this spoke of a sentiment alike deep, universal, and irrepressible. It was the language of a bereaved community lamenting the loss, and bearing a last testimony to the virtues of a fellow citizen, beloved and honoured in life: still more beloved and honoured now that he was gone.

"The procession, welcomed every where in the same manner, and continually growing as it went along, passed to the burying ground attached to the Friends' Meeting house in the Gildencroft. At about half past eleven the hearse arrived at the narrow gateway leading to the burying-ground from whence the coffin was borne to the grave by six members of the Society of Friends, followed by the mourners.

"After the procession had reached and surrounded the grave, at the mouth of which the coffin was supported, a profound silence ensued, according to the simple but solemnly appropriate practice of the "Friends." This was, at length, broken by John Hodgkin, who made a brief reference to the 55th, 56th, and 57th verses of the 15th chapter of the 1st Corinthians. Another pause took place, followed by an address delivered by Lucy Maw, of Needham. The coffin was then lowered. It was an impressive and affecting moment. The circle of mourning relatives, the surrounding crowd of spectators—scarcely less moved or less warmly attached to the deceased—persons of all ranks, of all ages, of all communions, magistrates and artisans, Clergymen and Dissenting ministers, Churchmen, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and Friends—in short, representatives of the whole population of Norwich, now took their last farewell of Joseph John Gurney. We shall not desecrate the feelings of that moment by attempting to describe them. It will be sufficient to say, that the procession slowly turned their footsteps towards the meeting-house, where a public religious service was to be held.

"This service differed in no respect, but in the numbers who attended, from the usual meeting for worship in the same place. It consisted of the accustomed silence, broken at intervals by the language of unpremeditated prayer and preaching. The first ministers who addressed the dense and attentive assembly were Mary Ann Bayes, Cornelius Hanbury, and Wm. Ball. The widow of the deceased, with whom all hearts sympathized, then offered up a prayer, full of resignation and thanksgiving. The next speaker was John Hodgkin. A prayer by J. B. Braithwaite concluded

the meeting. The service was deeply impressive, and, pervaded as it was throughout by the spirit of pure evangelical catholic Christianity, formed an appropriate conclusion to the funeral of Joseph John Gurney.

"Thus terminated the proceedings of a day destined to be memorable in the annals of Norwich; of a day when the simple obsequies of a private individual were converted into an august public ceremony by the whole body of the citizens, as a memorial of his exalted virtues, and of their irreparable loss.

SELECTIONS.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

SLAVERY AS IT IS.

Who can read such details as are contained in the following letter from our respected friend, Dr. Ellwood Harvey, and not become an abolitionist?

Chadds-ford on Brandywine, Dec. 26th, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Myself and two others lately visited the eastern part of Virginia to see the cheap lands much talked of now in agricultural circles, and there saw a slave auction. My friends were not abolitionists before, and pitied my credulity when I told them the horrors of slavery; but one week in the Old Dominion has added two staunch adherents to our cause. I wish every pro-slavery man and woman in the North could witness one slave auction.

We attended a sale of land and other property near Petersburg, and unexpectedly saw slaves sold at public auction. The slaves were told they would not be sold, and were collected in front of the quarters, gazing on the assembled multitude. The land being sold, the auctioneer's loud voice was heard, "bring up the niggers." A shade of astonishment and affright passed over their faces, as they stared first at each other and then at the crowd of purchasers, whose attention was now directed to them. When the horrible truth was revealed to their minds that they were to be sold, and nearest relations and dearest friends parted forever, the effect was indescribably agonizing. Women snatched up their babes and ran screaming into the huts. Children hid behind the huts and trees, and the men stood in mute despair. The auctioneer stood on the portico of the house, and the men and boys were ranged in the yard for inspection. It was announced that no warrants of soundness were given, and purchasers must examine for themselves. A few old men were sold at prices from \$13.00 to \$25.00, and it was pain-

ful to see old men, with beards white with years of toil and suffering, stand up to be the jests of brutal tyrants, and to hear them tell of their diseases and worthlessness, fearing they would be bought by traders for the southern market.

A white boy, about 12 years old, was placed on the stand. His hair was brown and straight; his skin exactly the same hue as other white persons, and no discoverable trace of negro feature in his countenance.

Some coarse and vulgar jests were passed on his colour, and \$5.00 was bid for him, but the auctioneer said "that is not enough to begin on for such a likely young nigger!" Several remarked they "would not have him as a gift." Some said a white nigger was more trouble than he was worth. One man said it was wrong to sell white people. I asked if it was not wrong then to sell black people. He made no reply. Before he was sold, his mother rushed from the house upon the portico, crying in frantic grief, "My son, oh my boy, they will take away my dear ——" Her voice was lost, as she was rudely pushed back and the door closed. The sale was not for a moment interrupted, and none of that crowd of ruthless tyrants appeared to be in the least degree affected by the scene. The poor boy, afraid to cry before so many strangers, who showed no sign of sympathy or pity, trembled and wiped the tears from his cheeks with his sleeve. He was sold for about \$250. The monsters who tore this child from his mother would sell your child and mine if they had the power. During the sale, the quarters resounded with cries and lamentations that made my heart ache. A woman was next called by name. She gave her infant one wild embrace before leaving it with an old woman, and hastened mechanically to obey the call, but stopped, threw her arms aloft, screamed, and was unable to move.

One of my companions touched my shoulder and said, "come, let us leave here, I can bear no more." We left the ground. The man who drove our carriage from Petersburg had two sons who belonged to the estate—small boys. He obtained a promise that they should not be sold. He was asked if they were his only children. He answered, all that's left of eight. The others had been sold to the south, and he would never see or hear from them again.

As Northern people do not see such things, they should hear of them often enough to keep them awake to the sufferings of the victims of their indifference.

Very respectfully, your friend,
ELLWOOD HARVEY.

[Compare the following law of a professedly free State, with the acts passed by several of the New England States, which prohibit all officers and citizens of those States from aiding in the arrest or detention of any person claimed as a runaway slave. We trust our friends in Illinois will not rest satisfied while this wicked and tyrannical law disgraces their State, but will exert every proper means to obtain its repeal.—Eds.]

From the Western Citizen.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAW.

"Every black or mulatto person who shall be found in this State, and not having such a certificate as is required by this chapter, shall be deemed a runaway slave or servant, and it is lawful for any inhabitant of this State to take such black or mulatto person before some Justice of the Peace, and should such black or mulatto person not produce such certificate as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of such justice to cause such black or mulatto person to be committed to the custody of the Sheriff of the county, who shall keep such black or mulatto person, and in three days after receiving him, shall advertise him at the Court-house door, and shall transmit a notice, and cause the same to be advertised for six weeks in some public newspaper printed nearest the place of apprehending such black or mulatto person, stating a description of the most remarkable features of the supposed runaway; and if such person so committed shall not produce a certificate or other evidence of his freedom, within the term aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Sheriff to hire him out for the best price he can get, after having given five days previous notice thereof, from month to month, for the space of one year; and if no owner shall appear and substantiate his claim before the expiration of the year, the Sheriff shall give a certificate to such black or mulatto person, who, on producing the same to the next Circuit Court of the county, may obtain a certificate from the court, stating the facts, and the person shall be deemed a free person, unless he shall be lawfully claimed by his proper owner or owners hereafter."—Section 5 of the Black Laws of Illinois.

BLACK LAW EXECUTED.

"Sheriff's certificate to Harry Buckman."

This is the magistrate's superscription on the following delegation of human rights:

"State of Illinois, Madison County.

I, Andrew Miller, Sheriff of Madison county of the State of Illinois, do hereby certify that a coloured man calling himself by the name of Harry Buckman, about fifty years of age, very black,

about five feet seven inches high, and having a hernia or rupture, was committed to the common jail of this county, as a runaway slave, on the 8th day of May, 1845, and has been dealt with according to the statute in such cases made and provided. He will, therefore, be considered a free man, unless lawfully claimed by his owner or owners.

ANDREW MILLER."

Sheriff of Madison Co., State of Illinois.

The bearer of the foregoing certificate is a superannuated negro, who has just reached Springfield, and is performing menial services at the "City Hotel."

The following are authenticated incidents of his eventful life. He was born in the State of Virginia, about 1796, where he lived until six years of age. His owner becoming insolvent, he was then sold from the auction stand to William Clay, of Kentucky, to which state he was soon taken. He was owned by Clay about twelve years: after which he was again sold to a Kentuckian named Garnett. This gentleman resided in that State about ten years after he had purchased this slave, (whose name was Harry Buckman) when he removed with all his family and servants to one of the border counties of Missouri. Mr. Garnett was an avaricious man, and finding that slave labour was in great demand, hired out for about fifteen years in succession, his boy Harry. The boy being about forty-four years of age, had already completed his apprenticeship, and could no longer command ordinary wages per annum. Hence, he must remain with his owner. This he did; and received as pay for his hard earnings, abuses and stripes. Harry frequently had the boldness to threaten to run away from Garnett, if he continued his harsh treatment. This thought of absconding was very pleasing to his master; and on the last occasion, when Harry was suffering abuse, he threatened, as usual, to leave. Garnett told him, with an imprecation, if he did not leave immediately, he would shoot him. Whereupon Harry resolved to start for the soil of the free.

He set out towards the Missouri river; on reaching it, he took a skiff, descended the river into the Mississippi, and landed on the Illinois side, a short distance below Alton. Being fatigued and hungry, he proceeded to the city, and while there procuring refreshments, a slave-hunter, called Baker, approached him, and pronounced him a runaway, and hurried him into the calaboose, where he remained until the next day, when he was brought before the magistrate, and having no certificate of his freedom, was sent to the county jail of Madison as the law directs; and

advertised in the county newspaper as the law directs; and kept in confinement six months as the law directs; and afterwards taken out and sold by the Sheriff from month to month to pay his jail fees, as the democratic law of Illinois directs.

Thus the poor slave having been cruelly incarcerated, was sold for the first month for \$4; for the second \$2.12 and for the third \$3, solely to pay for being imprisoned 6 months for the incorrigible sin of daring to be free, even when compelled to it. He would have been sold for the nine consecutive months, had not his health failed. But this being the result of his struggle for freedom, he was unable to pay the county for their unparalleled beneficence in committing him to the gloomy cells of a jail; and was finally presented by the Sheriff of the county with a certificate of human rights and feelings.

Transactions of this character, are only worthy a *conclave* of cannibals, yet their recurrence is frequent in the State of Illinois.

Harry, although an aged man, worn out and decrepit, appears to treasure as a diamond of priceless value, the parchment of human freedom, for which he paid so great a price; and although poverty-stricken, rejoices in the consciousness of being

"A man for a' that."

Springfield, Dec. 15, 1846.

K.L.C.

POOR WHITE FOLKS.

We find in the Home Journal a letter from the South, which gives a very graphic account of the Poor White Folks. As the writer is evidently no abolitionist, and does not hint at the cause of this state of things, he certainly ought to be admitted as good evidence.—*Nat. A. S. Standard*.

"I have uniformly found the people of all classes I have met with, kind and hospitable; and, being totally unarmed, have had as little fear of life or money, while travelling among them, as I would in Massachusetts. The Crackers, as they are called, are the poor, white population of Georgia—very poor and very ignorant. Very few of them can either read or write, and are too lazy to improve their condition. They abhor labour, and will only work just so much as to obtain a mere subsistence. They will take possession of any land unoccupied, which suits their fancy, without caring to whom it belongs—erect a cabin—plant a few acres of Indian corn, and a little patch of cotton to make their own cloth, and with a few pigs, a cow or two, a mule or horse, manage to live and bring up a large family in the same ignorance with themselves. When they get tired

of living in one place, or have exhausted the soil of the few acres they had cultivated, they pack all their moveables into an one horse cart, and move to another county. Thus they are constantly migrating and never settled for life. Their ancestors are said to be Highland Scotch, who first settled the western part of North Carolina, from thence they have gradually worked their way into Georgia, and have commenced invading Alabama. They have no objection to working in cotton factories, and are employed in the factories which are now in operation in Georgia, and make much better operatives than the slaves—but agricultural labour they consider nigger's work. If Georgia should become a manufacturing State, as is confidently predicted, they may be usefully employed, and their condition very much ameliorated. They are generally a good-natured, inoffensive people, have a great deal of pride and independence of character, with all their poverty and ignorance. They scorn to tell a lie or steal, but are vindictive and revengeful when insulted or injured, and will not hesitate to shoot a man behind his back to revenge an injury or an insult. An instance occurred in Monroe county a few days before I passed through there. A Cracker was insulted by a neighbouring planter, and watched his opportunity to take his revenge by shooting him dead. The planter had several hundred dollars in his pocket, which were found untouched. The Cracker fled; and as the laws are so loosely administered in Georgia, he will probably escape justice.

"The Georgia planters sacrifice almost all the comforts of life, and devote all their energy and all their means to raising cotton. It is the only article they can raise that will bring them money. They buy negroes to raise cotton, and raise cotton to buy negroes. A planter with whom I spent a night, is worth \$50,000. He lives in a cabin, full of wide cracks on every side, through which the wind and rain have free access, and a chimney made of sticks, cross-piled and plastered with clay. He raises, for the subsistence of his family and negroes, plenty of corn and pigs; and with corn-bread, and fried fresh pork, and smoked bacon, they live contented the year round. Yet he is not miserly, but a free-hearted man—they do not know how to live better. There are, however, exceptions—some of the wealthy planters have the comforts and even the luxuries of life, and know how to appreciate them. Their implements of husbandry are of the most rude construction. Their plows are such as we might imagine were used in scriptural times, being three sticks put together in the form of a triangle, the hypo-

then use forming the handle—the point at the sharp angle being shod with iron, much in the shape of a mason's trowel, and not much larger. With this rude instrument they prepare their ground for their cotton, corn, and other crops, scratching up the soil not exceeding three inches deep. Some of the larger planters, however, have become so much enlightened as to use real Yankee plows; and a better system of cultivation is being gradually introduced."

'MUNIFICENCE' OF A SLAVE DEALER.

We published a few days since from the New Orleans Tropic an account of the 'munificence' of Mr. Isaac Franklin, who died in April last in Louisiana, leaving the principal part of his property, amounting to nearly a million of dollars, to be appropriated to the endowment of an educational establishment in Sumner Co., Tennessee. We were not aware at the time that this Mr. Franklin was the famous dealer in human flesh, whose name has so long been familiar throughout the country in connection with the firm of Franklin & Armfield. We have often been assured that throughout the South, the negro-trader is regarded with disgust and abhorrence; but this man, who amassed an immense fortune in buying and selling the bodies and souls of his fellow men, and transferring them from the comparative ease and comfort of a slave's life in the Northern Slave States, to the terrible severities of the cotton, sugar and rice plantations of the South—a doom which they dreaded often more than death—separating husbands and wives, parents and children, regardless of their cries and entreaties—this man is eulogised in the papers of the South as "an honorable and upright man," a prodigy of "benevolence and philanthropy," who lived "but for the benefit of the whole human race"! Yes, this 'soul hardened barterer in human blood,' whose

Were dim with the blood of the hearts he had sold," is represented as a man eminent for every virtue that adorns the human character! "No doubt," says the New Orleans Tropic, "he often contemplated with delight, the character and usefulness of his immortal namesake, Benjamin Franklin, and resolved in his own mind to imitate his bright example in an effort to scatter good among his fellow men." "Had he lived," continues the same authority, "in the remote times of early Greece and Rome, his fame would have descended to us in the genius of the far-famed lyric poets, who adorned those classic lands; and have been embalmed for immortality in the living pages of Thucydides, or Livy, or Tacitus." To crown all,

he is represented as a "worthy Christian," who has been transferred "from a scene where suffering is predominant, to a state of perfect beatitude."

Eulogy like this bestowed on a negro trader, whose wealth was "died in human gore and steeped in widows' tears," and who left the world without one expression of regret, still less of penitence, for his life of villany, may well convince us that Coleridge was right when he said that,

"Earth's renown is infamous;
Her titles slanderous names—her praise reproach."

N. Y. Tribune.

INTELLIGENCE.

BALTIMORE, January 24, 1847.

I wrote you so recently that I have not much to communicate; but thought that a few incidents that have occurred here during the past week might be of some interest to your readers. Hope H. Slatter, the notorious dealer in God's image, made a shipment of a large number of men, women, and children, for the rice swamps of the far South. The "General Pinkney," the vessel which took this freight of bodies and souls, cleared several days previous to sailing, and lay anchored off the "Point." And in real slaveholding style, at the appointed time, weighs anchor, drops into her berth, takes in her cargo, and immediately sails. Slatter's slave prison is about two miles from the "Point." He generally, as in this case, treats his goods to an omnibus ride from their public house to the vessel, and in the free, enlightened, Christian city of Baltimore, third city of the only Republican and free country on earth, on Tuesday, January 19th, 1847, might have been seen a train of omnibuses crowded with human beings, "made but little lower than the angels," torn from all that makes life desirable, without crime or offence, and hurried off to toil "neath the burning sun of a Southern plantation," without reward, with no man to care for the soul. Following this train, was a tall, gray-headed old man, of sixty winters, on horseback. His heart was callous to the wailings of the anguished mother for her child. He heeded not the sobs of the young wife for her husband. The sister, whose grief was insupportable as she heard the last farewell, faintly uttered, from an only brother as he was hurried on board that accursed vessel, moved not the adamant heart of this human trafficker. These relations may not have existed as I have stated them, but friendship in every relation is severed by these horrible transactions. I saw a mother whose very frame was convulsed

with anguish for her first-born, a girl of eighteen, who—withstanding her master was under bonds to the amount of two thousand dollars not to sell any of the family out of the State—had been sold to this dealer, and was among the number then shipped. I saw a young man who kept pace with the carriages, that he might catch one more glimpse of a dear friend before she was torn forever from his sight. As she saw him, she burst into a flood of tears, was hurried out of his sight, sorrowing most of all that they should see each other's face no more.

These are not uncommon occurrences in this city. The last Tuesday in December, there was a much larger number shipped than on last Tuesday. This is about all we see of Slavery here in the city. Humanity is not shocked, as on plantations, with the frequent floggings of the slave, or at least, it does not fall under observation, as in the other case. The effects of Slavery, however, are to be seen on every hand, and marks of this blighting system will be visible years after Slavery has been abolished.

The "Sun," of this city, a "neutral" Democratic paper, mentions the sailing of the "General Pinkney" for New Orleans, among the vessels sailed, &c., but says nothing of her cargo; two or three days after, it heads an account of the capture of two Brazilian sloops, on the coast of Angola, as slavers,—"THE HORRID SLAVE-TRADE." Neither of these sloops had any slaves on board; but a vessel can sail from our port actually freighted with slaves, and the simple fact of the vessel sailing is noticed, and not a word said about "the horrid slave-trade," as if the slave-trade on the coast of Africa was any worse than on the coast of America.—A. S. Standard.

AN OLIVE LEAF FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Friends of Humanity!—Hundreds of your fellow beings are dying, almost daily dying, of starvation in poor Ireland. Will you not send them bread from your plenteous boards! It has been stated that more have perished by famine in that afflicted land, than those who fell by the cholera in that dreadful year of death. A penny a day will save a human life. Will you let thousands die when they can be rescued so cheaply from the grave? The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ forbid! Farmers, mechanics, merchants, men of the United States, children, wives and mothers, will you let thousands of your kind be thrown uncoffined into the grave, when two cents' worth of Indian meal a day will save a human life. Mothers, sisters, daughters, wives of America! there are thousands of your sex dying naked

upon the damp, cold ground in Ireland, without even straw to lie upon. Will you not look into your wardrobes and give what you can spare to the poor creatures, perishing with famine and the famine-fever? May the God of all grace and mercy and compassion touch the heart of America in view of such a spectacle of wretchedness. Anything—anything to eat or wear will come to thousands like a ministration of heaven's mercy. The English Government, as you see below, has promised to pay the freight of all contributions of food and clothing which may be forwarded from the United States. Will not the rail road companies, in the United States, and steamboat companies transport from the interior to the seaboard all such contributions free of charge? All these contributions may be consigned to the Society of Friends in England, who have made arrangements for extensive distribution to the starving, or to any other parties that may be preferred. I cannot add another word. I expect to be obliged to travel all night from London to Liverpool, to transmit the following communication from the English Government which I received after the mail was closed.

Yours for humanity,

ELIHU BURRITT.

London, Feb. 3, 1847.

To Right Hon. Lord John Russell, First Lord of the Treasury.

The undersigned citizens of the United States of America, desiring that their fellow countrymen may participate in the pleasure of contributing to the relief of their suffering brethren in Ireland, have learned with much gratification, that the English government have intimated a willingness to defray the expense of transportation of the provisions and clothing which the Society of Friends in America may contribute for the destitute Irish. The undersigned would respectfully inquire if they may be permitted to transmit to America, by the Royal Mail Packet leaving on the 4th, the intimation that the English government will defray the expense of conveying from American to Irish seaports all other contributions of provisions and clothing which may be made in, and forwarded from, the United States, for the same benevolent object.

ELIHU BURRITT, Mass. U. S. A.

JAMES L. L. F. WARREN, "

No. 27 New Broad St. London, Feb. 1st, 1847.

Treasury Chambers, Feb. 3d, 1847.

GENTLEMEN,—I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to acquaint you, in reply to your letter of the 1st inst. addressed to Lord John Russell, that the Lords will

be prepared to pay the freight of any provisions or clothing which benevolent persons in the United States may send to Ireland or to the distressed districts in Scotland, on proof being afforded that the articles were purchased from the produce of private subscriptions, and have been appropriated to charitable objects.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
C. E. TREVELYAN.

Messrs. Elihu Burritt, and James L. F. Warren,
27 New Broad Street.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS. A bill which passed the house of Representatives by a majority of 9, granting monies to the President for conducting a negotiation with Mexico and containing the *Wilmot proviso*, is yet before the Senate. Our latest accounts represent it as probable that a vote will be taken upon it this day.

Several of the free States have instructed their Senators and requested their Representatives to vote against any acquisition of territory, except on condition that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall be allowed in it, except for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

POETRY.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

BY ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER.

Meek, humble, sinless as a very child,
Such wert thou,—and, though unbeheld, I seem
Of times to gaze upon thy features mild,
Thy grave, yet gentle lip, and the soft beam
Of that kind eye, that knew not how to shed
A glance of aught save love, on any human head.

Servant of Jesus! Christian! not alone
In name and creed, with practice differing wide,
Thou didst not in thy conduct fear to own
His self-denying precepts for thy guide.
Stern only to thyself, all others felt
Thy strong rebuke was love, not meant to crush,
but melt.

Thou, who didst pour o'er all the human kind
The gushing fervour of thy sympathy!
E'en the unreasoning brute, fail'd not to find
A pleader for his happiness in thee.
Thy heart was moved for every breathing thing,
By careless man exposed to needless suffering.

But most the wrongs and sufferings of the slave,
Stirr'd the deep fountain of thy pitying heart;
And still thy hand was stretched to aid and save,
Until it seem'd that thou hadst taken a part
In their existence, and couldst hold no more
A separate life from them, as thou hadst done before.

How the sweet pathos of thy eloquence,
Beautiful in its simplicity, went forth
Entreating for them! that this vile offence,
So unbecoming of our country's worth,
Might be removed before the threatening cloud,
Thou saw'st o'erhanging it, should burst in storm
and blood.

So may thy name be revered,—thou wert one
Of those whose virtues link us to our kind,
By our best sympathies; thy day is done,
But its sweet twilight lingers still behind,
In thy pure memory; and we bless thee yet,
For the example fair thou hast before us set.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

LIFE OF WILLIAM ALLEN. — The subscriber will be obliged to those Agents for the above work who have not yet forwarded names to do so immediately. He has obtained from a few places about half the required number of subscribers, and believes that the remainder can be procured with a little effort. Without this, the work will be given up, and those who wish it will have to pay nearly double the sum for English copies, as there will be no other American edition. All therefore who wish the work will please write immediately or send their names through Agents, as the second volume has reached this country, and it is desirable to commence it at once. Both volumes may be ready within two months if a sufficient number of subscribers should be obtained.

HENRY LONGSTRETH,
247 Market st., Philadelphia.

H. L. has just published a small edition of Maria Fox's life, at one dollar and fifty cents—either in sheep or muslin binding. Those who wish to secure copies for themselves or libraries will please remit the amount as soon as possible. He has also published a large edition of Sumner's clear and very forcible oration on the "True Grandeur of Nations," which he will sell at one dollar for ten copies or eight dollars for one hundred—less than cost. The friends of Peace have now an opportunity of procuring this valuable work at about one third the price of the Boston edition. The amount may be forwarded by mail with directions how to send them. Please direct to

HENRY LONGSTRETH, 247 Market st., Philadelphia.

Free Labour Dry Goods and Groceries.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

Fresh and new goods just received, consisting in part of Shirting and Sheetting Muslin, Bleached and Brown. "Manchester" Ginghams of superior quality, various styles. 2d Quality do. assorted patterns. Calico, do. do. Coloured Cambrics and Canton Flannel, assorted colours. Bleached and Brown do. do. and Table Diaper. Coloured Table Cloths, Imitation of Linen. Cotton Hdkts., assorted styles. Long and Half Hose, superior and heavy. Apron and Furniture Check. Cotton Twilled Pantaloon Stuff. Knitting Cotton, various Nos., Bleached, Brown and Coloured. Cotton Laps and Wadding, white and coloured. Also, Refined Loaf, Crushed and Pulverized Sugar. Brown Sugar, good quality, of different grades, by the barrel, bag, or pound. Sugar House and West India Molasses, good quality. Rice, Coffee and Chocolate. SUPERIOR TEAS, SELECTED WITH CARE FOR FAMILY USE or stores, viz.: Fine Oolong, Souchong and other Black Teas; also Green Tea of superior quality. Various Spices and Confectionery, &c. &c. The whole stock exclusively of Free Labour Goods, to which the subscriber would invite the attention of Country Merchants, as well as his friends and the public generally.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

Successor to Joel Fisher,

N. W. corner Fifth and Cherry Sts.

Philadelphia, 2d mo, 25th, 1837.

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No. 7 Carter's Alley.

THE
NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 1837.

[NO. 4.]

SELECTIONS.

From the Tenth London Edition, 1791.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT
BRITAIN,

On the propriety of abstaining from West-India Sugar
and Rum.

Why did all-creating Nature
Make the plant for which we toil?
Sighs must fan it, tears must water,
Sweat of ours must dress the soil.
Think ye, masters, iron-hearted,
Lolling at your jovial boards,
Think how many backs have smarted
For the sweets your Cane affords.
COWPER'S NEGRO'S COMPLAINT.

The Tenth Edition.

Sold by M. GURNEY, No. 128 Holborn Hill, T. KNOTT, No. 47 Lombard Street, and C. FORSTER, No. 41 Poultry. 1791.
Price 1d. or four for 3d. nine for 6d. and nineteen for 1s. or fifty for 2s. 6d.

Notwithstanding the late determination of the House of Commons on the Slave Trade, we may hope that the discussion it has received will not be useless; and that the public attention has not been excited in vain, to a system of cruelty which it is painful even to recite. It may be hoped that, claiming for ourselves the most perfect freedom, we shall no longer impose upon others a slavery the most oppressive; and that, enjoying a degree of felicity unequalled in any age or country, we shall no longer range the world to increase the misery of mankind.

The lust of power, and the pride of conquest, have doubtless produced instances far too numerous, of man enslaved by man. But we, in an enlightened age, have greatly surpassed, in brutality and injustice, the most ignorant and barbarous ages: and while we are pretending to the finest feelings of humanity, are exercising unprecedented cruelty. We have planted slavery in the rank soil of sordid avarice, and the produce has been misery in the extreme. We have ascertained, by a course of experiments in cruelty, the least portion of nourishment requisite to enable man to linger a few years in misery; the greatest quantity of labour which, in such a situation, the

extreme of punishment can extort; and the utmost degree of pain, labour, and hunger united, that the human frame can endure.

In vain have such scenes been developed. The wealth derived from the horrid traffic, has created an influence that secures its continuance; unless the people at large shall refuse to receive the produce of robbery and murder.

The legislature having refused to interpose, the people are now necessarily called on, either to reprobate or approve the measure; for West-India slavery must depend upon their support for its existence, and it is in the power of every individual to increase, or to diminish its extent. The laws of our country may indeed prohibit us the sugar-cane, unless we will receive it through the medium of slavery. They may hold it to our lips, steeped in the blood of our fellow-creatures; but they cannot compel us to accept the loathsome potion. With us it rests, either to receive it and be partners in the crime, or to exonerate ourselves from guilt, by spurning from us the temptation. For let us not think, that the crime rests alone with those who conduct the traffic, or the legislature by which it is protected. If we purchase the commodity we participate in the crime. The slave-dealer, the slave-holder, and the slave-driver, are virtually the agents of the consumer, and may be considered as employed and hired by him to procure the commodity. For, by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process; and every distinction is done away by the moral maxim, That whatever we do by another, we do ourselves.

Nor are we by any means warranted to consider our individual share in producing these evils in a trivial point of view. The consumption of sugar in this country is so immense, that the quantity commonly used by individuals will have an important effect. A family that uses five lbs. of sugar per week, with the proportion of rum, will, by the abstaining from the consumption

twenty-one months, prevent the slavery or murder of one fellow-creature; eight such families in nineteen and a half years, prevent the slavery and murder of one hundred, and 38,000 would totally prevent the Slave Trade to supply our islands. Nay, so necessarily connected are our consumption of the commodity and the misery resulting from it, that in every pound of sugar used, (the produce of slaves imported from Africa) we may be considered as consuming two ounces of human flesh, besides destroying an alarming number of seamen by the slave-trade, and spreading inconceivable anguish, terror, and dismay, through an immense continent, by the burning of their villages, tearing parents from their families, and children from their parents; breaking every bond of society, and destroying every source of human happiness. A French writer observes, "That he cannot look on a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained with spots of human blood;" and Dr. Franklin adds, that had he taken in all the consequences, "he might have seen the sugar not merely spotted, but thoroughly dyed scarlet in grain."

Dreadful consideration, that our increasing happiness and prosperity has spread desolation and misery over a country as large as all Europe! For it is an indisputable fact, that it is British luxury the African slave-trade depends on for support: they have increased, and they would fall together. For our consumption of sugar is now so immense, that it nearly equals that of all Europe besides; and Jamaica now supplies more than all our West India Islands did at any period prior to 1755.

But amazingly extensive as is the increase of the culture, so far is it from keeping pace with our luxury, that (before the disturbances in the French Islands, within these two or three years) sugars have ever sold in the British market twenty or thirty, sometimes fifty per cent. dearer than in any other part of the world. Nor is it to support the old plantations, as is pretended, but to form new ones, for the supply of this our increasing luxury, that the wretched Africans are torn from their native land.

Let us then imagine our immense consumption wholly or in great part to cease, and our sugars to be thrown on the foreign markets; would additional slaves be wanted to supply an overflowing market at a falling price? No: the African Slave Trade, by whomsoever conducted, to supply sugar colonies, by whatever nation possessed, must totally cease. Horror and dismay would give place to peace and civilization, through a coast of above three thousand miles extent, and

above a thousand miles inland: for so extensive are our depredations, and so extensive are the benefits which it is in our power to confer. Nor would the beneficial effects cease even here. The West India Islands, finding less demand for sugar, must appropriate less ground to the sugar-cane, and leave more for provisions: the slaves would be less worked, better fed, and in a few years consist entirely of native Creoles. Or if the planters appropriate the land to the other productions of the islands, the same beneficial effects must ensue. For Mr. Cooke tells us, "the cultivation of cotton, pimento, and coffee, is easier than sugar: the slaves look better and increase faster;" and instead of requiring additional slaves, they would be able to increase their plantations with those already in the islands. For Governor Parry says, "one acre of sugar requires as much labour as three of cotton." Thus our refraining from the consumption of the sugar-cane, even for a few years, would destroy the Slave Trade to the West India Islands, bring fresh land into culture, and place the slaves in such a situation, that they must rapidly increase.

The diminution of the consumption of West India produce, would also have a powerful effect by sinking the price of the commodity; and thereby take away the temptation to import additional slaves. The effect a small variation in the supply or demand has on the price, we have recently experienced. The disturbances in the French sugar islands, has suddenly raised some of the markets, which were twenty or thirty per cent. lower than the British, much above it; and thereby occasioned an exportation from this country to supply the deficiency: and our exportation, though only amounting to a tenth of our importation, has raised our sugars fifty per cent. And as a fall in the price would obstruct the Slave Trade, and meliorate the condition of the slaves; so this rise will produce effects the most baneful. The planter, tempted by the high price to get sugar and rum to market while that high price continues, will deprive his slaves of their provision grounds, to plant them with canes; and by the energy of the whip, they will be forced to the most extreme exertions. The murder, or, in the technical language of the West Indies, the loss of his slaves, will be to him but a secondary consideration. The large crop, and the high price, will amply compensate him: and the question now is, not merely whether we shall hold out to him an inducement to purchase additional slaves, but whether we shall tempt him to murder those he already has. We can hardly doubt, but that West India packets have already borne the mur-

derous dispatches, expressed in language too dreadfully explicit, and to the following effect: "The price of sugar and rum still continues high. You must adopt every mode to forward as large a cargo as possible. A fortunate crisis now offers itself for extricating my estate from the difficulties in which it is involved. We must avail ourselves of it: another may never occur. Consequences, though disagreeable, must at the present moment be overlooked. The slave-market is still open for a supply. *New-fangled humanity is no more.*" The day hardly dawns when the whip resounds through those regions of horror; nor ceases, till darkness closes the scene, which day after day is renewed. The miserable victims, destitute of every source of comfort to body or to mind, and sinking under the three endemic diseases of our islands, hunger, torture, and extreme labour; and urged to exertions they are unable to sustain, at length expire beneath the lash, which in vain endeavours to rouse them to a renewal of their labour.

As neither the slave-dealer, nor the planter, can have any moral right to the person of him they style their slave, to his labour, or to the produce of it; so they can convey no right in that produce to us: and whatever number of hands it may pass through, if the criminal circumstances appertaining to it be known to them at the time of the transfer, they can only have a criminal possession: and the money paid, either for the slave, or for the produce of his labour, is paid to obtain that criminal possession: and can confer no moral right whatever. So, if the death of the person called a slave, be occasioned by the criminal possession, the criminal possessor is guilty of murder; and we, who have knowingly done any act which might occasion his being in that situation, are accessaries to the murder before the fact; as by receiving the produce of his labour, we are accessaries to the robbery, after the fact.

If we as individuals concerned in the Slave Trade (either by procuring the Slaves, compelling them to labour, or receiving the produce) imagine that our share in the transaction is so minute that it cannot perceptibly increase the injury; let us recollect that, though numbers partaking of a crime may diminish the shame, they cannot diminish its turpitude. Can we suppose, that an injury of enormous magnitude can take place, and the criminality be destroyed merely by the criminals becoming so numerous as to render their respective shares indistinguishable? Were an hundred assassins to plunge their daggers into their victim, though each might plead, that without his assistance the crime would have been

completed, and that his poniard neither occasioned nor accelerated the murder, yet every one of them would be guilty of the entire crime. For into how many parts soever a criminal action may be divided, the crime itself rests entire and complete on every perpetrator.

But waving this latter consideration, and even supposing for a moment, that the evil has an existence from causes totally independent of us. Yet it exists, and as we have it in our power jointly with others, to remedy it, it is undoubtedly our duty to contribute our share, in hope that others will theirs; and to act that part from conscience, which we should from inclination in similar cases that interested our feelings.

For instance; let us suppose the Algerines to establish sugar plantations, and resort to the banks of the Thames for slaves, as the only place to be insulted with impunity. Suppose our wives, our husbands, our children, our parents, our brethren, swept away, and the fruit of their labour, produced with agonizing hearts and trembling limbs, landed at the port of London. What would be our conduct? Should we say sugar is a necessary of life: I cannot do without it. Besides, the quantity I use is but a small proportion: and though it is very criminal of the Algerines to enslave others, yet I am not bound to look to the nature or consequences of the transaction; and paying for the sugar, I have a right to consume it, however it may have been obtained. If such would be our language in that case, be it so on the present occasion. For let us recollect, that the only difference is, that in one case our relation to the enslaved is rather more remote, but that in both cases they are our brethren.

But it is hardly requisite to state so strong a case as that supposed. For were only one Englishman to receive injuries, that bore but the slightest resemblance to those daily committed in our islands, the nation would be inflamed with resentment, and clamorous to avenge the injury. And can our pride suggest to us, that the rights of men are limited to any nation, or to any colour? Or, were any one to treat a fellow creature in this country as we do the unhappy Africans in the West Indies; struck with horror, we would be zealous to deliver the oppressed, and punish the oppressor. Are then the offices of humanity and functions of justice to be circumscribed by geographical boundaries? Can reason, can conscience justify this contrast in our conduct between our promptitude, in the one case, and our torpor in the other?—Mr. Addison justly observes, that "humanity to become estimable must be combined with justice!" But we seem to act as if

we thought that the relief of our fellow creatures, protection from injuries, communication of benefits, were works of supererogation, to be granted or withheld, as caprice, or custom, or inclination may suggest.

After the important considerations adduced, it might be reckoned a degradation of the subject to mention the national dignity; or even that might induce us to counteract a powerful body of men, who are trampling under foot the dictates of humanity, and the interest of the nation: men, who have in fifty years received for sugar alone, above seventy millions more than it would have cost at any other market. And from Mr. Botham's evidence it appears, that in Batavia, where labour is as high as in England, sugar, equal to the best West India, is sold at 1½d. per pound. These are the men who are endeavouring to overthrow a plan for supplying us with sugars, by means of free labour; and have the audacity to tell the British legislature, "That they cannot abolish the slave trade; for that if England refuse to furnish them with slaves, they will obtain a supply through other channels." And a governor of Barbadoes admonishes us, "From policy, to leave the islands to the quiet management of their own affairs." These nominal colonies have, it seems, been taught that we have no right to control them; that the acts of their Assemblies alone are obligatory; and that those of British legislators, are binding only on those whom they represent. The right of enslaving others, they contend for, as the most valuable of their privileges.

Thus it appears, that the legislature is not only unwilling, but perhaps unable, to grant redress; and therefore it is more peculiarly incumbent on us, *To abstain from the use of sugar and rum, until our West India planters themselves have prohibited the importation of additional slaves, and commenced as speedy and effectual a subversion of slavery in their islands, as the circumstances and situation of the slaves will admit: or till we can obtain the produce of the sugar-cane in some other mode, unconnected with slavery, and unpolluted with blood.*

For surely it may be hoped that we shall not limit our views merely to the abolition of the African slave trade, as the colonial slavery formed on it is in its principle equally unjust. For if it be iniquitous to force the Africans from their native land; equally iniquitous must it be, to retain them and their posterity in perpetual bondage. Though the African slave trade be the most prominent feature in this wickedness, yet it is but a feature: and were it abolished, the West Indian slavery would still exist. Our planters would breed instead of importing slaves, and shall

we suffer half a million of fellow subjects and their posterity, to be held in slavery forever? I say, fellow-subjects. For undoubtedly every person born in the dominions of Great Britain is a subject, bound to obey and entitled to the protection of the common law of England; and in opposition to which, the acts of assemblies, existing merely by grant from the crown, can be of no authority.

In demanding liberty then for the persons called slaves in our islands, we demand no more than they are entitled to by the common law of the land. The most eligible mode of putting them in possession of their legal and natural right, may be a question of difficulty; but it is a question that ought to be considered with no other view, but to their happiness. The plan to be adopted, ought to be certain and speedy in its operation; without any consideration of the supposed, or even real interest, of their oppressors; and let it be remembered, that it is in the power of a small proportion of the people of England to effect it, by refusing to receive the produce. For the planters themselves would adopt the plan, were that the only condition on which we would consume the produce of their islands; nor would the legislature then be harassed with preposterous claims for compensation; which, however, unfounded in justice or reason, will be supported by influence, and enforced with clamour.

The case now fully lies before us; and we have to make our choice, either to join ourselves with the manufacturers of human woe, or to renounce the horrid association. If we adopt the former, let us at least have the candour to avow our conduct in its real deformity. Let us no longer affect to deplore the calamities attendant on the Slave Trade, of which we are the primary cause: nor let us pretend to execrate the conduct of the slave dealer, the slaveholder or the slavedriver; but apologize for them as our partners in iniquity: and be assured, that if we take our share in the transaction, we should, were we placed in a similar situation with them, with as little compunction take theirs; unless we can suppose the order of nature would be so far inverted, as that we should become virtuous, in proportion as the temptation to vice increased. Nor should we then, any more than now, be destitute of subterfuges to destroy the feelings of our minds, and the convictions of our consciences.

If ignorance and inattention may be pleaded as our excuse hitherto, yet that can be the case no longer. The subject has been four years before the public. Its dreadful wickedness has been fully proved. Every falsehood, every deception

with which it has been disguised, has been completely done away; and it stands before us in all its native horrors. No longer can it be pretended, that Africa is a barbarous, uncultivated land, inhabited by a race of savages inferior to the rest of the human species. Mr. How, who was employed by government, to go up to the country, deposes, that the inland is every where well cultivated, abounding with rice, millet, potatoes, cotton and indigo plantations; and that the inhabitants are quick at learning languages, and remarkably industrious, hospitable and obliging. It appears that they possess noble and heroic minds, disdaining slavery, and frequently seeking refuge from it in the arms of death. Nor shall we be again told, of the superior happiness they enjoy under the benevolent care of the planters; Mr. Coor having deposed, "that setting slaves to work in the morning, is attended with loud peals of whipping;" — and General Tottenham, "that there is no comparison between regimental flogging, which only cuts the skin, and the plantation, which cuts out the flesh;" — Capt. Hall, "that the punishments are very shocking, much more so than in men of war;" Capt. Smith, "that at every stroke of the whip, a piece of flesh is cut out;" — and Mr. Ross, "that he considers a comparison between West India slaves, and the British peasantry, as an insult to common sense."

We are now called on to redress evils, in comparison with which all that exist in this nation sink beneath our notice; and the only sacrifice we are required to make in order to effect it, is the abandoning of a luxury, which habit alone can have rendered of importance. If we refuse, can we form the least pretence to a moral character? May it not justly be inferred, that those numerous displays of humanity, of which this kingdom boasts, have not their foundation in any virtuous or valuable principle; but that to custom and ostentation they owe their origin? And if our execration of the slave trade be any more than mere declamation against crimes we are not in a situation to commit, we shall, instead of being solicitous to find despicable distinctions to justify our conduct, abhor the idea of contributing, in the least degree, to such scenes of misery.

If these be the deductions from the most obvious principles of reason, justice, and humanity, what must be the result if we extend our views to religious considerations? It will hardly be said, that we assume a religious profession to diminish the extent of our moral duties, or to weaken the force of our obligation to observe them.

We will therefore ask, if it be meant to insult

the God we pretend to worship, by supplicating him to "have mercy upon all prisoners and captives," and to "defend and provide for the fatherless, widows, and children, and all that are desolate and oppressed." But if the national religion be a mere matter of form, yet surely we may expect that the various denominations of dissenters, will think it at the least, as requisite to dissent from the national crimes, as the national religion; unless they mean to exhibit consciences of so peculiar a texture, as to take offence at the religion of their country, while they can conform without scruple to its most criminal practices. If indeed they are satisfied, after an impartial examination, that the traffic alluded to is fair and honest, and that the produce ought to be considered as the result of lawful commerce, it will become them to encourage it; it will become them to reprobate this work as an attempt to slander honest men, and to injure their property, by holding it out to the public, as the produce of robbery and murder. But, if the arguments be valid, will they presume to treat the subject with cool indifference, and continue a criminal practice? May we not also hope that the Methodists, who appear to feel forcibly their principles, will seriously consider it? They are so numerous, as to be able of themselves to destroy that dreadful traffic, which is the sole obstacle to their ministers spreading the gospel in the extensive continent of Africa; and however others may affect to degrade the Negroes, they are bound to consider thousands of them as their brethren in Christ.

But there is one class of dissenters who justly stand high in the public estimation, for their steady, manly, and uniform opposition to our colonial slavery. And can it be supposed that, after having awakened the public attention, they can refuse to contribute what is in their own power to remedy the evil? The plan proposed is a plain and obvious deduction from their uniform principle of having no concern in what they disapprove. Thus considering war as unlawful, they consider goods obtained through that medium as criminally obtained; and will not suffer any of their members to purchase prize-goods: and surely they must consider the seizure of a man's goods, as a crime far inferior to the seizing of his person.

However obvious the duty, yet the mind hardened by habit, admits with difficulty the conviction of guilt, and sanctioned by a common practice, we may commit the grossest violations of duty without remorse. It is therefore more peculiarly incumbent on us in such situations to examine our conduct with the utmost suspicion, and to fortify our minds with moral principles, or the

sanctions of religion. In proportion as we are under their influence, we shall exert ourselves to remedy these evils, knowing that our example or admonitions, or influence, may produce remote effects, of which we can form no estimate; and which, after having done our duty, must be left to Him who governs all things after the counsel of his own will.

From the Emancipator.

THE COMPROMISE BROKEN.

The South the Aggressor.

CINCINNATI, March 3d, 1847.

Mr. Calhoun, in his late speech, upon those "abstractions," as Mr. Benton calls them, complains much of the "aggressive policy of the non-slaveholding States," and said "that he had done with compromises. He wanted no more of them. The South had always lost by them; always would."

What an array of facts might be adduced to show that the reverse has been uniformly true. Many of these have been made known to the people of the North, through your paper, and others opposed to slavery. But there is one remarkable fact, that has been allowed to slumber. It is a portion of the history of our government, that I have seen no public notice of.

As late as the year 1837, territory of more than one hundred miles in length, by thirty-five miles in mean breadth, containing more than 3500 square miles, being much larger than the State of Delaware, lying above thirty-nine degrees of latitude, was annexed to a slaveholding State. The line of compromise it will be remembered, was thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, above which there was to be no slavery, except in the State of Missouri, as its boundaries were then limited.

A member of the bar of this city has been travelling over this territory recently, and informs me that it is a very fertile, beautiful region of country, that he found it settled by slaveholders, one of whom, at whose house he tarried, had sixty slaves.

The facts in this matter, are readily found in our public records. On the sixth of March, 1820, an act was passed for the admission of Missouri as one of the States of the Union. Her boundaries were distinctly marked. Her Western line was to be as straight as surveyors could make it, it was to run North and South upon a meridian line. The southern side, with the exception of a short distance, was the same as latitude 36° 30', continuing "thence along the same to a point where the said parallel is intersected by a

meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas River, where the same empties into the Missouri river, thence from the point aforesaid north, along the said meridian line, to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines."

The 8th and last section of the same act provides "that slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, is hereby prohibited from all the territory North of 36° 30' not included in the limits of the State," as above bounded.

Between the Western boundary as thus settled, and the Missouri river, there is a large extent of territory, of which certain Indian tribes then held the title.

In the year 1836, on the 7th of June, it was "enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when the Indian title to all the lands lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river shall be extinguished, the jurisdiction over said land shall be hereby ceded to the State of Missouri, and the Western boundary of said State shall be then extended to the Missouri river, reserving to the United States the original right of soil in said lands, and of disposing of the same.

Provided, That this act shall not take effect until the President shall by Proclamation, declare that the Indian title to said lands has been extinguished, nor shall it take effect until the State of Missouri shall have assented to the provisions of this act."

On the 16th of December, 1836, the General Assembly of Missouri did express their assent.—And then soon after the Proclamation was issued, which after reciting the above facts, concludes thus:

"And therefore, I, Martin Van Buren, President of the United States of America, do by this my proclamation, declare and make known that the Indian title to all the said lands, lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river has been extinguished, and that the said act of Congress of the 7th June, 1836, takes effect from the date hereof."

These proceedings admit and prove the whole thing, which it is the object of this letter to call attention to.

Under the covert of Indian Negotiations, the money of northern men has been taken from the Treasury, and paid for this land, and then in violation of the solemn decree of 1820, it has been smuggled into the slaveholder's dominions.

What a comment is this upon the untiring vigi-

lance of our Northern Representatives! and what an illustration of the policy and tact of the slave power in grasping every inch of territory that it can bring under its sway.

This fact suggests many reflections, but my object is obtained, if it can gain publicity.

Yours, &c.,

JAMES BIRNEY.

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

An evil, sustained by the strong arm of the law, and by popularity, pride, and prejudice, however flagrant its character, claims but a small share of serious consideration from those who float with the current. In vain does philanthropy appeal to these in the most persuasive eloquence. In vain does argument, however clear and conclusive its demonstration, appeal to their reason. In vain does divine grace apply to their hearts, for the establishment of kindness, benevolence and justice. To these in vain are made the most heart-piercing appeals of suffering humanity for mercy, for relief from the galling yoke of oppression. They seem to be insensible of the fact, that slavery in the United States is such an evil, and that its helpless victims have long endured, and are now enduring, the bitterest sufferings—sufferings repulsive to humanity and Christianity.

But there are others, I trust, who have not entirely given themselves up to be driven by the wind of custom and popularity, who are yet susceptible of impression. Even the statesman, whose mind is not enveloped in midnight darkness, must be led to serious reflection when, for the maintenance of slavery, he sees implements of death, the bayonet, the sword, and the cannon, brought in requisition to spread devastation and ruin over a neighbouring land. The man who regards merely his own pecuniary interest, when he, too, sees the nation expending millions upon millions in a barbarous warfare for the perpetuity of the slave system, will be led to enquire into the necessity, utility, justice, and propriety of these transactions. The day of the slave's liberation may be thus advancing, and herein will be verified the declaration of the prophet, when he said, "Thine own iniquities shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee." While inquiry is raised in these classes, it would be uncharitable not to believe that amongst the religious professors an inquiry will also be awakened how far this system of slavery comports with the precepts of the gospel; whether it be compatible

with moral justice; how much it is injurious to the enslaver and the enslaved; in what degree it tarnishes all who come in contact with it; why it has been so long sustained, and wherefore it should be still tolerated with all its innumerable evils. Can inquiries of this character fail to produce beneficial results in behalf of the slave, and his master—both objects of pity? I trust they cannot, for right thinking is the proper prelude to right acting. Will not the promptings, too, of the good remembrancer prove successful in the minds of some, to excite the inquiry how far they who hold no slaves, and yet willingly and voluntarily share in the products of their coerced toil, are contributing to the holding of the slave. Reader, hast thou made this inquiry with a sincerity commensurate to the occasion? Does not thy brother's blood cry from the ground?

The truth is too plain to require argument to prove it, that the purchase and consumption of slave labour products furnish the principal inducement for the holding of the slave. Why then do we not apply the axe to the root of the "corrupt" system by refusing to use these products. In this way the work of emancipation may be performed with safety and certainty, and will abundantly harmonize with, and aid all other moral and Christian modes of action.

Every Friend admits the injustice and wickedness of slaveholding; what valid reason can he then give in justification of a free and unreserved use of slave labour products, that the slaveholder might not urge in defence of holding his slaves? I confess I do not know. If I did, I might come to a better understanding of how the planter quiets his conscience in claiming property in his fellow man. It is a serious thing for any one knowingly, and without necessity, to strengthen the hands of the oppressor.

Is there not then a large field of labour to be performed, if Friends wash their hands from the guilt of this foul system? Their participation in this business is large—their mercantile and manufacturing operations in slave labour products extensive—the amount of such products consumed by them very great. The number of Friends in the United States is probably 100,000, and nine-tenths of these, doubtless, are participants in slave labour products. To supply the market thus created by Friends, must require the labour of several thousand slaves. How long will these things be? The slaveholders are aware of these facts, and understand perfectly well how they are patronized and aided in holding their slaves.

A female Friend, who has recently been travelling in the southern States, informed me that the

planters, in defending their cause, would often remind her that those who shared in slave labour products were as responsible for the existence of slavery as themselves, and derived equal, if not greater advantage from the system than the immediate holder of the slave. This unhappy circumstance of our participancy in the evil seems calculated abundantly to diminish the force of any expostulations we may make with the planter to yield to the demands of justice and Christianity, and let the bondman go free. It gives him too much occasion to say, "first cast the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye."

Oh! how I want to see Friends cleanse their own hands from the pollution of slavery—then there would be a putting shoulder to shoulder in the good work of its abolition—then the testimony on this point would be felt far and wide, shining with noon-day brilliancy. The being blessed with the requisite means for the accomplishment of our humane and Christian duties, necessarily involves deep and serious responsibility.

While each succeeding day is gradually, but surely, drawing us forward towards that bourne from whence no traveller returns, where each is to "receive a reward according to the deeds done in the body," what great wisdom it would be to bear in mind that the time will soon be passed, in which we can perform the obligations of justice and humanity which are due from us to the suffering bondman.

D. I.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

In reading Daniel Wheeler's Journal of his mission to the islands of the Pacific, I was struck with the following passage. Speaking of the gross licentiousness of the crews of numerous vessels trading in that ocean, he says: (Am. Ed., p. 303-4.) "Circumstances of this infamous nature can not be made too public. The majority of the people of England, and that of the most virtuous part of the community, little know at home the ravages their own countrymen are making abroad; nor can they possibly contemplate the depths of the misery, suffering, and aggravated distress they are inflicting upon these unhappy and helpless islanders. I have no doubt but there are many who, if they could see what we have seen, would wash their hands of the guilt of partaking of the luxuries and supposed necessary supplies for the comfort of life, furnished from distant and foreign climes through such a channel, much less be found deriving a profit through the exertions of agents of Satan,

who are thus so extensively and destructively contributing to afflict the human race wherever they go."

"If they could see what we have seen." Men are far more deeply affected by the sight of sin and wretchedness than by mere report. If the sugar plantations of Brazil and Cuba and Louisiana, and the cotton and rice grounds of our southern States, could but reveal their deep iniquities, would men of tender consciences supply their families with luxuries from such a source? Would they not feel that increased demand occasions increased supply, and that increased supply of slave produce must be preceded by increased activity of the slave dealer, and severity of the driver?

Would not the purity of mind which discerns "guilt" in partaking of luxuries procured *honestly*, but by flagrantly immoral agents, also discern it, if fairly directed to the subject, in a participation in those articles furnished by "the crying curse of christendom?" Slavery scourges and depopulates Africa on the one hand, and on the other, through wide realms in the western hemisphere, induces a violation of every precept of the decalogue. Shall we help by our custom to perpetuate and extend it? VERUS.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

A REVIEW

OF A PAMPHLET ENTITLED

"An Appeal to the Public on behalf of a House of Refuge for Coloured Juvenile Delinquents."

(Concluded.)

Pauperism.

We will now recur to this subject, the consideration of which we postponed to that relating to crime and the statistics of the prisons. The first paragraph of the "Appeal," which bears immediately upon this subject, states "the ratio of coloured to white paupers in Blockley Alms House on the 3d of January, 1846, was more than one to seven." The Committee have not had the opportunity of making recent investigations as to the particular condition of the coloured population on this head. But the statistics of the "Appeal" correspond so nearly with those collected by the predecessors of this committee in 1838, that we think it quite sufficient to refer the reader to a document issued by us in that year, in which the subject is fully considered, and from which we shall subsequently present some extracts. In relation however to that document, we will briefly state that it was prepared as above stated by this Committee, which was appointed

in 1838 for the express purpose of promoting the improvement and well-being of the coloured people. Their Reports, signed by Dr. Joseph Parrish, Chairman, and Edward Needles, as Secretary, were published by direction of the Abolition Society.

In respect to the statistics of the Alms House, collected by the Committee in 1838, and published in their report, "we will briefly observe that the Steward of that Institution afforded us every facility in his power for collating the information contained in the various records exhibited on that occasion, and we believe may be fully relied upon in all the particulars stated." From that pamphlet we extract the following, to wit:

"Upon the subject of Pauperism and of Crime, in respect to which we hear such severe denunciations of the coloured people, as being that class of persons who fill our alms-houses and jails, and are therefore considered to be an oppressive burden upon the community, your committee will now make a few observations, to wit:

"In approaching this part of the subject, we are well aware of the difficulties we have to encounter in obtaining a just estimate of the value of the coloured people, as a component part of the community, when the census of the alms-house is made the criterion by which they are to be judged. But when we consider that, owing to the feelings and prejudices of the community, the coloured people are almost altogether deprived of the opportunity of bringing up their children to mechanical employments, to commercial business, or other more lucrative occupations, whereby so many of our white labourers are enabled to rise above the drudgery in which they commence their career in life, and in turn to become the patrons of their younger or less fortunate fellow citizens, it is not matter of surprise that a considerable number of them should be dependant on public support.

Under these circumstances it certainly cannot be considered unreasonable that in a gross population of 1,673 individuals in our alms-house (on the 30th of Twelfth month, 1837,) there should be found 235 people of colour, being about one-seventh part of the whole.

Upon strict investigation, founded upon official documents, it will appear that out of 106 men and boys in the house at the date above mentioned, there were:

Afflicted with lunacy, paralysis, blindness, and idiocy, diseases which may be referred to no act of theirs,	16
Cripples, frost-bitten, and other diseases, the effect of exposure,	11

Cases of consumption and rheumatism, from exposure,	-
Ill of pleurisy, typhus fever, &c.	12
Destitute boys,	5
Destitute old men,	8
Properly paupers,	32
Not classed,	13

From the same source it appears that there were at the same date, 129 coloured females; amongst whom are,

Affected with lunacy, insanity, and old age	32
Lame,	2
Blind,	3
Idiots,	2
Deaf and Dumb,	1
Lying-in-women, children and orphans,	24
Affected with sickness and debility of various kinds,	32
Not classed,	8
May be considered as real paupers,	25

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In regard to age, there were of the men and boys, under age, - - - - - 18
Between 21 and 50, - - - - - 57
" 50 and 75, - - - - - 18

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Of the females—under age,	33
Between 18 and 40,	59
40 " 50,	9
50 " 60,	8
60 " 70,	6
70 " 80,	2
Above one hundred,	2
Not classed,	10

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In respect to the employment of the males—

Denominated laborers,	44
Having no trade, (of course they are also laborers or job workers,)	29
Engaged in various occupations or trades,	20
Not classed,	13

From the foregoing facts is deduced the previous argument, that according to their grade in society, and their manner of occupation, it would be reasonable to expect a large proportion of their numbers would require pecuniary support.

With regard to the habits of the coloured portion of the residents of the alms-house, the documents furnish the following classifications, viz:

Of the males, set down as temperate, (besides 13 lunatics and 5 boys,) - - -	25
Moderately temperate, - - -	18
Intemperate, - - -	32
Not classed, - - -	13
Of the females marked as temperate, - - -	68
Moderately temperate, - - -	25
Intemperate, - - -	29
Not classed, - - -	7
	129

From these statements, derived from official documents, it appears that 93 are classed as temperate, exclusive of 13 lunatics, and 5 boys; being 40 per cent. temperate. Forty-three are moderately temperate. Eighty-one are intemperate, including those not classed; being nearly one-third of the whole number, and even including the forty-three denominated moderate, making 124, will not be quite one-half to be set down as intemperate. Whereas, it is asserted by the Steward, and the fact will, we believe, be admitted by any of the Managers of the house, that of the whole number of paupers admitted, eight-tenths are intemperate; giving to the coloured population a decided superiority, with regard to habits, over the rest of the residents of the house. And this character your committee think, will be sustained by the observation of disinterested persons in our streets, where it is rather uncommon to meet a coloured person intoxicated; while on the other hand, to see a drunken white, is an every day occurrence.

Upon a review of this part of the subject, therefore, the committee conclude, that, taken in connection as was said before, with their habits and manner of living, the destitution which poverty so often produces, particularly upon females, but more especially upon the poor coloured woman, and which is augmented in a terrible ratio by the increase of her family, the difficulty of providing for which must be severely felt, as means of employment are greatly diminished, there is less pauperism than might reasonably have been expected. These considerations are, to the feeling mind, arguments strongly in favour of the coloured people; and if duly weighed, would satisfy any unprejudiced person, that even without reference to the deductions of the former argument, wherein we have proved that they more than indemnify the community, even in a pecuniary point of view, for all expenses incurred in support of their proportion of the public pau-

pers—they are, in a moral sense fully deserving of all the labour bestowed upon them, and of the place they sustain in the estimation of those who appear as their friends and benefactors."

One of the objects for which the Society whom we represent as expressed in its corporate title, was "the improvement of the condition of the African race;" to promote which this committee was originally appointed, as others of a like description had been before. How far success has attended upon our labours, and upon the exertions which the Society has made from its first organization—it is not for us to say. But it may not be amiss to recur to the state of things as they formerly existed—and then to present a brief review of the present aspect of affairs as relates to the coloured people of this city and adjacent districts.

When the Pennsylvania Society was first established, slavery existed here as in other Slave States. The blacks were for the most part held in the abject and degraded light of slave property—or had just emerged from that forlorn condition. Few of them ever having received even the rudiments of school education, and perhaps little or no instruction either in morals or religion, they were not so fully qualified to appreciate the blessings of freedom when it was conferred upon them as they would otherwise have been. They were in fact in a state little short of semi-barbarism, when the Society stepped forward, and undertook the almost hopeless task, (as many of their enemies boldly declared it to be,) to educate them. The very idea of teaching a negro, was regarded as absurd and laughed to scorn, but such men as Franklin, Benezet, Pemberton, the Parrishes, and their numerous noble minded coadjutors, believed otherwise—they regarded not the scoffs and jeers of the slaveholder nor of proslavery enemies, but persevered in their exertions for "the improvement and elevation of the African race."

And how stands the case now? Let their many private schools—their spacious churches, their literary associations, and numerous Beneficial Societies answer.* Although Pennsylvania being a free state, has become an asylum for many a poor free negro, the outcast of slave States, still the state of education, the amount of wealth, the increase of intelligence and comforts of the social condition of the coloured people amongst us, are obvious to every person of common observation. And we have no doubt, but that numerous as they are, and as degraded as too

* In 1837, the number of organized Societies was eighty—besides a number of similar associations not quite complete.

many of them yet remain, that ignorance and its concomitant vices are more rare among them at this time than the most common school learning was, when the Society espoused their cause, and sought to promote "the improvement of the African race."

On all occasions wherein the liberty, or the rights and privileges of these people are invaded or endangered, or their moral character as a component part of the community unjustly assailed, the Society by its proper Committee has always been considered as their legitimate defenders. In fulfilment of these duties, the Committee has felt called upon to prepare the foregoing facts and observations, which they respectfully submit to the serious consideration of the public.

By order and direction of the Society.

EDWARD NEEDLES,
JAMES MOTT,
STEPHEN BYERLY,
SIMEON COLLINS,
BENJAMIN C. BACON,
J. MILLER McKIM,

Committee for the
improvement of
the coloured people.

Philadelphia, Nov. 11, 1846.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH 1, 1847.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.—

In our observations, contained in the 6th number of our first volume, on the subject of the abstinence which prevailed in England in the years 1791 and 1792, we mentioned the appearance of two pamphlets, which we supposed equally inculcated the moral duty of that course of action, and led to it. The pamphlets alluded to were those named by Thomas Clarkson in the subjoined passage of his history of the abolition of the slave trade, following his account of the defeat of Wilberforce's motion in Parliament in 1791. "In this state of things," said the historian, "a pamphlet written by William Bell Crafton, of Tewksbury, and called 'A sketch of the evidence with a recommendation on the subject to the serious attention of people in general,' made its appearance; and another followed it, written by William Fox, of London, 'On the propriety of abstaining from West India sugar and rum.' These pamphlets took the same ground. They inculcated abstinence from those articles as a moral duty; they inculcated it as a peaceable and constitutional measure; and they laid before the reader a truth, which was sufficiently obvious, that if each would abstain, the people would have

a complete remedy for this enormous evil in their own power."

In the letter, however, of Thomas Clarkson, to the Managers of the Friends' Free Produce Association, written last year, and published in our 7th number, he speaks of "the pamphlet which occasioned the general abstinence from sugar in England," as being written by Fox, without naming the other work or its author. This discrepancy between the history and letter struck us at the time, and has led us into a research for those pamphlets, copies of which we have recently succeeded in obtaining, as also of several others issued near the same period. They all substantiate the accuracy of the letter, referring, where the disuse of sugar is adverted to, to Fox's pamphlet for its fuller and better illustration, and showing by that circumstance, as well as the dates of publication, the priority of the latter.

Crafton's work bearing the imprint "London, 1792," with the initials W. B. C. at the conclusion, is a duodecimo of 23 pages, nineteen of which are devoted to the facts of the slave trade, and the four remaining ones to a recommendation of the subject to the serious attention of the people. It presses on each individual the duty to do all he can towards the removal of so terrific an evil, and urges that "no communication or assistance is too small, nor any too great to be exerted on this occasion;" but it suggests no particular course of action, excepting that which would be indicated by the sentiment, that who ever was not a friend to the liberty of the meanest subject, was not fit to be entrusted with a seat in Parliament.

The essay by Fox, of 12 pages duodecimo, bears the date of 1791, at its tenth edition, and from its first paragraph we may reasonably suppose appeared quickly following the parliamentary vote. A pamphlet, issued by a Society in Hackney, entitled "Considerations on the Slave Trade, and the consumption of West India produce," containing 16 pages, and dated October 8, 1791, refers to the former, which had then attained its sixth edition, as the basis of that portion of its remarks which relates to the obligation of abstaining from the consumption of slave produce. "An address" of 24 pages duodecimo, "to the people called Methodists, concerning the evil of encouraging the slave trade, by Samuel Bradburn, Manchester, 1792," bears this testimony to the duty of abstinence and the merits of Fox's address: "I feel it my duty as sincerely to testify against the using of sugar and rum, at present, as to preach the gospel. Among a variety of tracts which have been published against the use of those

luxuries, while procured on the present plan, there is one which does peculiar honour to the principles and abilities of the writer, entitled, 'An address to the people of Great Britain on the propriety of abstaining from West India sugar and rum.' Seven of Bradburn's pages are appropriated to the discouragement of the use of these articles, and included in them is this remark:—"To say the truth, it hurts me exceedingly to think that I, who from the ground of my heart, have always abhorred slavery in every shape, and detested the thought of infringing on the just liberty of any creature, should, nevertheless, have been in some degree accessory to the bondage, torture, and death of myriads of human beings, by assisting to consume the produce of their labour, their tears, and their blood! I ask pardon of God and of them, and earnestly pray that this tract may make some restitution for my former want of attention to my duty in this respect."

It is a probable supposition that Crafton's sketch, after its publication, was used as a companion to Fox's address—the one showing the evil of slavery, the other the moral remedy for it—and that owing to this association, the historian was led into a temporary error, which was no doubt quickly corrected at home, though not so on this side the Atlantic. It is certain there remained no erroneous impressions on his own mind regarding this subject as his letter fully indicates.

Of the great influence which Fox's Address had in producing the abstinence of 300,000 persons in Great Britain from the use of slave made sugar and rum, Clarkson's letter gives unequivocal evidence. "It was written," says the letter, "in so clear and convincing a manner that it seemed impossible for any reader of common feeling, of common sense, and of common morality, to withstand it. The reader was carried away by a stream, as it were, which he found himself unable to resist. As far as I recollect, the drift of it was, to make the consumer equally guilty with the planter. The sensation created by the reading of the book made a deep impression, so that he who read it felt himself morally bound to communicate its contents to his friend; hence it became known throughout the Island; and a flame was spread, such I believe as was never known in England on the subject. It became at length the general topic of conversation. The nobleman as well as the plebeian was affected by the work. I was travelling at this time all over the island, a tour of about 8,000 miles, to try to pick up respectable evidence to be laid before the Lords and Commons, relative to the monstrous evils attached inherently to the slave trade, in order that they

might form their judgment concerning them with a view to their abolition. I had then an opportunity of seeing what was going on with respect to this subject in all parts of the kingdom. I visited scarcely a family, in the course of my rounds, where the book was not known. I found it in the families of noblemen and gentlemen of the highest fortunes. I found that the flame had even, in some cases, reached their servants, who, out of their little incomes, sent four or five shillings by way of subscription to the London Committee for the abolition of the slave trade. In the course of my journey also, I saw the book lying in a great many of the inns and coffee-houses."

The book thus highly characterized by Thomas Clarkson, we republish entire in our present number. It bears within itself the evidence that it is exactly such a book as would produce, with a people who appreciated the evils of slavery and the slave trade, the effects which the venerable Clarkson has so graphically attributed to it. We take our copy from the tenth London edition, as the reader will perceive by the title. There were probably numerous subsequent editions. A Philadelphia edition was published by Benjamin Johnson, in 1792; the influence of which, as is well known, led many persons here into a practice of the abstinence it inculcated. Has the day of its influence passed away? We trust it has not. We feel assured that our readers will listen to it with profound attention, as to a voice from the grave of a past century, speaking a Truth which no time can impair, but which will be more and more perceived, until, under its hallowed influence, the last shackle shall fall from the last slave.

PRODUCTS OF SLAVE LABOUR.—We have read, with conflicting emotions, an article which appeared in the *Liberator* of the 5th ultimo under this caption, shewing the views of its respected editor on the use of those products. We regretted its emanation from one so pre-eminently distinguished as the slave's friend, and who, in early life, when his moral perceptions were fresher, and his mental powers certainly as great as they now are, held and advocated sentiments of an opposite kind. We were cheered with the evidence it afforded us that his newer views were untenable, and with the belief that in this illustration of them, we have all that can be said in vindication of the free use of the products of a system which robs the subjects of it of all their faculties—physical, moral, and religious—and

among them, of the faculty of labour whence those products directly issue. We give to our readers the entire article, with remarks on each paragraph.

"PRODUCTS OF SLAVE LABOUR."

"Having been requested by several friends in Pennsylvania, to express our views in regard to the use of articles raised by slave labor, we shall endeavor to do so in a very few words, as indicative, on our part, of the comparatively small importance we attach to the discussion of a subject, which is entangled with inextricable difficulties, and which cannot, therefore, be made a test of moral character."

This exordium is scarcely worthy of its source, either in its cavalier manner or in its assumptions. The subject, it is said, is entangled with inextricable difficulties, and cannot, therefore, be made a test of moral character. Do these difficulties exist in the theory that it is wrong to use the products of robbery, or do they exist in the inconvenience of carrying that theory into practice? If the latter, the logic of the conclusion founded upon them is not apparent. We do not ourselves perceive that there are greater difficulties belonging to this, than to other questions of morality; except those which are purely selfish, and these are greatly magnified. In the path of every duty there is a lion, which, like that at the threshold of this article, scowls at the traveller, but disappears as he approaches.

"At an early period of the anti-slavery enterprise, we were led, for a time, to regard the use of slave productions as personally involving a direct support of the slave system; but we were soon satisfied that we erred in judgment on this subject, that it was wasting time upon what no man could strictly reduce to practice, and that nothing would be gained by pressing it upon public attention. There were a thousand strong and vital issues that could be made with the Slave Power, and we deemed it far more important to grapple with these, than to raise questions of conscience, which no casuistry could settle like a moral axiom. It is for this reason that we have said so little in the *Liberator* on this subject."

The questions regarding the use of slave produce are few and plain.

Has a man a natural and moral right to the products of his labour?

Is the taking from him of those products, without his free and intelligent consent, an act of robbery?

Are the natural and moral rights of a man unchanged by being himself stolen?

Is the taking from a man, so stolen, the products of his labour, without his free and intelligent consent, an act of robbery?

Is he who receives stolen goods, knowing or suspecting the felony, equally guilty with the robber?

Is he who supplies the motive for the commission of a crime, guilty of its perpetration?

These are moral questions, put to plain, honest men, such as abolitionists profess to be. Can they be answered other than affirmatively?

The departure of our friend from his first clear view, that the use of slave products personally involved a direct support of the slave system, we have certainly great occasion to deplore. We feel it difficult to conceive how he could have written down this sentiment of his early life, and then pronounced it an *error of judgment*, without the truism on which it rested staring him full in the face—that *slavery exists for the express purpose of furnishing those products to the consumer*. Would he say that the man was not giving a direct personal support to the system of horse stealing who bought the stolen horses, or to any other system of plunder who bought the pillage? What the thousand vital issues are, which could be made with the slave power, exclusive of that which grapples with the motive for which slavery exists, we cannot divine:—but this we know, that in any moral conflict, innocence of the wrong with which we contend, is essential to success.

"We greatly respect the truly conscientious scruples of those who endeavour to abstain from the use of slave-grown articles; and far be it from us, at any time, either to condemn them for entertaining such scruples, or to prevent them from making as many proselytes as possible. If we have given them no special encouragement, they cannot charge us with waging any opposition against them. We have felt it to be one of those cases, which do not admit of clear demonstration, and hence must be left to the individual conscience. 'To him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean. He that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith. One man believeth that he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.'"

We commend this respect for the conscientious scruples of those who endeavour to abstain from the use of slave-grown articles, whilst we wholly dissent from the opinion that the case they urge does not admit of clear demonstration. The duty of abstaining from the use of all dishonest acquisitions, is just as clear as the homely aphorism is true—"The receiver is as bad as the thief." The case presented by the apostle with respect to meats, is one purely of faith, and did not involve a question of the use of meats obtained by any violation of the moral law. His exhortation to the Ephesians, iv. 28, has a nearer relation to this subject.

"We have not found the same spirit of charity manifested toward those who do not see that duty

requires them to abstain from the use of slave produce, on the part of those who do. In the various reports and essays, which have been given to the public by the latter, from time to time, we have seen severe criminations of the former, as though they had little or no regard for principle, were unwilling to deprive themselves of any luxury or comfort to redeem the slave, were doing more to perpetuate than to abolish slavery, and thought more of the gratification of their appetites than of principle! To all such unkind, or at least unfounded charges, we have made no reply, but have allowed them to be freely circulated, believing that they have proceeded from a zeal not according to knowledge, however well intended, and that they needed no formal refutation. The non-abstaining abolitionists,—such, for example, as the Jacksons, the Phillipses, the Quineys, the Fosters, the Pillsburys, the Wrights, and the Chapmans,—need no certificate from any persons, that they are as willing as others to bear heavy burdens in the anti-slavery cause, and heroically to discharge all the duties they perceive devolving upon them. They need only to be convinced that they are on the wrong track, and, cost what it may, they will instantly rectify their course, and pursue it unflinchingly to the end."

As for the want of charity manifested by those who see the wrong of using the productions of slavery, in their descriptions of that wrong, it is one of appearance only. They stand to the editor of the *Liberator* in the same relation which he stands to the slaveholder. They and he, alike, speak unwelcome truths to those who have not come into them. Those truths, however, are the best of charities, and we hope they will not cease to be uttered, till the distinguished individuals above-named, and all other non-abstaining abolitionists, shall feel no more ashamed to carry a stolen sheep on their backs, than to cover their persons with robes furnished by the toil of the driven bondman; and till every slaveholder shall relinquish his tyrannic hold upon the wronged and helpless slave.

"It is, perhaps, somewhat singular,—in a cause like ours, which embraces all classes of persons, without regard to sect or party,—that this zeal for total abstinence from slave-grown productions is almost exclusively confined to a particular locality, and to members of the Society of Friends. There are a very few exceptions, but they only prove the general rule. For the consciences of some of these, we entertain very little respect. They are those who strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. They have no scruples against upholding the pro-slavery position of the Society with which they are connected, or against voting for pro-slavery Whigs or Democrats, or against supporting the oppressive and war-making Constitution of the United States. But they wear linen, instead of cotton; they eat free labour sugar and rice; and they thank God that they are not like those anti-slavery publicans and sinners, whose

garments are made of slave-grown cotton, and whose tea is sweetened with slave-grown sugar. These are of the race of Pharisees and hypocrites who flourished eighteen hundred years ago; and as no persecution is the consequence of their choice of food and wearing apparel—as it subjects them to no opprobrium—as it creates no disturbance in the community—as it leaves their cherished Society unharmed—as it calls forth no denunciations from the slaveholders—as it has the form of abolitionism (but without the power)—and as it furnishes them with a pretext to do nothing more for the slave, because they do so much (!)—they find it much easier to pursue this course, than to engage in any fanatical agitation of society, after the manner of the 'ultra' abolitionists."

The fact, if it be one, that a zeal for abstinence is almost exclusively confined to a particular locality, and to the members of a particular society, proves nothing against the truth of the abstinence principle, though it may prove much against those who are capable of receiving it, and yet do not adopt and practice it. It is not singular that a particular train of religious sentiment, in relation to war, leading to a disuse of prize goods should, in its application to slavery, also lead its professors, more than others, to a disuse of slave goods. What is really singular in the case, is, that the latter is not so commonly practised in the society referred to, as the former. But a sense of the duty of abstinence, if we have rightly appreciated the facts which have come to our knowledge from a widely extended correspondence, is more generally felt than is usually supposed. It is not confined to one locality, nor to one society, but wherever there is a heart truly impressed with a sense of the slaves' wrongs it is there—active or suppressed! At the gloomiest period in the struggle for the abolition of the British slave trade, the address to the people of Great Britain, which we republish to day, rallied 300,000 people to the fulfilment of this duty. With its practice came a moral force which, operating on the national sentiment, led to a certain victory. The duty of abstinence from all participancy in the wrongs of the slave was the rallying cry which brought the British people to a second successful action against slavery—the colonial abolition. John Woolman made himself a host by the simple practice of this duty, under that blessing, truly, which rests upon the pure in heart. His life was eloquent. It spoke to the life in others! Did our northern champions for the slave but add to the heavy burdens they willingly bear in the anti-slavery cause, that of the cross to their self-indulgence, it would give to their efforts an energy yet unknown. Never has a great, successful effort been made against slavery which was not

largely promoted by this self-denying practice. We believe it will remain to be a constant fact in the history of the progress of the abolition of slavery.

So far as our knowledge extends—and it is extensive in this department—we know of no one practising the doctrine of abstinence who upholds any society in any pro-slavery position; who votes for any pro-slavery candidates for office, or who supports any oppressive and war-making constitutions; nor do we recognize among them any of the race of Pharisees and hypocrites who flourished eighteen hundred years ago—not willing to move with one of their fingers the heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, which they bind and lay upon other men's shoulders. If there be of this race among the ranks of the abolitionists, they must be sought, we think, amongst those who ask the slaveholder to give up his slaves, whilst they themselves will not so much as surrender the smallest indulgence they now derive from that villanous system. Well may the slaveholder say to them—Physician, heal thyself!—The other hyperboles we need scarcely notice; and yet to have garments and food clear of the blood of the slave, is something to be thankful for to our heavenly Father.

"On the other hand, there are others who abstain in the manner stated, who are among the most intellectual, the most courageous, the most self-denying, and the most sincerely conscientious anti-slavery men and women in the land. While we do not see eye to eye with them, as to the principle involved in the use of slave-grown articles, or the importance of making abstinence from the same a part of the anti-slavery movement, we nevertheless cherish toward them the highest personal esteem, and honour them for their stern fidelity to their convictions of duty. Not to obey those convictions would certainly involve them in condemnation; while we think it is no evidence of blindness of vision, or insensibility of heart, not to have any such convictions."

The above compliment is well-timed and some relief to the ungracious fling which preceded it. It is well deserved, and characteristic, too, of the great mass of abstinent. Not to have their convictions, may be criminal in others who close their eyes to the light which produced it in the former.

"If whatever is raised by slave cultivation, or is tainted with fraud and oppression, is to be rejected for that reason, then there is scarcely anything in the world that it is allowable to use, as pertaining to money, food and clothing. True, if the duty of abstinence be imperative, it is idle to talk of consequences. But that is a point neither conceded, nor to be taken for granted. Those, however, who advocate the affirmative of the

question, are bound to be rigidly consistent. Are they so? They reject slave grown productions; but do they decline receiving the money obtained by the sale of those productions, if it is proffered to them as an equivalent for goods delivered to the Southern planters? All the currency in the land has been many times earned by the slave population, and many times handled by the slaveholders, and much of it is constantly in possession of the latter. Is it therefore accursed?—What man has ever rejected a dollar on that account, in the form of a *quid pro quo*?"

This is the only argument we have yet had, and a very imperfect one it is. It groups distinct cases—the receiving of money that never belonged to the slave, and the receiving of goods that did belong to him. It is with the latter we have to do. He who pays his money to the slaveholder, or his remotest agent, for the productions of slavery, does indeed supply a motive for the continuance of the evil, and, in that, commits a sin which attaches figuratively only to the metal, truly to his own conscience; but the question for us to settle is—Can we receive and enjoy, without a violation of the moral law, not the slaveholder's money, but the slave's goods—the productions of his toil? From these, his right has never been alienated; on these his claim is written in letters of blood.

"Again. If those productions are to be rejected, on the ground that the laborers have not been justly compensated, (for in themselves they are of great benefit to the human family,) then all those productions which come to us from the old world are to be refused, for a similar reason. The cries of the labouring classes, in all countries, are continually ascending to Heaven for redress, because they are ground down to the dust by extortion, fraud and tyranny. The cunning are more than a match for the simple; the strong are too powerful for the weak; the rich are too mighty for the poor. Yet, because English operatives are not fairly remunerated, shall we buy no English broadcloth? Because the labourers of India have scarcely the semblance of justice meted out to them, must we be deprived of the results of their industry? It is true, of all the labouring classes in the world, none are in so pitiable a condition, none are so unblushingly and completely plundered, as are the slave population; but the principle of morality is the same in all these cases, and we may not innocently sanction its violation to any extent."

The productions of slavery are not rejected on the mere ground that the labourers have not been justly compensated, but for the more comprehensive reason, that the act which takes from the slave the avails of his toil, is an act of pure robbery. To buy them is to fellowship the wrongdoer, and to sanction and perpetuate the wrong. The free labourer may work for a less equivalent than the fair value of his labour, but, done under

contract, it gives him no lien on the productions of his labour. He who puts the productions of the slave's coerced toil, in the same category with the avails of free European and Indian industry, does a great injustice to the cause of Humanity. However borne down the free labourers in an overgrown population may be, by the circumstances surrounding them—the hardships of which may be enhanced by bad political institutions—still they are benefitted by all demands made for their labour. With a brisk demand, wages increase; with a decaying one, they diminish; and by buying the products of their labour we take that which they have fairly and freely parted with, sanction no wrong done them, and in no respect perpetuate any wrong upon them. But we forget! our argument is with anti-slavery men, who have over and again demolished the parallelism which the enemies of freedom have sought to establish between the conditions of the driven slave, and the poor, but cheerfully toiling freeman.

"The soil of a vast portion of this great nation is cultivated by slave labour. The principal staple raised is cotton; the subordinate ones, sugar and rice. These are all good—the gifts of a beneficent Creator. If their consumption tended to injure the health and degrade the morals of the consumers, then, by the law of self-preservation and by the rule of moral obedience, they could not be innocently used. It is sad to think how much of violence and injustice enter into their cultivation; but, it seems to us,—other things being equal,—they may be innocently used by those who abhor oppression, who are earnestly endeavoring to overthrow it, and who maintain that 'the laborer is worthy of his hire,' and innocently by no other persons."

It is most lamentable that the soil of a vast portion of this great nation is cultivated by slave-labour. Quick, almost as thought, would it be cultivated by men no longer slaves, did the moral sense of the people rise to the point of rejecting the productions of coerced cultivation. Does the use of these commodities really degrade the morals of the consumers? We believe it does. They gain something, or save something, by the wrong done to the slave; and perceiving this, they, for that very reason, favour the wrong. To what else can we impute the pro-slavery affections of the merchant—the manufacturer—the house-keeper—the solitary economist? Did these refuse to touch, taste or handle the productions of slavery, what new zeal would it awaken on behalf of the slave! What an encouragement would it give to the rightful system of labour! What an elevation to the morality of the world!

Though the law of health is unquestionably

a part of the moral law, it is not the entire; else the *South-Sea Islander* might justify, by it, his banquet of human flesh, and the holder of slaves, "fat and sleek," the system of slavery. God has imparted to the plants producing cotton, rice, and sugar, as he has to his other beneficent gifts, properties salutary to man, in contemplation of their rightful use. Their enjoyment he restrains, not by the miraculous conversion of these gifts into poisons, on each occasion of their wrongful use, but by laws which make man an accountable being. It is admitted that to use these gifts in a way destructive of natural health, would be a violation of "the rule of moral obedience." Much more, in view of the higher claims of Truth and Justice, would that use be such a violation, when it came to us through the invasion, by one individual of the rights of another. The moral health of man is, however, always impaired by a confederacy with wrong. And is it a trivial circumstance that our use of these plants, when cultivated by the slave, is the certain messenger to him, of physical and moral suffering and death?

But, says our friend, those gifts of a beneficent Creator can only be innocently used by those who abhor oppression and are earnestly endeavouring to overthrow it, and innocently by no other persons? We thank him for a concession which throws all his other positions to the wind. This is but worthless chaff and goes with them. Shall the preacher who should be an example of righteousness, practise that which he denounces in others? "Shall we continue in sin that," through it, "grace may abound? God forbid!"

"These productions are so mixed up with the commerce, manufactures and agriculture of the world,—so modified or augmented in value by the industry of other nations,—so indissolubly connected with the credit and currency of the country,—that, to attempt to seek the subversion of slavery by refusing to use them, or to attach moral guilt to the consumer of them, is, in our opinion, alike preposterous and unjust:—therefore it is that we have refrained from entering into a discussion in our columns, on this subject, that threatened to be as interminable as it is incapable of any signal benefit to the anti-slavery movement. We have too many practical measures to carry forward,—measures, which are causing the slave system to tremble to its foundations,—to be willing to have our own attention, or desirous that the attention of others should be, diverted to one of at least such doubtful and inferior character."

That the productions of slave labour are intermixed with the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of the world, modified or augmented in value by the industry of other nations, and intimately connected with the credit and currency

of this, is an unquestionable, though not an *indissoluble* fact. It may increase the difficulty of overthrowing slavery, but it does not diminish the guilt of the institution, nor abate our duty to seek its overthrow. It is the fact of to-day; but impress mankind with the conviction that it is their duty to withdraw from slavery the support which the use of those productions gives it, and it will not be the fact of to-morrow. As each individual, in withdrawing his support, diminishes the fact in that degree of its existence for which he is directly accountable, it is neither preposterous nor unjust to attach moral guilt to him for continuing to give it his support. As the withdrawal of persons from the use of slave productions would make slave labour unnecessary, and free labour necessary to the amount required for the supply of their wants, we cannot but see that the effect of such withdrawal by numerous persons would be a powerful instrumentality in the subversion of slavery.

We look to abstinence, then, as a means indicated by the laws of moral progress for effecting this desired subversion, and not as one of a doubtful and inferior character. The restriction and contraction of the domains of slavery, and restraints upon the slave power, in all possible modes of their accomplishment, are, unquestionably, great and desirable auxiliaries; but, as diminishing the amount of human slavery, we think they are efficient only in the degree that they make slavery unprofitable, and open and extend the opportunities for overthrowing it, by the rivalry of an opposite power. Let such an impulse be given to free labour, by the individuals who now affirm the wrongfulness of slavery and avow their determined hostility to it, as is worthy of their professions before Heaven and the world; let them demand goods untainted by slavery, at whatever cost; let them furnish the means for a first great effort at free cultivation;—Free Enterprise would rush to the task of meeting their wants, and, when accustomed to the culture, would, aided by her skill and inventive faculty, not only supply the demands of the consciences at just prices, but eventually those of the world at prices competing with the coerced products of slavery. Years would probably elapse ere this could be fully attained, but the event is as certain as the final triumph of truth and uprightness over error and injustice. The slaveholder, taking note intermediately of the approaching event, would be learning the lesson that he must liberate his slaves to enable him to compete with the productions of freemen.

If this be a chimera; if it be impossible to close the market for the products of slave labour,

whence slavery derives all its nouriture; if it be no sin of untold magnitude to buy at that market which gives slavery its breath and vitality; if no effort ought to be made to bring free labour into powerful conflict with its opposite, then what are the practical measures, and where is the moral energy which is competent to the subversion of this giant sin?—The navy of Great Britain has been found inadequate to the suppression of the slave-trade which the market for the products of slavery requires; what is the greater power, uninclusive of the high morality our theory of right demands, which can overturn both it and slavery?

BRITISH EFFORT IN FAVOUR OF THE USE OF FREE PRODUCTS.—We were glad to read in the *British Friend* of the 1st month last the following Circular:

"About twelve months ago a few individuals subscribed a small capital, for the purpose of trying the practicability of getting some articles manufactured exclusively of cotton grown and cultivated by free labour, and though they have met with many difficulties in the accomplishment of this object, these have not been more formidable or numerous than they anticipated. On the contrary, they have met with more inclination on the part of the manufacturers to unite with their wishes, and on that of their friends to purchase the goods, than they had reason to expect; and upon the whole, the result of the experiment encourages the belief that it will be right to extend it. The articles already made in these experiments are:

White calico;
Printing Calico, with several patterns of prints;
Yarn for Cotton Stockings;
Cotton Stockings;
Several descriptions of White Muslin;
Sewing Cotton of two sizes;

but most of these have hitherto been made in such limited quantities, that it has not been thought safe publicly to announce them for sale, lest it might lead to disappointment, from inability to supply any considerable number of applicants; the undersigned, therefore, respectfully invite thy attendance at the office of the Anti-Slavery Society, 27 New Broad Street, London, on 6th day (Friday) the 29th inst., at 2 o'clock precisely, for the purpose of considering the propriety of taking steps to increase the supply of articles manufactured from cotton exclusively the produce of free labour, and the best means of encouraging the use of other articles raised by freemen, in preference to those partially or wholly supplied by the labour of slaves, such as sugar, coffee, and rice. The duty of giving encouragement to honest in-

dustury rather than a system of the most grievous oppression, appears more urgent, in consequence of the great stimulus likely to be given to the Slave-Trade by the recent measures of Government.

Respectfully,
GEORGE W. ALEXANDER,
JOSEPH STURGE.

1st Month 26th, 1847."

We notice in the Anti-Slavery Reporter the following account of the meeting:

"On the 29th of January last, several devoted friends of the anti-slavery cause met, by invitation of Joseph Sturge and George William Alexander, to consider the propriety of taking the necessary steps to promote the use, so far as practicable, of articles the produce of free labour only. Mr. W. T. Blair, of Bath, acted as chairman on the occasion; and it was the opinion of those present, that the duty of abstinence from slave-produce, as far as practicable, should be earnestly urged on the attention of the friends of the slave throughout Great Britain, and that steps should be taken to increase the supply of goods manufactured exclusively from cotton by freemen. In accordance with these views, which entirely harmonize with our own, and with the rules of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, we entreat the serious attention of our readers to this important practical subject."

We further observe by the Reporter, that the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have petitioned Parliament against the introduction of slave grown sugars into breweries and distilleries. They did this on purely anti-slavery grounds and in consistency with the steps previously taken to prevent the introduction of slave grown products into the British markets. The memorial was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Brougham, with appropriate remarks. A bill before Parliament to which this petition had reference allowing the use of sugars in breweries and distilleries, which it seems was before prohibited, has been adopted, and will greatly extend the demand for sugars, and be promotive of a great increase in the consumption of those which are slave grown. The Reporter remarks:

"From the information which has reached us from abroad, we are satisfied that our fears in relation to the slave-trade and the extension of slavery are beginning to be realized; but we have at least the consolation of knowing that we have done our best to prevent so great a calamity falling on the human race."

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.—The expected action of the Senate in relation to the Wilmot proviso, excluding slavery from any new acquisition of territory, took place on the 1st ult., on a bill which originated in the Senate, placing at the disposal of the President three millions of dollars for the purpose of bringing the existing war with Mexico to a speedy and honourable termination. The bill before the Senate being without the proviso, its insertion was moved by William Upham, of Vermont, who sustained his amendment by a powerful speech. It was opposed by Lewis Cass of Michigan, and Daniel S. Dickinson of New York; and on the question, shall the amendment pass? the votes stood yeas 21, including John M. Clayton, of Delaware, and nays 31, including Senators Cass and Dickinson, above named, Bright, and Hannegan, of Indiana, and Breese, of Illinois. So the proviso was lost. The bill itself was then adopted by a vote of 29 to 24, and sent to the House for its concurrence.

On the 3d, the last day of the session, the bill was considered by the House, in committee, when a motion was made to amend it, by inserting a clause extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, and lost yeas 54, nays 96. The Wilmot proviso was then moved and adopted, yeas 98, nays 80, several Southern whigs not voting. The committee then rose and reported the bill to the House with the amendment, when the question being put, shall the proviso be adopted? the vote stood yeas 97, nays 102, so the proviso was lost. And on the final passage of the bill, without the proviso, the vote stood yeas 115, nays 81.

The passage of this bill, accomplished by Northern votes, is to be regarded, we fear, as a grant of three millions of dollars from the public treasury for the extension of slavery! The National Era speaks thus of the issue:

"Freedom betrayed.—The deed is done. Executive influence has again triumphed. Freedom is betrayed. Yesterday, at half past one o'clock, Wilmot's proviso was defeated by Northern votes. The yeas were 97, nays 102. It passed the House a few weeks since by nine majority—yeas 115, nays 106. The following members from the North changed their votes, having voted *yea* when the proviso was under consideration before, but *nay* when the vote was taken yesterday. RUSSELL, and WOODRUFF, of New York; EDSALL, of New Jersey; HENLEY, of Indiana; JACOB THOMPSON, of Pennsylvania.

"What new light has dawned upon them during the last three weeks? Within that time, we must remember, the President has had some five or

six hundred new offices put at his disposal. Remarkable coincidence! The truth is, with a pro-slavery Executive, with immense patronage at its disposal, it is wonderful that more changes have not taken place.

"In the Senate, it will be seen that the question has been carried against Liberty, also by Northern and Western men; Cass, of Michigan; DICKINSON, of New York; BRIGHT and HANNEGAN, of Indiana; BREESE, of Illinois. Semple was absent. Mr. Lewis, of Alabama, who had been dangerously sick for weeks, was brought out to vote.

"Honor to J. M. CLAYTON, of Delaware, who voted for the proviso.

"But what of General Cass? The disappointment of Mr. Calhoun at the vote of General Cass, some say, was extreme. It could not have been greater than will be the disappointment that awaits the General. This vote was an act of suicide. No matter how brought out as a Presidential candidate, he can expect the support of no free States, except Michigan and Illinois, and in the south Mr. Calhoun has forestalled him.

"We cannot forbear directing attention to the course of Preston King and his associates, Brinkerhoff, Wilmot, Wentworth, and a few other fearless democrats, who maintained their integrity to the last—fighting for every inch of the ground they had taken, and boldly recording their votes in the negative on the final passage of the bill when stripped of its proviso."

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—This surrender to slavery of a large portion of the national domain south of a given line, has, at least, the negative merit of being limited to then existing territory of the United States. The subsequent acquisition of Florida and Texas, was, really, a violation of that compromise; as will be any other addition of slaveholding territory to this Union. Our readers will perceive, by an article under the head of Selections, bearing the signature of James Birney, how little that compromise has been regarded, when rights north of the line were to be affected by its violation; and will thence judge how feeble are the claims of the South, on the score of fidelity to the compromise, to an extension of it into new regions, now that the original grant has been exhausted.

THE PENNSYLVANIA LAW. The Bill to which we referred in our last number as having been adopted in both branches of our legislature, where it received a unanimous vote, has obtained the signature of the Governor, and is now a law of the State. We hail the event as yielding most im-

portant safeguards to the rights and liberties of our coloured brethren. It does not indeed shield them from the action of the law of Congress, under the Constitutional provision in relation to fugitives from labour, but it confines that action to the "pound of flesh" which the bond demands, without allowing a single drop of blood to be taken with it. Hereafter the slave-hunter may catch his slave in Pennsylvania, if he can, but if the latter have crossed the line to another State, there is no "right of way" over Pennsylvania soil, by which to bring him back to the house of bondage. The instant any slave, in whatever direction he is going, touches that soil with the consent of his master, or his proper representative, his shackles fall!—he is under the protection of our laws! No longer may the national road passing through our State, be the highway for carrying slaves from Baltimore and Washington City to Wheeling on the Ohio, but at the risk of making them freemen! In other particulars the law is replete with beneficent provisions. All hail to Pennsylvania, that she has done an act so worthy of her reputation for Justice and Humanity!

ABDUCTION.—A case, involving the abduction, and subsequent recovery by purchase, of a coloured man, 27 years of age, and who, since his eleventh year, has resided in Darby, a few miles south-west of Philadelphia, has occasioned considerable excitement in that usually quiet village. The individual referred to, had been the property, so called, of a person living in Maryland, and, with his two sisters, and a half brother and sister, was advised and aided to escape from slavery, by their master's son; the goods of the master being about to be levied upon, and he *probably* assenting, though tacitly, to the escape. The owner died soon after, and so far as the son was interested, there had been a clear moral abandonment by him of any right which he might otherwise have had to the slaves. There were, however, one or more other heirs, whom the son-in-law of the deceased represented. And he, coming to know of the residence of the fugitives, and of the high esteem in which they were held for their thriftiness and general good conduct, which qualities would be sure to make them bring great prices, determined, though after so long an interval, to recover them back into bondage. Too much doubt as to the legal claim, probably existed, to adventure upon any open, regular process for accomplishing this purpose in Pennsylvania: subterfuge had therefore to be resorted to. There is much reason to suspect that a man, slightly coloured, who had recently come into these parts,

and made himself intimate with the fugitive family, was employed as the vile agent to decoy them to Baltimore. He had married the elder sister, and was intending to take her with him to that city in a few days, probably with the purpose of surrendering her to her claimant; and was certainly the instrument, or the tool, of the abduction of the brother. He introduced to the young man, a person, apparently a gentleman, whom he professed to have formerly lived with, and whom he recommended in the highest terms, who was seeking an active intelligent servant to take with him to his residence in Ohio, and who would give to such a servant the tempting sum of fifteen dollars per month, all expenses beside, and twenty dollars in hand. The bait was successful, and Allen, with his new employer, took his departure in the cars for York, Pennsylvania, where the latter alleged that he had business to transact, whence they were to proceed, by other conveyance, via Chambersburg to Pittsburg. At York, the new master expressed great disappointment at not meeting the person he expected to find there, and said they must go on to Parkesburg, where the person lived; and they could thence proceed next morning by the cars to Chambersburg. Immediately upon their arrival at Parkesburg, which was in Maryland, a high functionary of the great city of Baltimore, arrested Allen, asserting that information had just come on by telegraph that he, with his companion, had been perpetrating a robbery in Philadelphia, and that he must take him back to that city for trial. Allen's protests of innocence, and a statement of his residence and of his purpose in travelling, were disregarded, and chains and handcuffs were at once fastened to and upon him—the pseudo-master from that instant disappearing. Allen soon found himself rapidly proceeding with the cars, under care of the officer; supposing for a while they were returning to Philadelphia, as the officer had said, till at length a passenger, to his great horror, advised him that they were on the direct route to Baltimore. Not, still, suspecting any other charge than that of theft, which he felt that he could readily rebut, he expressed to the officer his desire to be put into a public prison, there to await his trial, which was assented to. Arrived at Baltimore, he was placed in a hack, driven rapidly to a building of peculiar structure, into which he was hurried. When within its enclosure he enquired, "is this a public prison?" The answer was, "No, it is the Georgia pen!" "I felt, at that moment," said Allen, "as if I was in the midst of the great ocean, without a friend or plank to rest upon!" He was then interro-

gated as to his being a slave, of which, without his confession, no proof could be given, as even the claimant was unable to recognize in the vigorous man the absconding slender boy. This confession he refused to make. Flogging, by means of that well known instrument of slave-torture—the paddle—was then resorted to in order to compel it. He bore, for a while, the cruel infliction until poor humanity could no longer endure the agony, and was made ready to confess to any thing, true or false. He then yielded an assent to every question they put to him. It was the confession of the Inquisition! And it was upon this confession that his claimant doomed him to be shipped to New Orleans, under the free flag of the United States of America, to be sold for a slave!

While these proceedings were going on in the prison house, and the time and manner of the prisoner's departure was being arranged, Providence was directing a counter-movement. There was, at least, one concerned observer of the scene in the cars, and he took measures, with as little delay as possible, to send tidings to some good friends of the abducted man. One of them went on, immediately, to Baltimore, and, arriving there, instantly proceeded to the prison where the prisoner was expected to be found. He saw the keeper of it, a man honest in his way, and always honourable in the fulfilment of a bargain, and he succeeded in making with him a contract for the delivery of the slave, upon payment by a given day, some six or eight days ahead, of eight hundred dollars: one thousand dollars being considered his New Orleans price. The time was brief, but the people poured out their money like water, and Allen was redeemed; but not until after he had undergone a new course of flagellation, to extort some desired revelations from him in regard to the manner in which the knowledge of his confinement had reached Darby. It was even more severe than the first, but nothing new to the inquisitors was elicited by it.

He was restored to his home and friends on the 24th ultimo, the day preceding the sailing of the New Orleans packet, in which he was to have been shipped, had not the arrangement for his purchase been consummated. During his confinement of nearly two weeks, his feet were chained together by heavy fetters around the ankles; and when the paddle was applied, in addition to his leg-irons, he was handcuffed, and obliged to lie down in order to receive the beating.

The village of Darby has been rather celebrated for an unwillingness to listen to anti-

slavery lectures. An anti-slavery lecture, somewhat costly, has, however, been pressed upon its people, by these events, to which they have given an attentive ear, and which has reached to their inmost feelings, where it has left a deep, an indelible impression. Never was the long whip of slavery so near their firesides before. Hereafter, when some signal act of beneficence in behalf of the slave shall distinguish that village, the feelings prompting it will be traced back to those which were excited by the wrongs and sufferings perpetrated upon Allen Ricketts.

TO CORRESPONDENTS AND READERS.—The space we have devoted to an important document in the present paper has made it necessary to abbreviate one of the communications we publish, and to defer to a future number, others, including No. 3 of our correspondent Alaph.

We acknowledge the receipt of a letter from an esteemed friend at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in which he denies the power of Congress to extend Slavery, on the ground that all rights not granted in the Constitution to the Federal Government are reserved to the states or people; and that this right, if it exist anywhere, not being granted, has been so reserved. He also combats the idea that slaves are subject to the provision of the Federal Constitution which requires the surrender of a person escaping from service or labour to the party to whom such service or labour is due, for the simple reason that, being held as goods and chattels personal, they are not competent to contract, and, therefore, cannot owe service or labour to any—a contract being essential to indebtedness. "The true English" of an instrument, and not a sinister or conventional understanding of it, he regards as its binding sense. He concludes, thence, that the clause can only justly refer to persons held under a voluntary contract for service: and he adds, in illustration of this view, that, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, he resided in North Carolina, near the coast and in the midst of slavery, where this clause was supposed wholly to refer to apprentices and to a then numerous class of emigrants, who in payment of their passage-money bound themselves to service for a term of years.

On his first position we think there cannot reasonably be two opinions. One of the declared purposes of the Constitution is to secure the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States. Beside the want of power in Congress to extend slavery, there is then the above obligation to establish its opposite; and this, each member of Congress binds himself to do, when he takes the

declaration to support the Constitution. On the other point there may exist room for an honest diversity of sentiment. The tendency of ours is in the direction of that expressed by our correspondent. The constitutional provision is, that "No person held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due." If the framers of this clause meant to include within the terms of the description, persons in the condition of slaves, which we suppose they did, they, nevertheless, must have perceived, and voluntarily incurred, the danger of a logical construction being given to the sentence which would overlook that intention—a danger much increased by the fact that the phraseology, circuitous and indistinct as to the slave, was direct and clear as to indentured apprentices and servants. The laws do not hold a slave to service or labour, though they do persons under contract. If the slave does not perform labour, they do not interfere to compel him to do it, any more than they do to compel the working of a horse, of a machine, or of any thing else regarded as property. Service or labour due to a party claiming it, supposes another party of whom it is claimed, and by whom it is due; and thus a contract between parties, which excludes the one-sided idea of slavery.

The framers of the clause were probably aware that they could not get into the Constitution any expression which should recognize slavery, and that therefore a rule for the restoration of slaves could only be obtained by means of a general proposition, which should, incidentally, include slaves. If they have failed to secure their purpose by the circumlocution used, they are but the victims of their own necessity, and of that public virtue which forbade a nearer approach to their object. In the degree that they calculated on an ignorant acceptance of the provision by the people for whom they were acting, the motive was fraudulent. Our correspondent shows that in one district, at least, and that favorable to slavery, the provision was not understood as having any relation to slaves. Thousands probably have read the provision without suspecting such an application of it.

The private intentions of the framers of a law are no guide to its interpretation. This must be especially the case when the body adopting the law is not its propounder, and can judge of its purport only by the letter. It is far more im-

portant to know the sense of the people accepting the provision, could that be arrived at, than any previous designs which were indulged concerning it: yet, even this sense is subordinate to the real sense, "the true English," which the words of "the bond" import. We think that as the people come to perceive that labour cannot be due from a slave to his claimant, the clause in question will be but a rope of sand, in the hands of the latter, with which to fasten the limbs of his escaping slave.

Our readers are requested to notice the advertisement on the last page, of the Annual Meeting of the Friends' Free Produce Society to be held at Clarkson Hall on the evening of the 20th instant. The report of the proceedings of the Managers, it is expected, will be of a very interesting character.

INTELLIGENCE.

AN ACT TO PREVENT KIDNAPPING, preserve the public peace, prohibit the exercise of certain powers heretofore exercised by Judges, Justices of the Peace, Aldermen, and Jailors, in this commonwealth, and to repeal certain slave laws.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same: That if any person or persons, shall from and after the passage of this act, by force or violence take and carry away, or cause to be taken or carried away, and shall by fraud or false pretence entice or cause to be enticed, or shall attempt so to take, carry away or entice, any free negro or mulatto from any part or parts of this commonwealth, to any other place or places whatsoever out of this commonwealth, with a design and intention of selling and disposing of, or of causing to be sold, or of keeping and detaining, or of causing to be kept and detained, such free negro or mulatto, as a slave or servant for life, or for any term whatsoever, every such person or persons, his or their aiders and abettors, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof in any court of quarter sessions of this commonwealth, having competent jurisdiction, shall be sentenced to pay at the discretion of the court passing the sentence, any sum not less than five hundred, nor more than two thousand dollars, one-half whereof shall be paid to the person or persons who shall prosecute for the same, and the other half to this commonwealth, and moreover shall be sentenced to undergo a

punishment by solitary confinement in the proper penitentiary, at hard labour, for a period not less than five years nor exceeding twelve years, and on conviction of the second offence of the kind, the person so offending, shall be sentenced to pay a like fine, and undergo a punishment by solitary confinement in the penitentiary, for twenty one years.

Section 2. That if any person or persons, shall hereafter knowingly sell, transfer or assign, or shall knowingly purchase, take a transfer or assignment of any free negro or mulatto, for the purpose of fraudulently removing, exporting, or carrying such free negro or mulatto out of this state, with the design or intent by fraud or false pretences, of making him or her a slave or servant for life, or for any term whatsoever, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof in any court of quarter sessions of this commonwealth, shall be sentenced by such court to pay a fine of not less than five hundred dollars nor more than two thousand dollars, one-half whereof shall be paid to the person or persons who shall prosecute for the same; and the other half to this commonwealth, and moreover shall be sentenced at the discretion of the court, to undergo a punishment by solitary confinement, at hard labor, in the proper penitentiary, for a period not less than five years nor exceeding twelve years.

Section 3. That no Judge of any of the courts of this commonwealth, nor any alderman or justice of the peace of said commonwealth, shall have jurisdiction or take cognizance of the case of any fugitive from labor from any of the United States or territories, under a certain act of Congress, passed on the twelfth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," nor shall any such judge, alderman, or justice of the peace of this commonwealth, issue or grant any certificate or warrant of removal of any such fugitive from labour, under the said act of Congress, or under any other law, authority or act of the Congress of the United States, and if any alderman or justice of the peace of this commonwealth, shall take cognizance or jurisdiction of the case of any such fugitive, or shall grant or issue any certificate or warrant of removal as aforesaid, then and in either case, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office, and shall on conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay, at the discretion of the court, any sum not less than five hundred dollars nor exceeding one thousand dollars, the one-half to the party prosecuting

for the same, and the other half to the use of this commonwealth.

Section 4. That if any person or persons, claiming any negro or mulatto as a fugitive from servitude or labour, shall under any pretence of authority whatsoever, violently and tumultuously seize upon and carry away to any place, or attempt to seize and carry away in a riotous, violent, tumultuous, and unreasonable manner, and so as to disturb or endanger the public peace, any negro or mulatto within this commonwealth, either with or without the intention of taking such negro or mulatto before any district or circuit judge, the person or persons so offending against the peace of this commonwealth, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, before any court of quarter sessions of this commonwealth, shall be sentenced by such court to pay a fine of not less than one hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars, with costs of prosecution, and further, to be confined in the county jail for any period at the discretion of the court not exceeding three months.

Section 5. That nothing in this act shall be construed to take away what is hereby declared to be invested in the judges of this commonwealth, the right, power and authority at all times, on application made, to issue the writ of habeas corpus, and to inquire into the causes and legality of the arrest and imprisonment of any human being within this commonwealth.

Section 6. It shall not be lawful to use any jail or prison of this commonwealth, for the detention of any person claimed as a fugitive from servitude or labour, except in cases where jurisdiction may lawfully be taken by any judge, under the provisions of this act; and any jailor or keeper of any prison, or other person who shall offend against the provisions of this section, shall, on conviction thereof, pay a fine of five hundred dollars, one-half thereof for the use of the commonwealth, and the other half to the person who prosecutes, and shall moreover thenceforth be removed from office, and be incapable of holding such office of jailor or keeper of a prison at any time during his natural life.

Section 7. That so much of the act of the general assembly, entitled "An Act for the gradual abolition of slavery," passed the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, as authorizes the masters or owners of slaves, to bring and retain such slaves within this commonwealth for the period of six months, in involuntary servitude, or for any period of time whatsoever, and so much of said act as prevents a

slave from giving testimony against any person whatsoever, be and the same is hereby repealed.

Section 8. That the act passed March, twenty fifth, eighteen hundred and twenty six, and all laws of this Commonwealth which are hereby altered, be and the same are hereby repealed.

JAMES COOPER,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CHARLES GIBBONS,

Speaker of the Senate.

Approved the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and forty seven.

FRANCIS R. SHUNK,

Secretary's Office,

Harrisburgh, March 13, 1847.

Pennsylvania ss.

I do hereby certify, that the above and foregoing is a true copy of the original act of Assembly now on file in this office.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the seal of said office, the day and year above written.

H. PETRIKEN,

Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth.

CLERICAL INTERPRETATION.

A letter from Virginia to a correspondent of the Boston Courier, is authority for the following: "One of the customs of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is to read the 'General Rules' of the 'Discipline' to the congregation once a year. On the Sunday in question, the minister preached a very severe sermon against fashion, and display in dress, specifying particularly jewelry, and most particularly breast pins, as utter abominations in the sight of the Lord! He then read the Discipline, which contains this provision, that 'no one who belongs to the Church shall buy or sell men with the intention to enslave them.' This was too plain to pass without an explanation, and the parson stopped to remark that this had reference only to the African slave-trade, but none at all to the domestic institution of the present day; none at all, (looking up at the gallery of servants,) for as they were already in servitude, they could not be made any more so by exchanging masters!

"This is certainly (says the correspondent) one of the most successful solutions of the scriptural problem about straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, that I have seen. I think it furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the remark of Frederick Douglass, that next to being a slave at all, the greatest curse is to be the slave of a 'religious' master."

POETRY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"When the news of the reduction of the sugar duties, by the British Parliament, reached Havana, the city was illuminated; the price of slaves rose twenty-five per cent; and twelve slavers were about to be fitted for the coast of Africa for slaves."

Letter from a friend.

Lo, a wail of hopeless sorrow
Comes from Cuba's arid plains,
And the broad Brazilian valleys
Where Oppression proudly reigns,
And his fiery demons scatter
Pestilence with lavish hand,
Like the plagues that swept in fury
Over Egypt's guilty land!
'Tis the wretched slave despairing
That his day of hope is o'er,
While a cry responsive rises
Over Afric's golden shore.
Mingled with that wail of anguish
Comes the sound of joy and mirth,
Like the mountain torrent breaking
From its darksome cavern forth.
Hark! it is the haughty Spaniard's
And the glad Brazilian's shout,
'Mid the Universal wailing
Of the bondman, bursting out.
What can mean this strange confusion?
Are the fires of Freedom dead,
And the clouds of endless slavery
Black o'er hill and mountain head?
Are the foes of despotism
Driven from the battle-field?
Has the friend of Afric, fleeing,
Vilely cast away his shield?
Where is Liberty's fair Goddess?
Has she turned to take her flight?
Or the sun of Freedom, setting,
Left the world in Slavery's night?
That the broken hearted bondman
Pours afresh his sorrows forth,
While his iron-hearted master
Revels in indecent mirth!
Creole thieves—Brazilian tyrants
Rob the Negro of his toil—
England's silver buys the plunder
English freemen share the spoil.
England, slavery-hating England,
On oppression's dainties feeds—
'Tis for this the slaver gladdens,
And anew the captive bleeds!
Pause a moment, ye who revel
O'er the toil of weeping slaves,
Tell me who has sent those slaveships
O'er the broad Atlantic's waves?

Lo in Afric scenes of murder,
Robbery and revolting crime,
Horrid deeds that stand unrivalled
In the chronicles of Time!
Mark yon conflagrating village—
Hear those shrieks of wild despair—
Pause and tell me—are ye guiltless?
Who has sent those slaveships there?
Foes to slavery, who have nobly
All its thousand wiles withstood,
Friends to Freedom, the world over,
Will ye buy the price of blood!
Hear ye not the voice of Clarkson
Speaking from the silent grave,
"Will ye aid in plundering Afric!
Will ye help to rob the slave!"
Heed ye then the solemn warning,
Let the robber keep his prey,
And with firm and noble purpose,
Turn ye from the spoil away.

Richmond, Va., 12th mo. 22d, 1846.

R. T. R.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the "FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING," will be held at *Clarkson Hall*, in Cherry street, above Sixth, north side, on *THURSDAY* evening, 4th mo. 20th, at 8 o'clock.

Friends of both sexes are invited to attend.
GEO. W. TAYLOR, Secretary.
Philadelphia, 3d mo. 29th, 1847.

Free Labour Dry Goods and Groceries.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

Fresh and new goods just received, consisting in part of
Shirting and Sheet Muslin, Bleached and Brown.
"Manchester" Gingham of superior quality, various styles.
2d Quality do. assorted patterns.
Calico, do. do.
Coloured Cambrics and Canton Flannel, assorted colours.
Bleached and Brown do. do. and Table Diaper.
Coloured Table Cloths, Imitation of Linen.
Cotton Hdkts., assorted styles.
Long and Half Hose, superior and heavy.
Apron and Furniture Check.
Cotton Twilled Pantaloon Stuff.
Knitting Cotton, various Nos., Bleached, Brown and Coloured.
Cotton Laps and Wadding, white and coloured. Also,
Gingham and Chamberlain Handkerchiefs,
Muslin de Lain, plain and neatly figured, all wool,
Linen, warranted free from cotton,
Refined Loaf, Crushed and Pulverized Sugar.
Brown Sugar, good quality, of different grades, by the barrel, bag, or pound.
Sugar House and West India Molasses, good quality.
Rice, Coffee and Chocolate.
SUPERIOR TEAS, SELECTED WITH CARE FOR FAMILY USE OR STORES, viz.: Fine Oolong, Souchong and other Black Teas; also, Green Tea of superior quality.
Various Spices and Confectionery, &c. &c. The whole stock exclusively of Free Labour Goods, to which the subscriber would invite the attention of Country Merchants, as well as his friends and the public generally.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

Successor to Joel Fisher,

N. W. corner Fifth and Cherry Sts.,

Philadelphia, 2d mo. 25th, 1847.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1847.

[NO. 5.]

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF
PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.

The Second Annual Meeting of this Association was held at Clarkson Hall, on Third day evening, 20th of Fourth Month. The proceedings of the Board of Managers, as exhibited in their Report, and in the Reports of the Treasurer and the Committee on Manufactures, were approved, and the managers were encouraged to persevere in their labours. Several facts were stated to the meeting, showing the increased interest on the subject of abstinence from the productions of slavery, in various sections of our country. A wholesale store, exclusively of these productions, has recently been opened in Cincinnati; and in many other places retail stores for the same kind of goods have either been commenced, or the needful arrangements are in progress for that purpose. In one instance, a number of Friends have raised money on the security of their lands, to establish a store for the supply of themselves and others with free labour productions. In Iowa, a Free Produce Association has been formed. The numerous applications received by the Managers for free cotton goods, while indicating the progress of sound, consistent views in relation to a faithful testimony against slavery, excite feelings of regret that the means of supply are so inadequate. Of muslins, prints, gingham, Canton flannels and other goods, about 60,000 yards have been received from the Manufacturers, and upwards of 40 bales of cotton are now at the mills in process of manufacture. Various other articles have also been prepared in considerable quantities, such as handkerchiefs, stockings, laps and knitting cotton. Shirting muslins and calicoes, of a much finer quality than any heretofore made in this country exclusively of free cotton, are expected to be ready for sale in a few weeks.

The Managers have kept steadily in view the importance of furnishing goods at a price as low as possible, and hence have made arrangements to have them sold so as merely to remunerate the costs and expenses, and preserve the capital unimpaired.

The permanent fund for conducting the business does not much exceed 4,000 dollars, and consists of donations and loans without interest. The amount of merchandise sold and on hand is about 5,550 dollars, and the value of the cotton now at the mills, estimated at cost, is about 2,200 dollars. When the plan, suggested in the Report of the Board of Managers, for furnishing a few manufacturers with an amount of free cotton sufficient for a full supply of their mills, is matured and laid before the friends of the cause, we hope the means of carrying it into effect will be promptly advanced.

It was stated at the meeting that the abstinence from slave produce, which commenced in England in 1791, not only promoted the abolition of the slave-trade by directly showing the West India planters that their interests were in jeopardy, but also by introducing the subject of abolition at tens of thousands of tea-tables, and thus awakening and extending an abhorrence of the inhuman traffic. A faithful, practical testimony against the use of the products of slave labour in the present day, would doubtless operate powerfully, in the same manner, to pull down the strongholds of slavery. The faithfulness of the late William Allen was adverted to as worthy of general imitation. It may be related in his own words, and, in the first instance, occurred in one of his interviews with the Emperor Alexander, at Vienna in 1822. "The Emperor asked me," says William Allen, (Life of W. A., vol. 2., page 265,) "if I would not take some tea with him, to which I readily assented; he rung his little hand bell, and the servants came and received his orders; two cups were brought in, but mine had sugar in it. The Emperor immediately ordered

it to be changed, and this led me to speak of the poor Africans, &c." Subsequently, at Verona, Wm. Allen says, (vol. 2, page 284 :) "The dear Emperor received me most cordially, and again asked me to take tea with him—when tea was brought in he remembered that I did not take sugar." On this occasion also, William Allen's abstinence appears to have introduced the subject of the abolition of the slave-trade, which was then engaging the attention of the Congress of Nations assembled at Vienna. He continues: "We had now some most interesting conversation in perfect confidence. I find that on the subject of the Slave-Trade, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia are with us, but their Ministers are cool, and, as the Emperor (Alexander) remarked, the French Ministers would not fail to take advantage of that. He said that he had given his own Ministers most positive orders to urge the business, and remarked, that if all stood firm, as they ought to do, he did not see why they should not carry it, intimating that France must give way."

It having been found that an annual meeting does not afford an opportunity for the Free Produce Association to be fully informed of the proceedings of the Managers, and to consider the various important subjects connected with the objects of the Association, it was concluded that quarterly or semi-annual meetings might be useful; and it was agreed to meet again on the evening of the 11th of 6th month.

Officers for the ensuing year, were appointed:—Secretary, George W. Taylor; Treasurer, M. C. Cope; Managers, Enoch Lewis, Elihu Pickering, Abraham L. Pennock, Edward Garrett, Thomas Wistar, Jr., Samuel Rhoads, Samuel Allinson, Jr., and Israel H. Johnson.

The Report of the Managers was directed to be published; being as follows:

To the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

In the report of the Managers, which they submitted last year, it was stated that among the means adopted for disseminating a knowledge of our Association and collecting information which might facilitate the attainment of our object, a letter had been addressed to the well known philanthropist Thomas Clarkson, acquainting him with our Association, and the object we have in view, together with a request for further information, if any remained in his possession, relative to the abstinence from sugar, which took place in England about the year 1792, and its effect in promoting the abolition of the Anglo-African

slave trade. The hope then expressed, that a communication from him might be obtained, has since been realized. Though he was then upwards of 84 years old, nearly if not fully sixty of which had been spent in active exertions to promote the virtue and happiness of our race, and particularly of those of African descent, he did not feel himself excused from devoting a portion of his waning powers to our communication. The approbation of such a man, at his period of life, could hardly fail to encourage the members of our association to continue and increase their efforts in this noble cause.

As this remarkable man now sleeps with his fathers, we trust a few observations on his unprecedented exertions in behalf of the African race, and the astonishing effects which those exertions have produced, will not be deemed impertinent on the present occasion.

When in the year 1785, the attention of Clarkson was attracted to the African slave trade, but few of his associates appear to have thought of its abolition; and when, at a subsequent period, he began seriously to reflect on the means of annihilating that horrible traffic, the difficulties to be encountered seemed to call for the fabled labours of Hercules to surmount them. The commerce of the nation, and the revenues of the government were supposed to be closely interwoven with the trade. The cultivation of the British West Indies was represented as depending upon it; and the maintenance of the navy, the fancied palladium of the British state, was said to require that this nursery of seamen should be encouraged. The advocates of the traffic were able to show that several acts of parliament had been passed to promote it, and that the diplomacy of the nation had been employed to secure to the shipping of Great Britain the privilege of carrying slaves from Africa to foreign countries.* Yet entrenched as the traffic was, in the interests, the habits, and the prejudices of no inconsiderable number of his cotemporaries, the student of Cambridge, educated for the ministry, was impelled by philanthropic and religious considerations, to leave the sacerdotal desk, and explore, during the midnight hours, the darkest recesses of dissipation and vice; to visit the taverns, the lowest of their order, in a large and crowded

* In 1792, twenty-six acts of parliament, encouraging and sanctioning the trade, could be enumerated by its friends. By the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht (1713,) Great Britain contracted for the introduction into the Spanish dominions of 4,800 negroes annually, during 30 years.—*Walsh's Appeal*, p. 182.

city, where the mates of the slave ships collected the seamen to be employed in this iniquitous and destructive occupation. By copying and arranging the muster-rolls of the vessels engaged in this traffic, he procured the names of 20,000 seamen who had been thus employed, and could tell what had become of them all; and by these accurate and extensive researches, was enabled not only to expose the abominations of the traffic to the philanthropists of the age, but to prostrate in the dust all the arguments which had been raised in its defence, on the basis of mercantile and political expediency. By the facts which he brought to light, and the witnesses whom he called from obscurity, a mass of testimony was accumulated which electrified the nation, and eventually impelled the English parliament, with singular unanimity, to pronounce the doom of that abominable but long cherished commerce.

Though the effort to expose the evils of slavery and the slave-trade did not commence with Thomas Clarkson, nor did he pursue his career of philanthropy without the aid of powerful auxiliaries, yet it may be fairly questioned whether the abolition of the slave-trade by the British parliament, could have been effected when it was, if his labours had been withheld. He furnished the facts which gave force and vitality to the arguments of statesmen, which finally produced a general concurrence in favour of the abolition.

It was during the protracted struggle, to which we have alluded, that the attention of the British nation was called to a mode of effecting the extinction of the traffic, without the aid of parliament. What John Woolman, had long before adopted, on conscientious grounds, as an essential part of his testimony against slavery and the slave-trade,—the disuse of those articles of luxury or convenience which were procured by the labour of slaves,—was presented as a moral and religious duty, in a pamphlet written by William Fox of London, and published soon after the motion for the abolition of the slave-trade was rejected by the House of Commons, in 1791. Of this pamphlet, Thomas Clarkson, in his letter above mentioned, which bears date May 1, 1846, observes, "It was written in such a clear and convincing manner that it seemed impossible for any reader of common feeling, of common sense and of common morality, to withstand it."* As the principal articles then obtained from the British slave colonies were sugar and rum, the author

directed the attention of his readers chiefly to those objects, but his arguments were applicable to the products of slave labour in general. It was computed that in consequence of the disclosures of Clarkson, and of the arguments of Fox, not less than 300,000 persons in England had abandoned the use of sugar. For we may recollect that little sugar except what was cultivated by slaves was then brought to the English market.

More than fifty years have passed away since this pamphlet was written; those who were then labouring for the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, are gone to rest with their fathers; the slave-trade has been denounced as piracy, by the government which then refused to abolish it; but the traffic is still prosecuted in defiance of law, and the experience of nearly forty years has sufficiently demonstrated the inefficiency of laws or navies to suppress it, so long as its emoluments are adequate to the hazards attending it. According to uncontradicted accounts the pecuniary profits of this traffic are exorbitant, and greatly overbalance the losses from capture or casualties.

We may then justly and seriously inquire from whence, and from whom do these emoluments spring? The answer is obvious, and not to be mistaken. It is the market for the produce of slave labour which gives vitality to slavery in all its ramifications. We can neither disguise nor conceal the fact, that the consumer of the products which slave labour supplies, and for which the slaves are imported and purchased, furnishes the means and the inducement to continue the traffic.

It is greatly to be regretted that the sentiments so extensively disseminated among the people of England in 1791, were suffered to languish; for had the practice, so nobly commenced, of abstaining from the products of slave labour, been strictly maintained, even by the comparatively few who then adopted it, there can be little doubt that the example would have been gradually followed by others, and that this abstinence might have been incorporated into the habits of the generation which since that time has arisen to fill the earth. The cotton of the United States which now constitutes such an important article of commerce, and supports so great a mass of slavery on this side of the Atlantic, was then of no great importance, being estimated at three millions of pounds; whereas in 1840 the cotton crop of the United States is given at 790,479,257 lbs., of which upwards of 560,000,000 are supposed to have been exported to Great Britain. The cultivation of that part of the crop which was carried to England probably employed the labour of

* This pamphlet is republished in No. 4. vol. ii. of the Non-Slaveholder.

373,000 slaves. Thus the cotton market of Great Britain, two years after the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, may be considered as sustaining the slavery of 373,000 labourers. But the labourers in the cotton fields probably compose less than half the slave population of the planters, and of course that market may be estimated to sustain at least one fourth of the slavery of the Union. But we may further reflect, that the habit of dealing in the productions of slavery, must operate unfavourably upon our moral sensibilities to the evils of the system.

We may perhaps justly attribute to the benumbing effects of the familiar use of slave grown products, the recent abolition of the high duties by which the sugars of Cuba and Brazil were excluded from the British market. But whatever causes may have led to this measure, the effect was easily foreseen. Upon the arrival of the news in Cuba, the Havannah was illuminated, the prices of slaves rose, as it is asserted, twenty-five per cent., and preparations were made for despatching twelve slaves to the African coast. The consequence must necessarily be a renewed stimulus to the African trade, and an increase of the labours exacted from the slaves; whence we may reasonably infer that the waste of life, already of appalling extent, among the servile class, must be greatly augmented. It is, however, some satisfaction, that this measure was not carried without meeting with strenuous opposition, and that a forcible remonstrance against it was presented to the government, among the signers to which we recognize the names of many well known members of our Society.*

When we reflect upon the iniquitous means by which the African slave-trade is supplied with its victims; the horrors of the midnight assault upon the peaceful village, the impotent efforts of the terrified inhabitants to escape from their burning habitations, or from the no less frightful grasp of their assailants; when we view the desponding captives, bending under their burdens, working their toilsome way across the wide inhospitable deserts, to their destination on the coast; the numerous skeletons, whitening in the blast, which mark the road where the caravans have trod; when we follow the heart stricken survivors to the hold of the slavers, and view them packed in a space such as humanity would forbid being assigned them, if they were merely to be carried over the Delaware, and remember that they are, in this suffocating receptacle, to be transported

across the broad Atlantic, and eventually consigned to a slavery under which about one tenth of those who reach the Western world alive, are annually consigned to the grave; and then put the question to ourselves, what is the ultimate object of this complicated system of violence and oppression? the only rational answer that can be given must be—and it certainly is an appalling one—to procure sugar to be thrown by the planters of Cuba and Brazil into the markets of the world in competition with the sugars which are produced by the labour of freemen.

Could we behold with our own eyes, in one connected view, the whole scene of the African slave-trade, from the assault of the village in the interior of the continent to its consummation in the cane or cotton field of America, it may be fairly questioned whether any person of common feeling or common morality would consent to receive, at any price that could be named, the products of the slave-cultured soil, thus visibly and indissolubly connected with the blood of our fellow men. Let us then soberly inquire, are the abominations of the traffic less real, or less certainly known, because a considerable portion of the convex world intrudes between us and the scene of action? And are we under less obligation to use our efforts to turn the stream of commerce into a less polluted channel, than we should be, if the whole system, so fully and clearly understood, was presented at once to our view!

It is true that the African slave-trade is prohibited by the laws of the United States; but it is equally true that our government has done very little towards restraining its citizens from engaging in it; and there is now probably no essential difference of sentiment as to the object of the annexation of Texas or the war with Mexico. The increase of influence and power on the side of the supporters of slavery, is the object, now scarcely disguised, for which the treasures of the Union and the lives of our citizens are sacrificed to the Moloch of war. Whatever may be the result of the present contest with our Southern neighbour, we can scarcely doubt, but the opening of Texas to the people of the United States, will give a fresh impetus to a traffic, similar in its essential characteristics, though not equally destructive in its practical operation, with the piratical traffic to the African coast. The retrograde movement of the British government, to which we have briefly alluded, and the efforts of our own to extend the area, and strengthen the influence of slavery, furnish a renewed call to the advocates of human rights,

* For a copy of this protest see Non-Slaveholder, vol. i. pp. 130—1—2.

to employ such means as they possess towards improving the condition of the slave, and reducing the dominions of slavery. Among those means, one of the most effectual would unquestionably be to supply the market through the instrumentality of free-labour, with those articles which the habits of our age and country have classed among the necessities of life, and which are usually extorted from the drudgery of slaves. This was the primary object of our association; and as we noted in our report of last year, we had the satisfaction, soon after our union was attempted, to find an association for a similar object among our Friends of New York. We may now add that some Friends in Ohio have associated for a similar purpose, and it is understood that many Friends within that Yearly Meeting are seriously turning their attention to abstinence from the products of slave labour. We trust they will be encouraged to pursue the subject in its practical operation, and that as the importance of abstinence from this species of produce comes to be more fully considered and understood, the number of those who will find themselves impelled to adopt it will be greatly increased. While even the avowed advocate of slavery, speaking professedly the sense of the South, can openly declare that abstinence from the products of slave labour, on the part of those who profess to be conscientiously opposed to slaveholding, would, as certainly as day succeeds night, put an end to slavery in the United States, and that too, without doing a single thing which the nicest caviller could censure;* the advocates of freedom need not hesitate to adopt so obvious and effectual a course. From the numerous inquiries that have been made where groceries, and cotton fabrics, the exclusive produce of freemen, may be procured, we are convinced that an extensive and increasing demand for such unstained products exists. And we now have the satisfaction to state that a store, containing a valuable assortment of dry goods and groceries, which are all the products of free labour, has been opened within the past year by George W. Taylor, at the North West corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets in this city. So far as the supply of that store extends, purchasers may confidently rely upon their being what they purport to be, the exclusive results of compensated labour. The great and growing demand in the West for goods untouched by servile hands, has in one neighbourhood induced several Friends to agree

upon mortgaging their estates, for the purpose of raising money to set up a free produce store.

There is one branch of the subject to which we desire to attract the particular attention, not only of the members of this association, but of all who conscientiously believe that the slavery of our fellow men is offensive in the divine sight, and who desire to see the fetters of the slave dissolved by peaceable means. A correspondence has been maintained by this board, with an agent in Mississippi, who has been employed in selecting free grown cotton for our use; and there is no doubt entertained that, with the necessary capital at our command, a large supply could be obtained. Application for cotton has been made to us by several manufacturers of cotton goods, whose supplies of the raw material have been heretofore drawn chiefly from the product of slavery, but who are anxious to confine their operations to free cotton. As they have not the means of procuring, in advance, the supplies for a year, they are obliged to make their purchases as they are needed, and of course are thrown upon the general market for the raw material. All therefore that appears needful to enable such manufacturers to bring their fabrics into the market unstained by the guilt of slavery, is that our Board should be put in possession of a sufficient fund to purchase, immediately from the cultivators of free cotton, a quantity equal to the yearly demand of those manufacturers, to be retailed to them as they were ready to receive it. The goods composed of cotton thus procured might be easily marked, so as to show where they were manufactured; and the means by which the raw material was obtained, being known, all doubt would be removed as to their free character. To accomplish this important and desirable object, a capital of fifteen or twenty thousand dollars would probably be required.

If the members of our religious society could be brought to examine this subject with the attention which its importance demands, we can hardly suppose that the necessary funds would long be withheld. As the purchase of goods brought into existence by the labour of freemen, in preference to the product of servile hands, is a measure of which no man has a right to complain, even slaveholders themselves being judges, and which, if generally adopted, must inevitably put an end to slavery, we cannot believe that this case being properly understood, we shall long solicit in vain the means which would be required to accomplish the object in view. The present generation of Friends may be said to have imbibed an abhorrence of slavery in their very infancy; few of them can remember having ever entertained any

* See the letter of I. E. Morse, M. C., from Louisiana, Non-Slaveholder, vol. i. p. 179.

other sentiments respecting it than those of disapprobation. As Friends, considered as a body, are not only a wealthy, but a practical people, we must indulge a hope that, at no distant day, the means above suggested, or some other equally effectual, will be adopted for supplying the demand for free cotton goods; and that we at least may be redeemed from the reproach of supporting in practice the very slavery which in theory we denounce as a palpable violation of the Divine law.

Signed by direction of the Board of Managers,
SAMUEL RHOADS, Sec'y.
Philadelphia, 4th. mo. 16th, 1847.

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SCRIPTURAL DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.

If a heathen philosopher could adduce the concurrent opinion of all nations, as satisfactory evidence of the existence of a God, we may perhaps urge a similar concurrence of opinion in favour of personal freedom. For although slavery, in some form and under some modification, may be traced to the highest antiquity, and to almost every region of the globe, yet the common sense of mankind revolts at the assertion that man can become the absolute proprietor of his fellow-man. Our ideas of property are evidently founded on the express or tacit admission that every man is the indisputable proprietor of his own mental and physical powers. Take away this admission, and the foundations of property are removed; no man can give a satisfactory reason why the coat on his back is his own. When the fathers of the American revolution were about proclaiming to the world, the principles upon which they chose to rest the justification of their resistance to the parent state, the noble doctrine which they avowed was not adopted because they were more liberal or enlightened than their cotemporaries, but because prescription and precedent being against them, they were driven to seek their justification in the natural and inherent rights of man. In other words, they were compelled to appeal to the common sense of mankind, not to the refinements of law, or the usages of governments, to vindicate their rejection of the metropolitan authority. And certainly no person of common intelligence requires to be informed, that if the practice of the people of the United States had conformed to the principles announced in the Declaration of Independence, *slaves and slavery* must have been, to us, words of exotic application.

Such being the case, we should hardly have imagined that any man who admits that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by Divine inspiration, and that they clearly point out the way to life and salvation, would believe that slavery, as it now exists in half the states of the Union, can be defended upon scriptural grounds.

If an author who was desirous of prostrating the character of the sacred volume, should employ his labour and ingenuity in attempting, as some professors of Christianity have done, to prove that the slavery of our age is quite compatible with the precepts and tenor of the Bible, we should readily agree that the effort was entirely consistent with the object. Being myself but very slightly acquainted with the works of infidel writers, I am confessedly ignorant of many of the arguments which they may have adduced in opposition to the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures; yet as I have no recollection of ever hearing that their sanction of slavery has been advanced, by any of them, as an evidence that the Bible is not what Christians believe it to be, a declaration of Divine Truth, I must suppose that *they* have not had the perspicacity to discover, or the hardihood to assert, that such sanction is to be found in the sacred volume. It seems to have been left for the advocates of the Bible to furnish their opponents with an argument, which, if it could be fairly supported, would certainly be the most formidable that has ever been brought to bear upon the truth and Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures.

As I fully assent to the doctrine that the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments, were given by inspiration of God, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness; and believe that even where they are not known, the sincere enquirer after truth is furnished with evidence, sufficiently clear, if properly regarded, to produce a conviction that personal slavery is a violation of the Divine law, I shall endeavour in the following pages to prove that negro slavery, as it exists in our age and country, is not only at variance with the whole spirit and tenor of the New Testament, but that it can obtain no sanction from the records of the patriarchal age, or the institutions of Moses. If this can be done, we not only deprive the Christian professor of excuse for supporting the system of slavery, but we also strip the opponent of scriptural revelation of the arms which some, who even profess to be ministers of the gospel, have placed in his hands. Happily for the cause of religion and humanity, the defence of the Bible against the imputation of supporting the slavery of our

day, has not been left to the writer of this essay. The subject has already engaged the attention of abler hands. Of the arguments and illustrations of my predecessors, when they lie in my path, I shall make liberal use.

A preliminary observation may be advanced, which ought to be kept in view, throughout the enquiry, viz: That the servitude of a former age, however it may have been established or authorized, can afford no sanction to the slavery of the United States, when the principles on which it was founded and maintained were totally different from ours. It may also be remarked that the acts or practices of the patriarchs, which are recorded without censure or approbation, are not to be taken as scriptural authority for us, but must be judged by the positive maxims or general tenor of the sacred volume.

Let us then enquire what the slavery of our age and country naturally is.

The incidents of American slavery are enumerated by Judge Stroud, in his treatise on the slave laws, in the following terms;—

1st. The master may determine the kind, and degree, and time of labour, to which the slave shall be subjected.

2d. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper, or find convenient.

3d. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

4th. All the power of the master over his slave, may be exercised, not by himself only in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent.

5th. Slaves have no legal rights of property in things, real or personal; but whatever they acquire, belongs, *in point of law*, to their masters.

6th. The slave being a personal chattel, is at all times liable to be sold, absolutely, or mortgaged, or leased, at the will of the master.

7th. He may also be sold, by process of law, for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts or bequests of a deceased man, at the suit of creditors or legatees.

8th. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action, against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received by him.

9th. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety.

10th. Slaves being objects of property, if in-

jured by third persons, their owners may bring suit, and recover damages for the injury.

11th. Slaves can make no contract.

12th. Slavery is hereditary, and perpetual.

The condition of the slave, when considered as a member of civil society, is stated in the work last cited, as follows:—

1st. A slave cannot be a witness against a white person, either in a civil or criminal cause.

2d. He cannot be a party to a civil suit.

3d. The benefits of education are withheld from the slave.

4th. The means of moral and religious instruction are not granted to the slave; on the contrary, the efforts of the humane and charitable to supply their wants are discountenanced by law.

5th. Submission is required of the slave, not to the will of his master only, but to that of all other white persons.

6th. The penal codes of the slave-holding states bear much more severely upon slaves than upon white persons.

7th. Slaves are prosecuted and tried upon criminal accusations, in a manner inconsistent with the rights of humanity.

These propositions are severally discussed by Judge Stroud, and their correctness clearly proved, from the laws and usages of the slaveholding states. In some of them, indeed, there are provisions on the statute book, ostensibly designed to limit the power of the master; yet, as it is an inflexible principle in slave-legislation, that a slave cannot be a witness against a white person, those provisions must, in general, lose their power from want of testimony to enforce them. Though, perhaps, in very atrocious cases, the abuses of the master may be sometimes restrained by legal prosecution, it is obvious, from the general tenor of the laws, that the slave is commonly indebted, for such security as he enjoys, much more to the humanity of the master, than to the protection of law. But, unhappily, on large plantations, the slaves are very frequently, if not generally, entrusted to the superintendence of an overseer, who has not the same interest as the master in their life and health.*

The first part of my labour then is to prove that this slavery can derive no sanction from the records of the patriarchal age.

The scriptural advocates of slavery have, upon very slender authority, claimed Abraham as a slaveholder; and in support of their hypothesis

*A large portion of the slaves of the United States are hired of their masters by persons who have no interest in their life or health.—*Ed.*

have cited a passage, which, to a common reader, must appear to have very little if any connection with slavery. "And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot, his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan." Gen. 12: 5. A late author informs us that all the ancient Jewish writers, of note, and Christian commentators, agree that by the souls that they had gotten in Haran, are meant their slaves, or those persons they had bought with their money in Haran.* But he has not yet quoted a solitary passage to show who those writers and commentators are, or upon what basis they have erected their theory. A little attention to the text must suggest the belief that those souls, whatever their relation to the patriarch may have been, were not considered as any part of his estate, for they were mentioned separately from the substance which they had gathered. To state that Abram took all his substance, and then add that he also took that part of it which consisted of slaves, would not have been consistent with the brevity of Moses.

If we are to be influenced by the opinions of Jewish and Christian commentators, we shall find that they do not at all agree that these souls were slaves who had been purchased with money. In the Targum of Onkelos it is rendered, "The souls whom they had brought to obey the law in Haran." The Targum of Jonathan has it, "The souls whom they had made proselytes in Haran." Jarchi, an able Jewish commentator, "The souls whom they had brought under the Divine wings." Jerome a celebrated Christian father, "The persons whom they had proselyted." The Persian, Vulgate, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Samaritan all render it, "All the wealth which they had gathered, and the souls which they had made in Haran." Menochius "Those whom they had converted from idolatry." Paulus Fagius, "Those whom they had established in religion." Luke Francke, a German commentator, "Those whom they had brought to obey the law."† Anthony Purver, who translated the scriptures about a hundred years ago, unites in the opinion that these souls were such as left their idolatrous country to accompany the patriarch on account of his religion.

Hence we may safely dismiss this part of the patriarchal history as having no connection with servitude, and consequently furnishing it no support.

*T. Stringfellow's brief examination of Scriptural testimony on slavery.

†Anti Slavery Examiner, No. 6. New York, 1838, page 50, 51.

In the first place, where the kind of property which Abraham possessed is mentioned, sheep, oxen, asses and camels are enumerated, it is true that servants, both male and female, are noted in the same connection, but nothing is said relative to the nature or duration of their service, and of course the supposition that those servants were slaves, held by purchase or by hereditary succession, as a part of Abraham's property, is entirely gratuitous. But slender as our information in this case must be considered, the supposition that the servants of Abraham were slaves, held to involuntary servitude, is not supported by probable conjecture. The advocates of patriarchal slavery appear to forget that Abraham was not a citizen of a powerful and populous state, with laws and military force to sustain his authority, but the head of a family travelling about through a sparsely settled country, with no means of supporting his power but what was supplied by his influence over his adherents. The service must have been voluntary, for there were none but the servants themselves to enforce obedience. The three hundred and eighteen whom he armed to pursue the plunderers of Sodom, are said to have been born in his house, but the word *servants*, on which the supposition that they were slaves appears to be founded, is not in the original, but is an interpolation of the translators. They were unquestionably a part of Abraham's family, as their parents had been before them; but to infer that they were slaves, we must first admit, what certainly cannot be proved, and ought not to be admitted without proof, that the children born in Abraham's house, were necessarily slaves. From their being said to be trained or instructed, and this in immediate connection with the notice of their being employed in military service, it seems reasonable to infer that they were instructed in the use of arms, for the purpose of defending the patriarchal possessions from the depredations of the isolated and nomadic tribes, which then occupied the country. The circumstance of their being armed in such an emergency, and their fidelity when divided by night into separate companies, furnish no inconsiderable evidence that their service in Abraham's family was voluntary. My proposition however is sustained, if they are not proved to have been slaves.

It may furnish some illustration of our subject, if we briefly advert to the object of this military expedition, the only one, as far as we know, in which Abraham ever engaged. Chedorlaomer had reduced several of the neighbouring tribes to subjection; but after twelve years of submission they asserted their freedom. This brought on a

war of aggression, in which the nephew of Abraham, and probably many others, were taken captive and carried away. After Abraham and his associates had defeated these plunderers, and recovered the property and prisoners, the King of Sodom proposed that he should retain the spoils which he had recovered, and deliver the persons. What then was Abraham's determination? He solemnly declared that he would take nothing, of course neither persons nor spoils, not even a shoe latchet which belonged to the King of Sodom. He had broken the arm of the oppressor, had released the captives from thralldom, and would take nothing for his trouble and exposure, except what his young men had eaten while engaged in the rescue. His ardor was probably increased by the capture of his nephew, yet the transaction evidently indicates the opposition of the patriarch to compulsive servitude. The blessing pronounced by Melchisedek, implies that Abraham had performed a service which was acceptable in the Divine sight. And that service evidently was the redemption from servitude of a number who had been reduced to it.

We find it stated in the early part of Abraham's history that he was very rich, but his wealth consisted, not of slaves but of cattle, of silver and of gold.* Yet he must have had servants, for we immediately find that a contest had arisen between his herdmen and those of his nephew.

The nature of the patriarchal servitude is illustrated by a passage which is not often quoted by the advocates of slavery. And Abraham said, Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus. And Abraham said behold to me thou hast given no seed; and lo one born in my house is mine heir.† We do not know whether this Eliezer was the man whom Abraham afterwards commissioned to procure a wife for his son Isaac, but we readily perceive that his office was the same; for all the goods of his master were in his hand.‡ Yet this man announced himself, at the house of Bethuel, as Abraham's servant.§ A servant who ruled over all that the master possessed, and whose control evidently extended to the favourite son, at the age of forty,|| and who, in case Abraham had died childless, would have inherited his estate, was in a condition very different indeed from that of an American slave. That the descent of property to the principal servant, on failure of issue, was not peculiar to the patriarchal

*Gen. xv. 23. †Ibid. xxiv. 10. ‡Verse 24.
§Ibid. xxiv. 5. ||Ibid. xxv. 20.

age, may be inferred from one of Solomon's proverbs.*

When Abraham afterwards received the seal of circumcision, he was commanded to bring the members of his family into the same covenant. The children born in his house, or bought with money, of any strangers, were all brought into the same covenant with the head of the family. We should reflect that superstition and idolatry were then spreading over the earth, and that a very depraved morality was the consequence. Abraham was called as the head of a family in which the knowledge and worship of the true God was to be preserved. Hence one law was prescribed for him and his house. The natives of that family, or the strangers introduced into it, could retain their stations there, only on condition of submitting to that law.† This implied no compulsion, but a simple alternative; the adoption of the religion maintained in the family, or separation from their community.

The expression, bought with money, which we find several times repeated, suggests to the slaveholder the idea of a purchase of slaves; but to those unacquainted with slavery, it as readily implies the purchase of service for a limited time, or a payment in advance, to the persons by whom the service is to be rendered. The object of the historian evidently was to show, that idolaters were not to compose any part of the patriarchal community, not to explain the relation in a pecuniary view between the servants and their master.

Of the equivocal meaning of the word *buy*, more will appear in subsequent parts of this essay. It will be sufficient at present to observe, that nothing appears in the history of Abraham which is incompatible with the supposition, that the services of those who were born in his house or bought with money, were voluntary and fully compensated. If the affirmative of this supposition cannot be proved, we are not bound to prove it. My proposition that American slavery can derive no sanction from the example of Abraham, is fully sustained unless the negative of the above supposition can be established.

We are informed that on one occasion Abimelech gave sheep and oxen, and men servants and women servants to Abraham,‡ and that on another Abraham presented seven ewe-lambs to Abimelech;§ but no instance appears in which he either sold or gave away any servants to others. As we have no account in what way the servants received from Abimelech were treated, or how

*Prov. xxx. 23. †Gen. xvii. 14.
‡Gen. xx. 14. §Ibid. xxi. 30.

long they were held, no argument in support of slavery can be drawn from the narrative.

Upon a review of the patriarchal history from Abraham to Joseph, I do not find a solitary instance in which the servitude, such as it was among them, is mentioned with any expression of Divine approbation. The utmost that can be said is, that no condemnation is expressed. The law given to Abraham, in regard to the servants born in his house, or bought with his money, did not establish the relation; it applied to a relation previously existing. But, it will be said, the relation of master and servant is mentioned without censure. If we insist that this implies approbation, we admit a principle which will involve some startling results. The concubinage of Abraham; the polygamy of Jacob; the falsehoods of Isaac respecting his wife, and of Jacob when he imposed upon the blindness of his father, are all mentioned without comment, and consequently without censure. Shall we conclude that such acts were divinely approved then, or that they would be safe examples for Christians now? The trick which Tamar played upon her father-in-law, is mentioned without condemnation. The sacred historian relates the actions of the patriarchs in the sale of their brother, without any expression of censure; and Joseph told them afterwards, it was not they but God that sent him there—and this, no doubt, was literally true. They sold him, to be carried they knew not, and cared not where; but an overruling hand directed his course; yet the criminality of the outrage was not diminished by the consequence which followed. So conscious were the sons of Jacob of their guilt, that after all the kindness which Joseph had shown them, they still apprehended he must feel a lurking inclination to retaliate. Where neither censure nor approbation is expressed, we are left to judge of actions by the application of the general principles which the Scriptures exhibit.

Imagining the authority held by the patriarchs over their servants, to approximate much more closely than we can reasonably suppose it did, to that which is possessed at this day, in the southern states; and considering the absence of censure as indicative of Divine approbation, we may still find reason for intrusting, to such men as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, a species and extent of authority, which was not intended to be always purchased with money. The testimony given of Abraham, by the Almighty himself, that he would command, not his children only, but his household after him, and they should keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment; and the obligation laid on him to bring all that

were born in his house, or bought with his money, into the same covenant with himself; sufficiently prove that his authority was likely to be exercised under a deep and abiding sense of religious responsibility; and that a primary object of his paternal government, was the preservation of those who were subject to it, from the vices and idolatry of their day. The incidents of slavery as enumerated by Judge Stroud, clearly demonstrate, that American slavery is conducted on totally different principles.

It may be proper to remember that the word *servant*, in the Hebrew Scriptures, is of extensive application, and is used to designate very different conditions. It is, therefore, a great mistake to imagine, that wherever we find servants mentioned, *slaves*, in the modern sense of the term, must be understood.

Joseph told the Egyptians he had bought them and their land for Pharaoh;* and they promised to be Pharaoh's servants.† Their money and cattle were gone before; leaving nothing but their bodies and their land.‡ This then looks something like modern slavery. But the difference of the systems immediately appears, for we are distinctly informed, what their service was. They were required to render one-fifth of the produce to Pharaoh, and keep the other four themselves. Could fertile land, such as the valley of Egypt then was, be rented upon easier conditions now? Yet these farmers were *servants*, according to Scripture phraseology. "Am not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul?"§ "And who is so faithful among all thy servants, as David, which is the king's son-in-law?"||

Previously to entering upon the consideration of the Mosaic institutions, a passing notice may be taken of the servitude to which the Israelites were subjected in Egypt. This slavery was evidently rather national than personal. The family of Jacob was settled in the land of Goshen, the best of the land, and took their flocks and herds with them.¶ And there they and their descendants remained tillled out by Moses.** There is nothing on record from which we can infer, that they were stripped of their property, or compelled to labour for the emolument of individual Egyptians. The cities which they built were for Pharaoh,†† the task masters who oppressed them were Pharaoh's officers.‡‡ When Moses was sent to demand their liberation, he did not apply to the Egyptian people to give up their slave pro-

* Gen. xlvii. 23.

† 1 Sam. xvii. 8.

‡ Gen. xlvii. 7.

†† Ex. i. 11.

† Ibid. 25.

‡ Ibid. xxii. 14.

** Ex. ix. 26.

†† Ibid. v. 14.

† Ibid. 18.

perty, but made his demand upon Pharaoh himself. The obvious inference therefore is, that the services which they were compelled to perform, were exacted from drafts of men which were rigidly enforced, and that Hebrew officers were urged by stripes and abuse to extort from their brethren the fulfilment of their allotted tasks. Hence a larger share of the burden of providing for their own families, than is usually allotted to the feeble sex, must have fallen on the Hebrew women. This, therefore, accounts for their superior hardihood and fertility. The more they oppressed them the more they multiplied and grew. That their oppression did not rise, as the repartimientos of the Spanish colonists, or the slavery of the negroes in the British West Indies afterwards did, to the point at which population is retarded, clearly appears from the astonishing increase of their numbers during their residence in Egypt. The Israelites seem to have been placed in the condition of tributaries, and the tribute demanded was labour. Yet they appear to have retained a species of government among themselves, for Moses and Aaron, previous to demanding their liberation from Pharaoh, assembled their elders and explained their mission to them.

This political servitude then, was the bondage so frequently mentioned in scripture, which drew upon those who imposed it a succession of judgments, to which history has scarcely furnished a parallel. We should, therefore, reasonably expect to find the code of laws which the Israelitish leader was divinely authorized to prepare for the government of that chosen people, carefully purged of every offensive ingredient which characterized the bondage from which they were so miraculously delivered. If we compare the slavery of the United States with that to which the Israelites were subjected in Egypt, we can scarcely resist the conviction, that ours is much more degrading than theirs. It would, therefore, appear an anomaly, not to be expected in a divinely inspired legislator, if Moses had admitted into his institution a species of servitude more galling in its nature than the one which he so frequently and emphatically denounced. Yet unless this inconsistency can be discovered, the slavery of our age and country can derive no authority from the Mosaic laws. It will, however, be easily shown, that no such error is chargeable upon the venerable legislator of Israel.

When we attempt to investigate the principles of the Mosaic institutions, we ought to remember that the promulgation of the law constitutes an important era in the history of man: that the law was addressed to a people who were deeply in-

fectured with the vices of their day: that it was intended as a school-master to lead them to Christ: that it was designed to prepare them for a more perfect dispensation: that the morality of the law and the prophets was designed to centre in the pure morality of the gospel. Now our Lord has given us, in a few words, the point to which the law and the prophets converge. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." Here is a general principle of morality, including the sum and substance, both of the law and the prophets. Consequently, every provision of the law ought to be construed as tending ultimately to this point; and every apparent exception must be considered as arising from the peculiar nature of the case, and the existing condition of the people.

One conspicuous portion of the injunctions of Moses, relates to the treatment of strangers. The people were frequently reminded of their own bitter experience, both as strangers and bondmen, to inculcate the duties of humanity. "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."* "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."† Their own servitude in Egypt was called oppression; these passages, therefore, plainly imply, they were not permitted to treat strangers, as they had themselves been treated in that land. "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."‡ Consonant with this is the declaration of the prophet. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"§ It would be easy to swell my pages, by quotations from the prophets, to show that the morality of the legal dispensation was opposed to the imposition of involuntary servitude. Nations were frequently punished for their iniquities, in such manner as God in his wisdom saw meet to permit or direct. In some cases, whole nations were ordered to be extirpated by the sword; yet those cases could furnish no example for others to adopt. If in any instance a special command was given which to us appears inconsistent with the leading principle above noticed, the law of love, it must

* Ex. xxii. 21.

† Lev. xix. 33, 34.

‡ Ib. xxiii. 9.

§ Isaiah lviii. 6.

be taken in its special relation, not as a general example.

The provisions in relation to servants clearly show that the wise legislator justly appreciated the great object of law, the protection of the weak from the encroachments of power.

The reduction of a freeman to servitude, by violent means, was declared a capital offence. He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death.* This provision appears to have been intended to include the holder of the stolen servant as well as the kidnapper. Again, the exercise of undue severity was restricted. If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake; and if he smite out his man servant's tooth, or his maid servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.† The Mishnic doctors, regarding the spirit rather than the letter of this precept, construe it as applying not only to all cases of actual mutilation, but to those minor injuries by which the use or beauty of any part was permanently impaired. As the servants were purchased, or in other words, their services paid in advance, their liberation, for the sake of the member destroyed or impaired, was substantially a pecuniary forfeiture.

The rigorous treatment of servants was further restrained by a remarkable provision in this code. Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.‡ Whatever pecuniary claim the master may have had on account of the unexpired time of service, the person of the servant could not be forcibly delivered. By this provision the unnatural relation of an irritated master, and a discontented servant, was broken, and a voluntary character secured to the services rendered. This law was evidently designed for the benefit of servants.

The care manifested by the Israelitish legislator to prevent the people from idolatrous mixture, by having the whole population, strangers as well as others, instructed in the Divine law, appears in various passages. When he was teaching this law to the people a short time before his death, he addressed himself to the stranger as well as to the Israelite.§ And he commanded them, in future, to gather the strangers as well as their own

people, to be instructed in the law of the Lord.* In compliance with this injunction, the strangers were assembled with the people of Israel, to hear the reading of the law, in the time of Joshua.†

Purchased servants, when converted to the Israelitish faith, were allowed to eat of the pass-over, though a foreigner and hired servant were not.‡

With regard to purchased servants Maimonides gives the following exposition of the Mosaic law: Whether a servant be born in the power of an Israelite, or whether he be purchased from the heathen, the master is to bring them both into the covenant. But he that is born in the house is to be entered on the eighth day, and he that is bought with money, on the day on which the master receives him, unless the slave be unwilling. For if the master receives a grown slave, and he be unwilling, his master is to bear with him, and to seek to win him over by instruction, and by love and kindness, for one year; after which, should he refuse so long, it is forbidden to keep him longer than the twelvemonth, and the master must send him back to the strangers from whence he came, for the God of Jacob will not accept any other than the worship of a willing heart.§

The servants were excused from labour during a considerable portion of their time. First, the Sabbath was required to be strictly observed by servants as well as others.¶ There were three annual feasts of seven days each, at which all the males were required to be appear.¶ That this included servants as well as others is obvious; for it is expressly stated that the purchased servant, when he is circumcised, may eat of the passover; and at the feast of weeks, and at the feast of tabernacles, men servants and maid servants are specified.** And these feasts were to be kept, not at home, but at the place which the Lord should choose, hence time for going and returning must have been allowed. There were also the new moons, of which there could not be less than twelve in a year. According to Josephus, two days were observed at each, and a circumstance related in the life of David, seems to confirm it.†† That the usual business was suspended on one day at least, is obvious from the language of the prophet. When will the new moon be past, that we may sell corn, and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat. The first and tenth days of the Seventh month were also to be observed as Sab-

* Deut. xxxi. 12. † Josh. viii. 33.
‡ Ex. xii. 44, 45. § Quoted from Stroud.
¶ Ibid. xx. 10. ¶ Ibid. xxiii. 17. Deut. xvi. 16.
** Deut. xvi. 11, 14. †† 1. Sam. xx. 26, 27.

* Ex. xxi. 16. † Ibid. xxi. 26, 27.
‡ Deut. xxiii. 15, 16. § Deut. xxix. 11.

bath's, in which no work was to be done.* These days when collected, exhibit a portion of time exempted from labour, to which the slaves of our day are total strangers.

That legal protection was afforded to servants no less than to their masters, is clear from various passages. Judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great. Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour.

In the servitude which existed among the people of Israel, we find no traces of that degrading distinction between masters and servants which constitutes a prominent feature in modern slavery. We find Shesham giving his daughter to an Egyptian servant; and Samuel assigning to Saul and his servant the chief place among them that were bidden.†

As the Israelites were permitted to buy servants of the heathens who were round about them, and Abraham had servants bought with his money, the advocates of slavery naturally conceive that the servants thus bought, became the property of the purchasers. This however does not necessarily follow. The Hebrew word, kana, translated buy, is also used where the idea of property, in the usual acceptance of the term, would be absurd. Thus Eve said, I have gotten (bought,) a man from the Lord. And Solomon, He that heareth reproof getteth (buyeth) understanding, and he that getteth (buyeth) wisdom loveth his own soul.‡ The practice of buying wives appears to have prevailed during the patriarchal age and under the Mosaic laws. Thus when Abraham's servant went to Mesopotamia in search of a wife for his son, he took ten camels with him. We are not informed whether any part of their burden, if burden they had, was intended as the price of espousal; but we are told that he gave to her brother and to her mother precious things.§ But when Jacob went to the same place, on a similar errand, he offered seven year's service for Rachel. When Shechem wished to marry the daughter of Jacob, he told her father and brethren, ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give as ye shall say unto me; but give me the damsel to wife.¶ Though the king's daughter was promised to the man who should kill the champion of Gath, yet when David had slain the Philistine, he hesi-

tated to claim the promised alliance, on the ground of his poverty.* But when a military enterprise was substituted for a dowry, he was well pleased to be the king's son-in-law. And when he subsequently demanded of Ishbosheth the restoration of his wife, he urged this service in support of the demand.† Boaz also told the elders that he had purchased Ruth the Moabitess to be his wife.‡ Whether the purchase money was paid to her or to her mother-in-law is not stated. In these cases it would be absurd to suppose that the purchased wife became the property of the purchaser in any other sense than a wife in our day becomes the property of her husband. The word is also used where the transfer of property was possible. The Lord shall set his hand to recover (to buy) the remnant of his people.§ He brought them to the mountain which his right hand had purchased.¶

That persons who were bought did not necessarily become, in any sense, the property of the purchaser, is shown in the case of Joseph. He told the Egyptians he had bought them and their land for Pharaoh, yet we hear of no service exacted, except a rent for the land of one fifth of its produce.

In the early settlement of Virginia, a number of young women were sent over to the colony and sold for wives to the planters. The price of a wife was, at first, one hundred pounds of tobacco, and it was afterwards raised to one hundred and fifty. This was unquestionably done to defray the expense of transportation. And a debt contracted for a wife took preference to others. Yet these wives did not become servants or slaves.

(To be continued.) E. L.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BIBLICAL INVESTIGATIONS—NO. III.

The Precept to Noah.

In the discussions which relate to the propriety of punishing by death persons guilty of murder, the precept given to Noah and his sons, recited in the sixth verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis, is frequently brought into view in vindication of that punishment. Its English, protestant version is in this language,—“Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.”

The advocates of the death punishment assert that, under this precept, the penalty of death for the crime of murder was established, not for the period only during which the earth was being repopled, or until the coming in of a new dis-

* Lev. xxiii. 24, 26, 28.
† Sam. ix. 22; Chron. ii. 34, 35.
‡ Prov. xix. 8. § Gen. xxiv. 53.
¶ Ibid. xxxiv. 12.

* 1. Sam. xviii. 23. † 2. Sam. iii. 14.
‡ Ruth iv. 10. § Isa. xi. 11.
¶ Psalms lxxviii. 54.

pensation, but during all time in which the reason for the precept shall be true. This reason being that man was made in the image of God and therefore a constant truth, they infer that the precept is of perpetual obligation, and incapable of repeal, even by the merciful provisions of the gospel of an atoning Saviour.

If, then, there be any error in this translation, or any doubt, even, as to its accuracy, that error should be shown, and that doubt expressed, as well in view of the application made of the precept, as also of preserving uncorrupted the truth of the sacred volume.

In criminal jurisprudence, all doubtful points in relation to the intentions of a law, are to be resolved in favour of the criminal. He who hath said "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," and has omnipotent power in Himself to carry out His own behests, does not require of fallible man the violation of a principle of immutable justice in the infliction of punishment, under an uncertain law, upon his guilty brother.

In this consideration, and making a momentary concession of the accuracy of the translation in other particulars, I briefly suggested in my introductory number that the precept in question would have been more safely, and thus, to fallible man, more truly rendered by employing the auxiliary *may* or *will* in place of *shall* which now appears in the translation. The effect of using the first would be to allow to man the exercise of the death punishment as a means of defence against the malignant shedder of blood, whenever necessary, but not requiring its employment, and even holding him accountable for its unnecessary use; of the other to admonish him of the natural consequences of blood-shedding—one offence leading to the perpetration of another—just as the Saviour, looking through the vista of cause and effect, said to Peter, "Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

The reader may have inferred, from my suggestion, that there was nothing, peculiar to the Hebrew expression, which required the use of the imperative *shall* in preference to the other and less injunctive senses of the future. Such is the true situation of the case. If there be a propriety in this preference, it must be collected from collateral circumstances, not from the text itself. There is no intensity given to the verb *shed*, by prefixing the infinitive, nor any other means employed for giving emphasis to it. One of these means is suggested by the fourth and fifth verses of the same chapter, where the particle *אֵל*, *ak*, denoting earnestness of purpose, and respectively

rendered *but* and *surely*, makes the assertion in each of those verses positive and obligatory, and which, inserted in this, would have given it like energy.

There being nothing, then, in the verb or its immediate appendages which stamps it as injunctive of the retaliatory shedding of blood, let us see what there is in the collateral circumstances which should lead us to the idea of such a duty.

The reason assigned for the precept appears to be substantially this,—that man being created in the image of God, his blood or life is made inviolable by that peculiarity. But this alike distinguishes the offender and the victim and should be protective of each. There is nothing then in this reason to warrant the conclusion that the image of God is to be violated in either of the parties.

There is nothing in the context of this passage found in the verses which precede or succeed it, indicating the intention of the Divine Speaker then to institute a penal code to be enforced by human instrumentality, much less one having death for its penalty. On the contrary, the connexion is exhortative to the preservation of human life, and though it indicates an accountability for the violation of it, that accountability is to God, and not to man. The fifth verse makes every beast, every man, and every man's brother, the guardian and not the destroyer of man's life, and immediately responsible to God himself for every violation of the trust. It literally reads thus—*"And surely your blood to your lives will I enquire for: of the hand of every beast will I enquire for it, and of the hand of man: of the hand of man his brother will I enquire for the life of man."*

There is nothing in cotemporary or proximate history which indicates that the precept was understood to be an injunction for the taking of the blood-shedder's life. Else what had been Abraham's condition, "after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and of the kings that were with him at the valley of Shaveh," though blessed of Melchizedek—"the priest of the most high God"?—Where had been Simeon and Levi, guilty as they were of the most cruel massacre, and condemned for the offence by the voice of prophecy, not to the penalty of death, but to be divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel?—Where had been the Jewish priesthood, which, proceeding from the loins of Levi, were preserved under this actual condemnation to officiate at the altar of Jehovah?—Where had been Moses, Israel's great pioneer to the land of promise, who, when look-

ing on the burdens of his brethren "spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. And he looked this way and that way, and, when he saw that there was no man, he slew the Egyptian and hid him in the sand"?—

If the precept as construed was as perpetual as is claimed for it, and therefore not alterable by the law of Moses, what was the incumbent penalty upon Israel's leaders through battle and blood to victory and conquest?—what the penal situation of the administrators of the Mosaic code?—what even the validity of that code, though uttered amid thunders and lightnings from Mount Sinai, and held to be binding upon God's people up to the period when its penalties and ceremonies were nailed to the cross on Mount Calvary?

It cannot have escaped the observation of most of the readers of the ninth chapter of Genesis, that from the first to the fifth verse, inclusive, God, in the first person, addresses his auditors in the second person, that suddenly in the sixth verse the third person wholly is used, as if the words were a quotation or proceeded from another voice, and that then, in the seventh verse, the former mode of address is resumed until the seventeenth inclusive, when the communication of God to Noah and his sons terminates.

We can scarcely account for this circumstance but on the supposition of the pre-existence of the precept, and that this utterance of it was merely its re-annunciation in its original terms. We are led to the conclusion of its pre-existence by a further consideration. If the fact of man being made in God's image caused the precept, and made it of perpetual obligation, it caused and made it so from the commencement of the fact.

We are then to infer that the precept, especially if a penal one, was known to man cotemporary with his fall. Did Cain accept it as a divine requirement that his blood should of necessity be shed in atonement for the blood of his murdered brother?—If he did, his views of it must have instantly changed when God relieved him of his fears that every one finding him should slay him, by threatening a seven-fold vengeance upon any one who should do so.—Did Lamech, who committed the second recorded homicide, accept it as such a requirement, when he took up the argument that if Cain, who committed a murder of the highest grade, should be defended from human retaliation by a seven-fold retribution, he, Lamech, who probably acted in self defence when he took the life of another, would be shielded by a seventy and seven fold protection?—They each knew of a principle, deeply written in man's fallen nature,

which would lead it to seize on the sceptre of the Almighty, and administer justice in its own summary and short sighted way; but they looked to God for protection against it. Could they have done this, if the precept was a law for the inevitable taking of the life of the blood-shedder?—Can we consider the precept to be such a law, without supposing the Almighty to have acted in contravention of his own will, when he made those who might seek to enforce this law, the subjects of his seven-fold, perhaps seventy and seven-fold vengeance?

Little support is given to this construction of the precept by translations into other languages, cotemporary with our version, and none by the ancient versions which have reached us. The Septuagint, a Greek translation made about 285 years before the Christian era, and held both by the Jews and first Christians in such high esteem as to be constantly read in the synagogues and churches, wholly omits the human retaliatory instrument. The Vulgate, a Latin version originating in the wants of the Christian church in the first century, and based on the Septuagint, was revised in the fourth, by Jerome, who was conversant with the scriptures in their original language, and had commenced their direct translation from the Hebrew into the Latin. This version, pronounced "authentic" by the Council of Trent, and deservedly held in high general estimation down to the present day, makes the same omission. Both the Greek and Latin use the indicative mood passive voice and future tense (the Greek the first future) to express the verb "shed" in its second occurrence in the precept, making it simply to signify *will be shed*. As more imperative forms of expression might have been resorted to, had the import of the text been stronger, we are not allowed to assume that a higher signification was attached to it. These versions are reasonable evidence that the expressions "by man," and "shall be shed" in the mandatory sense, were not known, as parts of the precept, to the numerous Jews who read their law in the Greek language, nor to the early or even the later Christians, up to the modern period when the Scriptures came to be rendered into the present European languages, as it was through the Greek and Latin that these came to a knowledge of them. Can it be that an important rule of action, as this is claimed to be, was hidden from the church during successive centuries; in the absence of a knowledge of which, primitive Christianity was known to be as much averse to capital punishment as it was to war?

Notwithstanding these views, an attempt has

been made to show, that the Jews, who were familiar with their Scriptures in the native language, accepted the precept in the strong sense attached to our version of it, by an extract from the Chaldee Targum of Onkelos, a Jewish teacher, who is supposed, but with little certainty, to have been cotemporary with Christ. We are furnished by George B. Cheever, in his essay on "Punishment by Death," with the following passage as a paraphrase of the precept by Onkelos. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man, that is, by witnesses, with the sentence of the judges, shall his blood be shed." If I have rightly extracted the passage from Bishop Walton's polyglott, the words "by man," were not used by Onkelos, and if I have been rightly furnished with a translation of the transcript, by a distinguished Chaldee scholar, the following is a just rendering of it. "He that sheddeth the blood of man, through witnesses, by the decision of judges, his blood will be shed." This targum is so evidently adjusted to the structure of the Jewish law, as to divest it of any authority as a textual explanation. With the judicial association, a new character is certainly given to this rule, making it injunctive on the judges to pass sentence of death on the criminal, when the facts proven by the witnesses should make it appear that the case required that punishment. The reader will however perceive that the executioner of the sentence, he who sheds the blood, is just as much unnoticed in the Targum as in the Septuagint or Vulgate.

To account for the omission of any equivalent for the words "by man," in the ancient versions, it has been suggested that נאדם *badem*, literally meaning *in the man*, and which is rendered in our version "by man," had no existence, or at least, did not exist in its whole extent, in the copies from which the Septuagint was translated. Another suggestion is, that *badem* was considered to belong to the first clause of the sentence, and to designate in connection with the preceding "man," the same individual, he whose blood was first effused נאדם נאדם *eadem badem, the man in the man*; denoting, by this amplification, the human, indwelling vitality, or distinguishing, as John Calvin conjectured, the voluntary homicide from that which was non-voluntary.

On the assumption of the entire absence of נאדם *badem*, from the Hebrew copies whence the Greek translation was made, the preposition *anti*, anti, in that translation, meaning *against, for, instead of*, must have been supplied. If, however, the א *aleph*, was merely absent, we would have נאדם *bedem*, in the blood, for a residue, or if אדם *adem*, was absent, the remaining particle being carried to

the next noun, we would still have נאדם *bedem*, in the text, and supposing ב *beth*, to have been taken in the sense of *for*, the expression *for the blood* which occurs in the Greek, according to the following literal rendering, will be fully accounted for; the words in parenthesis being supplied.

"The shedding (of the) blood of man, for the blood of him there will be a shedding, because in (the) image of God have (I) made the man."

We cannot avoid the conclusion that some difference existed between the copies whence the Septuagint was taken, and the Jewish copies now extant. On the supposition that the expression in the former was נאדם *bedem*, we may suppose it the genuine text, for the tendency to error would be in the direction of the corruption of the language itself, which was towards the Chaldee, in which dialect אדם *adem*, means *blood*.

There being no special equivalent for the Hebrew *badem* in the Vulgate, we are to infer its non-existence in the fourth century, in any of the Hebrew copies used by Jerome in its revision, or *else*, which is to the same purpose, its non-existence, in contemplation of the church, in a sense indicating a separate individual from the one first named. The Doway Bible gives us this rendering of the vulgate, using *shall*, obviously, in the sense of *will*, and leaving undetermined the instrument of the implied punishment.—

"Whosoever shall shed man's blood, his blood shall be shed; for man was made to the image of God."

Having fully occupied the space which the editors will probably be content to allow me at the present time, I must defer to another number or numbers, my remarks on the modern versions, and other examinations of a text, the true import of which it is important to arrive at.

ALEPH.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH 1, 1847.

PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.—The Annual Meeting of this religious body was numerously attended. It assembled in this city on the 19th, and adjourned on the 24th ult.

Among the measures adopted by the Meeting for Sufferings, which represents the Yearly Meeting during its recess, was the appointment of a committee of twelve to take into renewed consideration the subject of the slave-trade and slavery. The appointment having been recent, no action had yet resulted. We hope the committee will give due attention to the fact that slavery is in-

debted for its continuance to a demand for the products of slave labour, just as the slave-trade is indebted for its continuance to a demand for slaves. The last of these demands is contingent on the first, and both on the will of the users of those products. We were glad that the connection of the Mexican war with the extension of the area of slavery was clearly perceived by Friends, and that it was fully and impressively noticed in the epistle to London Yearly meeting. If this war shall issue in the double wrong of wresting from Mexico large portions of her empire, and of substituting, in them, slave cultivation for the existing system of free labour, as now seems probable, there will be a strong case of conscience presented to the solution of those who are opposed both to war and slavery, in reference to the use of the products of a soil so procured, and so cultivated.

BIBLE DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.—We not unfrequently meet with persons who admit, with great candour, the manifold evils of slavery, but who qualify the concession by saying that the Bible sanctions the system, and that, therefore, they do not care to denounce it in the terms their feelings would otherwise dictate. With the efforts which have been made by the clerical attachés of slavery to propagate the sentiment that a system which, according to our natural conception, is the very antipodes of all that is just and excellent, has nevertheless the countenance and support of the Bible, we are not surprised they should have made some converts to their doctrine. We do not doubt then that the view adverted to, is innocently entertained by many who express it, opposed as it is to that pure and undefiled religion which has given us this rule of action, under the prevalence of which slavery could not exist for one hour: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." Matthew vii. 12.

We have thought a clear exposition of those scriptural points, on the misapplication of which the religious vindication of slavery is made to depend, would be acceptable to our readers, who have probably met with the same class of persons to whom these remarks have reference. A correspondent, whose well known initials always command attention to the articles written over them, has furnished us with all that could be desired in such an exposition.

MANUAL LABOUR SCHOOL IN OHIO.—We have been asked by the individual named in the following article, to give it an insertion in our journal.

We do so with great pleasure, and commend to the favourable notice of our readers the institution it refers to. We have seen the testimonials of our friend Wilkenson, and among the signatures recognize one familiar to us, that of Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio. Of the genuineness of the others we are without a doubt. We know of no mode in which we can better subserve the interests of the people of colour than by encouraging them in such efforts for their self-elevation.

"Manual Labour School.—Some time since, the African Methodist Episcopal church of the United States, resolved to establish a manual labour school in the West, for the education of the coloured youth of the country, in all useful branches. For this purpose, a farm of 200 acres has been purchased in Ohio, near the capital of the state, and other incipient measures adopted. Among these is the appointment of the Rev. M. J. Wilkenson, as agent of the Trustees of the church. This gentleman is now in the city for the purpose of raising funds. He has secured enough to pay off three instalments upon the purchase of the farm, and wants about \$840 more to pay the balance. Mr. W. has shown us his credentials, and we have no doubt of their genuineness, nor of the desirableness of such an institution as he is labouring to establish."—Penn. Freeman.

WAR IN MEXICO.—The accounts which have reached us of the progress of the war since our last notice of it, announce the occurrence of a battle at Buena Vista, on the 22d, 23d and 24th of the Second month last, in which the United States forces, under command of General Taylor, triumphed over those of Mexico, commanded by General Santa Anna; also, that the city of Vera Cruz, and Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, were invested by the United States army under General Scott, aided by the Navy under Commodore Perry, and surrendered to the assailants on the 29th of the third month. These results, emblazoned in the newspapers as "Glorious Victories," were only achieved at the expense of the loss of many thousand human lives, attended by such heart-rending circumstances of suffering, both to combatants and non-combatants, as should make the lover of his species feel any other sentiment than that of exultation. Who could, then, have believed that the bells of Christian churches(?) would have rung merry peals of rejoicing, or the city of William Penn, with its still deeply impressed habits of thoughtfulness, have exhibited one great blaze of illumination, with many honourable exceptions truly, in commemoration

of these events? Yet these demonstrations of joy were exhibited in Philadelphia on the evening of the 19th ultimo! We subjoin extracts from other journals, showing some revolting particulars of the late battles, and commenting on the illumination.

La Patria, the Spanish paper published at New Orleans, in relating the occurrences at Vera Cruz during the siege, gives the following incident:

"A bomb from the American camp fell upon a church, passed through the roof, and exploding near the altar, killed fifteen women who had there taken refuge, and were engaged in prayer."

An officer on board the steamship *Princeton*, writes thus:

"The bombardment lasted three days and a half. The city was greatly injured, the shell and round shot striking all over the town. One part, near a small battery of five guns, which fought most gallantly, was entirely destroyed, and from the stench in the neighbourhood, it is to be feared that the bodies of very many poor women and children are buried in the ruins."

"I was in the Governor's Palace, a very fine building occupying one side of the Plaza, in which Gen. Scott has his head quarters, and was looking into a very handsome room, where it was evident a shell had struck, when a Mexican gentleman came up and offered to show me over the house. I followed him, and directly we came to what had evidently been a superb room, but then almost entirely torn to pieces, he pointed to a place beside the door which was blown out. 'There,' said he, 'sat a lady and her two children; they were all killed by the shell which has wrought the injury you see.'"

Another writer says:

"During the early part of last evening, the town was lighted up by a building on fire which was ignited by the bomb shells. It was impossible to tell what building it was, but it was supposed by the engineers to be the barracks. As soon as the fire was discovered from our mortar battery, I was very much gratified to observe the cessation of our fire—for notwithstanding we were endeavoring to destroy the town or compel them to surrender it, with their other strongholds and fortifications, still humanity would seem to require that a temporary cessation of hostilities should take place under such circumstances. War is most terrible in its most modified form; but the besieging of a city like Vera Cruz, when we know that we are battering down the houses over some fellow creatures' heads, but cannot tell whether we are destroying the soldiers, our real antagonists, or the women and children, and then to witness the burning houses lighting up the church spires and domes of the prominent buildings, with the families moving about on the tops of the houses in the utmost consternation and apparent despair, cannot do otherwise than excite a feeling of commiseration."

The following extract is from a letter written by an officer in the fleet off Vera Cruz:—

"The most interesting event of the day, which has touched my heart more than any other, is the fate of a Mexican officer who was killed yesterday, from whose pocket Mr. Kendall, of the *Pica-yune*, took a letter which had been written about an hour before the engagement."

"The letter was read at our breakfast table this morning. There was a tone of touching sadness about it, which made my heart leap into my mouth. He speaks of our landing, and regrets that the ladies of his family (calling particularly *one* by name) were so alarmed as to determine upon removing to a safer place. Poor fellow, the ink was scarcely dry upon the paper before his blood was flowing on the field of battle, and his spirit had passed away from the scene of conflict. One cannot help remembering his own tender ties at home, when such a sad story, so fresh, so recent in its occurrence, brings them home to him. Alas! that we cannot be satisfied with the necessary and inevitable misfortunes of life, but must create others; and band ourselves together for mutual destruction; that the tenderest and happiest of ties must be severed to decide a question, the merits of which could be settled in one hour by the common sense of any three honest men."

Such are a few of the thousand tales of horror which the barbarous invasion of Mexico has occasioned; and which are commemorated with illumination and other manifestations of joy by a people professing the Religion of the Prince of Peace!

In the *Pennsylvania Freeman* we find the following communication under the head of "The Illumination."

"As we profess to be rational and accountable beings, it may be well for us to contemplate for a moment, the moral aspect of this subject."

In the name of righteousness and humanity we ask, what is the occasion for that general rejoicing of the inhabitants of the city which has been manifested? A thousand voices are eager to reply, the glorious achievements of American arms, the victories we have obtained over our enemies. But what are these glorious achievements? What are these victories? What are the plain matters of fact which have been celebrated with such magnificent splendor? They are mangled and murdered corpses, brother slaughtering brother. The exhibition of rage and fury of man against man, which demons never manifest towards each other! The glory of American arms is the glory of murdering helpless women and children, and the glory of severing the most endearing ties of humanity! Ourselves being judges, our honor is the honor of success, in an unrighteous cause. It is the honor of the strong triumphing over the weak, by invasions and usurpation—by carnage and by blood. These—these brethren are the true matters of fact which you have been celebrating. These constitute the brilliancy of the scene you have been admiring. You have rejoiced, while angels, widows and orphans have mourned. Would it not have been more honorable to your humanity, to your rationality,

to your professed christianity, to have wept with those who weep?

Tell me not, that you rejoice not at the miseries of your brethren, but in the military skill and power of the warriors. That there is some truth in this assertion, I do not deny. But the question is, is it proper to rejoice in the manifestation of skill and power in the cause of unrighteousness, in the brutal, cruel and diabolical scenes of the battle field? Be consistent then, and rejoice in the skill and prowess of the murderous highwayman, who has invaded the house of his fellow beings, and, by his superior courage and physical strength, left father and mother, brother and sister, mingling their blood in all the agonies of the death struggle. Aye, be consistent, and rejoice in the glorious skill and amazing power of him, who 'was a murderer from the beginning.'

Are these appropriate developments of our christianity? What affinity then has such a christianity with the spirit, the precepts, the example of the Prince of Peace, who prayed for his murderers, when he might have displayed his superior skill and power at the head of 'twelve legions of angels?' Never, never have we so learned Christ.

We may cease to wonder, that the heathen so generally turn away from such christianity, as did the Emperor of China, when he told the missionaries, that by their murderous wars they had whitened the plains with the bones of their brethren.

When God shall make inquisition for blood, we shall discern the true character of the direful scenes which have been celebrated. At that awful tribunal, to which we are all hastening, the illusive fascinations of military glory which now hide the guilt of its atrocities, will have no place. We shall then know, what we might have known before, that 'all such rejoicing is evil.'

SELECTIONS.

"DIVERS GOOD QUALIFICATIONS OF ZEAL IN CONTENDING FOR THE TRUTH."

From the *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, dated 7th mo. 11th, 1850.

- 1st. Right zeal in contending for any truth of God, would be accompanied with much love to those with whom we contend.
- 2d. It would be carried on with much meekness, without heat or passion: "for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."
- 3d. There is much need of the exercise of humility and fear; for the best know but in part, 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12; and frequent experience, doubtless, hath taught every one that is observant, to be wary in asserting so positively what now they think to be truth in these doubtful matters, about which good men are so much divided.
- 4th. When zeal in these matters is not accompanied with much exactness in trying ourselves, and does not begin at our own bosom, in finding out the errors either of our judgment and practice,

and in abandoning them; then may we justly suspect our zeal to be "not according to knowledge." Rom. x. 2.

Again. Right zeal is equally carried out, in all points, where God's honour is concerned. Again. Our calling to appear in such matters, would be well examined, and that we be not thereby made negligent in things more necessary. Again. Although there be truth in the matter of difference betwixt you and good men, it should be well examined whether it will carry all the weight of what may follow on your appearing in it. Again. All the consequences of the opinions maintained by your opposer, would not be imputed unto him, except you know that he owns them, but in charity you would think the best; for charity "thinketh no evil." 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

And further. Where you cannot agree, you would tolerate and bear with your weak brother, until God reveal what is wanting to Him. Phil. iii. 15, 16.

Lastly. It would be well examined, that there be no siding with any party or interest, but simply the glory of God, that makes you appear in such a matter.

THE SHOE-MENDER OF PORTSMOUTH.

One day, in passing along the streets of London, I was arrested by a crowd at a print-shop window. It is perhaps not altogether 'respectable' to be seen forming one of these assemblages; but every man has his failings, and one of mine is, to take a peep at any very nice looking prints which the sellers of these articles considerately put in their windows for the public amusement. On the present occasion, in taking a survey of the print-seller's wares, I was much interested in observing a print which differed considerably from any thing in the window. Hanging between an opera dancer and a general—both pets of the public—was the representation of an old cobbler, sitting professionally in his booth, with a shoe in one hand and knife in the other, while, with spectacles turned up over his brow, and head averted, he was apparently addressing a ragged urchin who stood beside him, with a book. In the back-ground was a miscellaneous collection of books, lasts, old shoes, and bird cages, interspersed with the heads and faces of a crowd of children—the whole forming an unique combination of a school and cobblers. Beneath, was the inscription, 'John Pounds and his school.' I was, as I have said, interested, and I resolved to know something, if possible, of John Pounds and his seminary. On making inquiries accordingly, I discovered through the

agency of a little pamphlet, (sold by Green, 50 Newgate street) who John Pounds was, and what kind of school he conducted.

John Pounds was born of parents in an humble rank of life, in Portsmouth, in the year 1766. In early life, while working with a shipwright in the dockyard, he had the misfortune to have one of his thighs broken, or so put out of joint as to render him a cripple for life. Compelled, from this calamity, to choose a new means of subsistence, he betook himself to the shoe-making craft. The instructions he received in this profession, however, did not enable him to make shoes, and in that branch of the art he was diffident in trying his hand. Contenting himself with the more humble department of mending, he became the tenant of a small weather-boarded tenement in St. Mary street in his native town.

John was a good-natured fellow, and his mind was always running on some scheme of benevolence; and like all other benevolent self-helpful people, he got enough to do. While still a young man, he was favoured with the charge of one of the numerous children of his brother; and to enhance the value of the gift, the child was a feeble little boy, with his feet overlapping each other, and turned inwards. The poor child soon became an object of so much affection with John, as thoroughly to divide his attention with a variety of tame birds which he kept in his stall. Ingenious as well as kind hearted, he did not rest till he had made an apparatus of old shoes and leather, which untwisted the child's feet, and set him fairly on his legs. The next thing was to teach his nephew to read, and this he undertook also as a labour of love. After a time, he thought the boy would learn much better if he had a companion—in which, no doubt, he was right, for solitary education is not a good thing—and he invited a poor neighbour to send him his children to be taught. This invitation was followed by others; John acquired a passion for gratuitous teaching, which nothing but the limits of his booth could restrain. His humble work-shop, to follow the language of his memoir, 'was about six feet wide, and about eighteen feet in length: in the midst of which he would sit on his stool, with his last or lap-stone on his knee, and other implements by his side, going on with his work and attending at the same time to the pursuits of the whole assemblage; some of whom were reading by his side, writing from his dictation, or showing up their sums; others seated around on forms or on boxes on the floor, or on the steps of a small staircase in the rear. Although the master seemed to know where to look for each, and

to maintain a due command over all, yet so small was the room, and so deficient in the usual accommodations of a school, that the scene appeared, to the observer from without, to be a mere crowd of children's heads and faces. Owing to the limited extent of his room, he often found it necessary to make a selection from among several subjects or candidates, for his gratuitous instruction; and in such cases always preferred, and prided himself upon his taking in hand, what he called, 'the little blackguards,' and taming them. He has been seen to follow such to the town quay, and hold out in his hand to them the bribe of a roasted potato, to induce them to come to school. When the weather permitted, he caused them to take turns in sitting on the threshold of his front door, and on the form on the outside for the benefit of the fresh air. His modes of tuition, were chiefly of his own devising. Without having ever heard of Pestalozzi, necessity led him into the interrogatory system. He taught the children to read from handbills, and such remains of old school books as he could procure. Slates and pencils were the only implements for writing, yet a creditable degree of skill was acquired; and in cyphering, the Rule of Three and Practice were performed with accuracy. With the very young, especially, his manner was particularly pleasant and facetious. He would ask them the names of different parts of their body and make them spell the words and tell their uses. Taking a child's hand, he would say, 'What is this? Spell it.' Then slapping it, he would say, 'What did I do? Spell that.' So with the ear, and the act of pulling it; and in like manner with other things. He found it necessary to adopt a more strict discipline with them as they grew bigger, and might have become turbulent; but he invariably preserved the attachment of all. In this way some hundreds of persons have been indebted to him for all the schooling they have ever had, and which has enabled many of them to fill useful and creditable stations in life, who might otherwise, owing to the temptations attendant on poverty and ignorance, have become burdens on society, or swelled the calendar of crime.

Will the reader credit the fact, that this excellent individual never sought any compensation for these labours, nor did he receive any? Of no note or account, his weather-boarded establishment was like a star radiating light around; but of the good he was doing, John scarcely appeared conscious. The chief gratification he felt, was the occasional visit of some manly sailor or mechanic, grown out of all remembrance,

who would call and shake hands and return thanks for what he had done for him in his infancy. At times also he was encouragingly noticed by the local authorities; but we do not hear of any marked testimony of their approbation. Had he been a general, and conquered a province, he would doubtless have been considered a public benefactor, and honoured accordingly; being only an amateur schoolmaster, and a reclamer from vice, John was allowed to find the full weight of the proverb that virtue is its own reward. And thus obscurely, known principally to his humble neighbours, did this hero—for was he not a hero of the purest order?—spend a long and useful existence; every selfish gratification being denied, that he might do the more good to others. On the morning of the 1st of January, 1839, at the age of seventy-two years, when looking at the picture of his school, which had lately been executed by Mr. Sheaf, he suddenly fell down and expired. His death was felt severely. The abode of contented and peaceful frugality became at once a scene of desolation. He and his nephew had made provisions on that day for what was to them a luxurious repast. On the little mantle-piece remained uncooked a mug-full of fresh sprats, on which they were to have regaled themselves in honour of the new year. The children were overwhelmed with consternation and sorrow: some of them came to the door the next day, and cried because they could not be admitted; and for several succeeding days, the younger ones came, two or three together, looked about the room, and not finding their friend, went away disconsolate. John Pounds was, as he had wished, called away without bodily suffering from his useful labours. He has gone to await the award of Him who has said, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto me.'

JOHN GASPARD LAVATER AND THE POOR WIDOW.

It was a practice with Lavater to read, every morning, several chapters of the Bible, and select from them one particular passage for frequent and special meditation during the day. One morning, after reading the fifth and sixth chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew, he exclaimed, "What a treasure of morality! How difficult to make choice of any particular portion of it!" After a few moments' consideration, he threw himself upon his knees, and prayed for Divine guidance. When he joined his wife at dinner, she asked him what passage of Scripture he had chosen for the day.

"Give to him that asketh of thee; and from

him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away," was the reply.

"And how is this to be understood?" said his wife.

"Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away," are the words of him to whom all and every thing belongs that I possess," rejoined Lavater. "I am the steward, not the proprietor. The proprietor desires me to give to him who asks of me, and not to refuse him that would borrow of me; or, in other words, If I had two coats, I must give one to him that has none; and if I had food, I must share with him who is an hungered and in want. This I must do without being asked. How much more, then, when asked?"

This, continued Lavater in his diary, appeared to be so evidently and incontrovertibly the meaning of the verses in question, that I spoke with more than usual warmth. My wife made no further reply, than that she would take these things to heart. I had scarcely left the dining-room a few minutes, when an aged widow desired to speak with me, and she was shown into my study.

"Forgive me, dear sir," she said; "excuse the liberty I am about to take. I am really ashamed, but my rent is due to-morrow, and I am short six dollars. I have been confined to my bed with sickness, and my poor child is nearly starving. Every penny that I could save, I have laid aside to meet this demand, but six dollars are yet wanting, and to-morrow is term-day." Here she opened a parcel, which she held in her hand, and said: "This is a book, with a silver clasp, which my late husband gave me the day we were married. It is all I can spare of the few articles I possess, and sore it is to part with it. I am aware it is not enough, nor do I see how I could ever repay it. But, dear sir, if you can, do assist me."

"I am very sorry, my good woman, that I cannot help you," I said, and putting my hand into my pocket, I accidentally felt my purse, which contained about two dollars. These, said I to myself, cannot extricate her from her difficulty—she requires six—besides, even if they could, I have need of this money for some other purpose. Turning to the widow, I said: "Have you no friend, no relative, who could give you this trifle?"

"No, not a soul! I am ashamed to go from house to house, I would rather work day and night. My excuse for being here is, that people speak so much of your goodness; if, however, you cannot assist me, you at least will forgive my intrusion, and God, who has never yet forsaken me, will

not surely turn away from me in my sixty-sixth year!"

At this moment, the door of my apartment opened, and my wife entered. I was ashamed and vexed. Gladly would I have sent her away, for conscience whispered, "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." She came up to me and said with much sweetness—

"This is a good old woman. She has certainly been ill of late. Assist her if you can."

Shame and compassion struggled in my darkened soul. "I have but two dollars," I said, in a whisper, "and she requires six. I'll give her a trifle in the hand, and let her go."

Laying her hand on my arm, and smiling in my face, my wife said aloud, what conscience had whispered before, "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."

I blushed, and replied, with some little vexation, "would you give your ring for the purpose?"

"With pleasure," answered my wife, pulling off her ring.

The poor widow was either too simple or too modest to notice what was going on, and was preparing to retire, when my wife called her to wait in the lobby. When we were left alone, I asked my wife—

"Are you in earnest about the ring?"

"Certainly. How can you doubt it?" she said. "Do you think I would trifle with charity? Remember what you said half an hour ago. Oh! my dear friend, let us not make a show of the Gospel. You are in general so kind, so sympathizing, how is it that you now find it so difficult to assist this poor woman? Why did you not, without hesitation, give her what you had in your pocket? And did you not know there were yet six dollars in your desk, and that the quarter will be paid to us in less than eight days?" She then added, with much feeling, "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Behold the fowls of the air; they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them."

I kissed my wife, while tears ran down my cheeks. "Thanks, a thousand thanks, for this humiliation."

I turned to my desk, took from it six dollars, and opened the door to call in the poor widow. All darkened around me at the thought that I had been so forgetful of the omniscience of God as to

say to her, "I cannot help you." Oh! thou false tongue, thou false heart! If the Lord should mark iniquities, O Lord! who shall stand?

"Here is what you need," I said, addressing the widow. At first she seemed not to understand what I meant, and thought I was offering her a small contribution, for which she thanked me, and pressed my hand; but when she perceived I had given her the whole sum, she could not find words to express her feelings. She cried—

"Dear sir, I cannot repay it. All I possess is in this little book, and it is old."

"Keep your book," I said, "and the money too, and thank God, and not me, for verily I deserve no thanks, after having so long refused your entreaties. Go in peace, and forgive an erring brother."

I returned to my wife with downcast looks, but she smiled and said—

"Do not take it so much to heart, my friend. You yielded at my first suggestion; but promise me, so long as I wear a gold ring on my finger, (and you know that I possess several besides,) you will never allow yourself to say to any poor person 'I cannot help you.'"

She kissed me, and left the apartment. When I found myself alone, I sat down and wrote this account in my diary, in order to humble my deceitful heart—this heart which no longer than yesterday dictated these words:

"Of all characters in the world, there is none I would more anxiously avoid being than a hypocrite. To preach the whole moral law, and fulfil only the easy part of it, is hypocrisy. Merciful Father! how must I wait, and reflect, and struggle, ere I shall be able to rely on the perfect sincerity of my professions."

I read over once more the chapter I had read this morning with too little benefit, and felt more and more ashamed and convinced that THERE IS NO PEACE EXCEPT WHERE PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE ARE IN PERFECT ACCORDANCE. How peacefully and happily I might have ended this day, had I acted up conscientiously to the blessed doctrine I professed. Dear Saviour, send thy Holy Spirit into this benighted heart! Cleanse it from secret sin, and teach me to employ that which thou hast committed to my charge to thy glory, a brother's welfare, and my own salvation!

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN LUNDY.

This work which has been announced several times as in progress, is at length completed and offered to the public. It is a neat duodecimo volume of 316 pages, with a mezzotint likeness

WHAT THE VOICE SAID.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Maddened by Earth's wrong and evil,
"Lord!" I cried in sudden ire,
"From thy right hand, clothed with thunder,
Shake the bolted fire!"

"Love is lost, and Faith is dying;
With the brute the man is sold;
And the dropping blood of labour
Hardeneth into gold."

"Here the dying wail of Famine,
There the battle's groan of pain;
And, in silence, smooth-faced Mammon
Reaping men like grain."

"Where is God, that we should fear him?"
Thus the earth-born Titans say;
"God! if thou art living, hear us!"
Thus the weak ones pray."

"Thou, the patient Heaven upbraiding,"
Spake a solemn voice within;
"Weary of our Lord's forbearance,
Art thou free from sin?"

"Fearless brow to Him uplifting,
Canst thou for his thunders call,
Knowing that to guilt's attraction
Evermore they fall?"

"Know'st thou not all germs of evil
In thy heart await their time?
Not thyself, but God's restraining,
Stays their growth of crime."

"Couldst thou boast, oh child of weakness!
O'er the sons of wrong and strife,
Were their strong temptations planted
In thy path of life?"

Thou hast seen two streamlets gushing
From one fountain, clear and free,
But by widely varying channels
Searching for the sea."

"Glideth one through greenest valleys,
Kissing them with lips still sweet;
One, mad-roaring down the mountains,
Stagnates at their feet."

"Is it choice whereby the Parsee,
Kneels before his mother's fire;
In his black tent did the Tartar
Choose his wandering sire?"

"He alone, whose hand is bounding
Human power and human will,
Looking through each soul's surrounding,
Knows its good or ill."

"For thyself, while wrong and sorrow
Make to thee their strong appeal,
Coward wert thou not to utter
What the heart must feel."

of Lundy, and a colored map of Texas and Mexico. The title page reads thus: "The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, including his Journeys to Texas and Mexico; with a sketch of cotemporary events, and a notice of the Revolution in Hayti. Compiled under the direction and on behalf of his children. Published by Wm. D. Parish, No. 4 North Fifth St., Philadelphia." Price 75 cents.

Of course such a volume must possess much interest. Benjamin Lundy was the pioneer in the modern anti-slavery movement, and, more than any other man, its originator. He devoted himself to the cause of the slave at an early age; and with the most admirable self-sacrifice, and extraordinary endurance, labored to the day of his death for its prosecution. His frequent visits to Texas and Mexico, though of no avail in the immediate advancement of the cause, were of immense service in the developments which they enabled him to make of the plots and plans which resulted in the Texas rebellion. To the facts brought out by Benjamin Lundy, John Quincy Adams was mainly indebted for the material of his early and able anti-Texas speeches in Congress.

The book before us is mainly a compilation, the editor being "solicitous," as he says in his preface, "to avoid giving offence to any class of emancipationists," by mixing up his own opinions with the facts recorded. Possibly—for we have not yet read the whole of the work—this may be no disadvantage in the present case, but ordinarily a biography is indebted for at least one half of its value to the comments, reflections and deductions of its editor.

The book, however, contains sufficient of interest to make it amply worth its price, and we should be glad, on account of those more immediately interested in its proceeds, to hear of its finding a ready sale.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

POETRY.

From the National Era.

SONNET.

TO GERRIT SMITH.

Written on hearing that he had contributed two thousand dollars for the relief of the starving poor of Ireland.

No civic honours deck thy lofty brow,
Nor laurel wreaths won in the bloody fight;
Far nobler prizes glitter in thy sight,
And crown thy holy labours. Even now
Thy country owns thee as the poor man's friend,
And not thy country only; that green isle
Across the ocean, with a grateful smile,
Accepts thy bounty. Freely dost thou lend
What God hath given thee; freely dost thou cast
Thy bread upon the waters; but we know
It is not lost: each floating seed shall grow,
And yield abundant fruit. Bright o'er the past
With growing lustre shall thy virtues glow,
And on thy name a deathless glory cast.

April 5, 1847.

GULIELMUS.

" Earnest words must needs be spoken
When the warm heart bleeds or burns
With its scorn of wrong, or pity
For the wronged, by turns.

" But, by all thy nature's weakness,
Hidden faults and follies known,
Be thou, in rebuking evil,
Conscious of thine own.

" Not the less shall stern-eyed duty
To thy lips her trumpet set,
But with harsher blasts shall mingle
Wailings of regret."

Cease not, Voice of holy speaking,
Teacher sent of God, be near,
Whispering through the day's cool silence,
Let my spirit hear!

So, when thoughts of evil doers
Waken scorn or hatred move,
Shall a mournful fellow feeling
Temper all with love.

National Era.

[Our aged and respected friend, now in his 80th year, to whom we were indebted some ten months since for the fable of "the Cloak," witnessed, for a few minutes, from his quiet home on the evening of the 19th ultimo, the painful reality of the sky reddened in the far distance by the illumination of Philadelphia, on account of the issue of a bloody conflict in which thousands of his fellow beings had fallen, ignorant and innocent of the cause of the war, but scarcely the better prepared for the dread account to which they were so suddenly called. Saddened by the view, he withdrew to his room to shut out the scene; and there penned the following effusions of a heart oppressed by a sense of the wrong and outrage which were involved in the occasion of this thoughtless, this wicked rejoicing.—EDITORS.]

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE ILLUMINATION, OR GLORIFICATION OF WRONG AND OUTRAGE.

My heart is sick with disappointed hopes,
This robber-war has loosen'd all its props,
I fondly hoped the public heart and mind
Were feeling brotherhood for all mankind,
That Christian principles of love and peace
Were wide diffused, and that all wars would cease;
That these pure principles, opposed to strife,
Had set just value on the human life;
But the low standard of our public presses,
Decks robber-war in patriotic dresses,
Shouts "glorious victory"—with joyful cry—
At wholesale murder of the deepest die!

For what was this vile robber-war began,
But to make room for trafficking in man,
To spread the hateful curse of slavery o'er
Wide fertile plains where freedom reigned before?
But we can now exult o'er thousands slain,
O'er wounded thousands agonized with pain,

And o'er desponding hearts of thousands more,
Bereft of all that sweetened life before.

Can Christians glory in the deep distress,
Of brethren in their utter hopelessness?—

In early times, true Christian converts strove
To bless mankind through offices of love.

If pressed to war, they then could answer right,
I am a Christian, therefore cannot fight;

The term admits but one interpretation,
True love to God, and man in every station.

Now Christians, called, can fight in vilest cause,
And for their murders ask the world's applause;

Get up illuminations, shout huzzas,
And bid defiance to Christ's holy laws.

Your shining lights are but portentous gloom—
A dark foreboding of the times to come,

When the dire evils of this murderous war,
And robber-slavery must be answered for.

Then, all these impious pageantries will cease,
These daring insults to the Prince of peace.

Ah! when will that bright gospel day break in,
When men will cease to glorify their sin?

Upper Darby, 4th mo. 19th, 1847.

G. S.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Free Labour Dry Goods and Groceries. WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

Fresh and new goods just received, consisting in part of
Shirting and Sheeting Muslin, Bleached and Brown,
"Manchester" Ginghams of superior quality, various styles,
2d Quality do. assorted patterns.
Calico, do. do. do.
Coloured Cambrics and Canton Flannel, assorted colours.
Bleached and Brown do. do. and Table Diaper.
Coloured Table Cloths, Imitation of Linen.
Cotton Hdkfs., assorted styles.
Long and Half Hose, superior and heavy.
Apron and Furniture Check.
Cotton Twilled Pantaloon Stuff.
Knitting Cotton, various Nos., Bleached, Brown and
Coloured.
Cotton Laps and Wadding, white and coloured. Also,
Gingham and Chambray Handkerchiefs,
Muslin de Laine, plain and neatly figured, all wool,
Linen, warranted free from cotton,
Refined Lard, Crushed and Pulverized Sugar.
Brown Sugar, good quality, of different grades, by the
barrel, bag, or pound.
Sugar House and West India Molasses, good quality.
Rice, Coffee and Chocolate.
SUPERIOR TEAS, SELECTED WITH CARE FOR FAMILY USE OR
STORES, viz.: Fine Oolong, Soucheong and other Black Teas;
also, Green Tea of superior quality.
Various Spices and Confectionery, &c. &c. The whole
stock exclusively of Free Labour Goods, to which the sub-
scriber would invite the attention of Country Merchants, as
well as his friends and the public generally.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

Successor to Joel Fisher,

N. W. corner Fifth and Cherry Sts.,

Philadelphia, 2d mo. 25th, 1847.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1847.

[NO. 6.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SCRIPTURAL DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.

(Continued.)

It remains to be inquired, what was the con-
dition of the purchased servants under the laws
of Moses; and what was the duration of their
servitude?

These purchased servants were evidently of
two descriptions.—Hebrews, and strangers. Of
whom were they respectively bought? That
they were not bought, as many of the African
slaves unquestionably were, of kidnappers, is
very clear from the provision, "He that stealeth a
man and selleth him, or if he be found in his
hand, he shall surely be put to death."* And if
the stealing of a man was a capital offence, those
more violent methods of procuring slaves, by
which the slavery of the United States was sup-
plied, could not be allowed. The servants must
have been purchased of those who had a right to
sell them. That they sometimes, if not generally,
sold themselves, is fairly deducible from various
passages of scripture. "If a sojourner or stranger
wax rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth
by him wax poor, and sell himself unto the
stranger or sojourner by thee, or to the stock of
the stranger's family, after he is sold he may
be redeemed again; or if he be able he may re-
deem himself."† The provisions of the Mosaic
law in this case, evidently indicate that the sale
was nothing more than a payment in advance for
services to be rendered; and that the agreement
might be cancelled by the repayment of such
part of the money advanced as remained due.
In the same chapter, mention is made of a He-
brew waxing poor and being sold to one of his
own nation; yet the verb is the same, and in the
same form, as that translated here *sell himself*.‡
"Thus saith the Lord where is the bill of your
mother's divorcement whom I have put away?

and which of my creditors is it to whom I have
sold you? Behold for your iniquities have ye
sold yourselves, and for your transgressions is your
mother put away.* For thus saith the Lord, ye
have sold yourselves for nought; and ye shall
be redeemed without money."† Here we have
a manifest allusion to the principle of the Mosaic
rule, that the price of redemption should be regu-
lated by the cost of the purchase: the seller and
the one sold being the same. If the contracts
which were termed selling themselves had not
been usual among the Israelites, it is not likely
the expression would have been so frequently
used. The prophet told Ahab he had sold himself
to work evil in the sight of the Lord.‡ "There
was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself
to work wickedness in the sight of the Lord,
whom Jezebel his wife stirred up."§ The people
of Israel are said to have sold themselves, to do
evil in sight of the Lord.¶ That slavery, accord-
ing to its modern acceptation, could not originate
in a sale made by the person sold, is too evident
to require discussion. In American slavery, not
only the person of the slave, but all the property
which he may acquire, is deemed to belong to
the master. A man who should sell himself into
American slavery, would emphatically and liter-
ally sell himself for nought. The purchase
money would go with the purchase.

That persons among the Israelites were some-
times sold for debt, is at least probable. The ex-
pression above quoted from Isaiah, "which of my
creditors is it to whom I have sold you?" seems to
allude to such a practice. The complaint of the
prophet's widow, whose sons were in danger of
being taken as servants to pay the debts of their
father, shows that this usage was not unknown at
that time.¶ The parable of our Saviour, in
which he represents a creditor as ordering a
debtor and his family to be sold for a debt, indi-
cates the existence of the practice.** But as

* Isa. l. 1.

† I. Kings, xx. 20.

‡ II Kings, xvii. 17.

§ Ib. lii. 3.

¶ Ib. xxi. 25.

** Mat. xiii. 25.

* Ex. xxi. 16. † Levit. xxi. 47—54. ‡ Verse 39.

such sale is no where authorized by the institutions of Moses, we may consider it as one of the corruptions of later years. It is, however, not improbable that those who sold themselves were induced so to do in consequence of debt; as the purchase money, or in other words, the payment in advance for services to be rendered, might furnish the means of satisfying an importunate creditor.

In the case of theft, restitution was to be made, in some cases five-fold;* but if the thief had not property to satisfy the demand, he was to be sold for the theft. But the nature of the case clearly intimates that the sale would be according to the amount of the penalty. The object was not vengeance, but restitution.

We find, indeed, mention of a man selling his daughter, to be a maid servant;† but it would be a strange construction of the text, to infer that any servitude beyond what the father himself might exact from his daughter, was authorized by the legislator. As parental authority over the services of their children, was limited among the Israelites in case of females to the age of twelve years; the sale of a daughter, as far as servitude was concerned, could not extend beyond that age. But we find conditions annexed to the case, which plainly show that marriage, not servitude, was the object of the sale. Jarchi, the Jewish commentator, observes that the money of her purchase is that of her espousals. If the purchaser refused to marry her, he was said to have dealt deceitfully with her, and was prohibited from selling her to a stranger. That wives were sold both during the patriarchal ages and under the Mosaic law, is, as I have heretofore observed, manifest from several passages of scripture. This case of a man selling his daughter to be a maid-servant, when viewed in connection with the accompanying conditions, clearly implies that the transaction is supposed to occur before the girl has arrived at marriageable age; and that she is domesticated in the family to which she is to be permanently united by marriage with the purchaser or his son. The provision that if she does not please her master, he shall let her be redeemed, appears applicable to the period of her minority; and the direction to let her go free without money, in case she is not received as a wife, to the nubile period. There is a passage in the Mosaic code, which, to a superficial observer, may appear to sanction the purchase and detention of servants in a manner somewhat analogous to American slavery. "Both thy bondmen and

thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of the strangers, that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever. But over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour."*

As these bondmen were to be bought, before they were required to perform any service, it certainly cannot be presumed they were to be purchased of those who had no authority to sell them. If bought of third persons, and reduced to involuntary servitude how could the vendors obtain the power to dispose of them? Can we suppose that the divinely inspired legislator, after so repeatedly and emphatically warning the people against oppressing the strangers that were among them, and appealing to their own bitter experience to impress his admonition more deeply, would encourage the seizure and sale of the strangers, whom they were enjoined to love as themselves, or of the heathen who were round about them? Is it to be imagined that Moses would make stealing a man a capital crime, and yet authorize the people to encourage the practice among their neighbours? It may be observed that in the case of stealing a man and selling him, or holding him for sale, the essence of the crime is the reduction of a man into servitude without just compensation. Consequently the prohibition must have included, not only the act of stealing a man, but all other modes of reducing men into servitude without a just and equitable return for the services required. If we advert to the principle, noted in the former number, which forms the basis of the right to property; that every man is the original and proper owner of the powers both of body and mind which have been conferred upon him by the Creator, and consider the solicitude manifest in every part of the Mosaic institutions to guard the weak against the encroachments of the strong, we can scarcely conceive in what manner, consistent with the principles of those institutions, the servants whom the Israelites were permitted to buy of their heathen neighbours, or of the strangers residing among them, could become objects of sale, unless they first sold themselves. To suppose that they were to be bought of third persons, as the

* Ex. xxii. 1-3.

† It. xxi. 7.

* Lev. t. xxv. 44-46.

slaves in the United States now are, is to suppose the vendors possessed of an authority which could not be acquired without violence or fraud. To preserve consistency in the Mosaic code we must consider the servants themselves as parties to the contract. What then was the condition of the servants when bought, and what was the duration of their service?

We have seen, in the preceding number, that the purchased servants were to attend the religious festivals, and be thus excused from their usual labour during a considerable time in each year. It is obvious that the purchased servant was to be incorporated with the family of the master, to be proselyted to the Israelitish religion, and entitled to the general privileges of the native Israelites. "And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the ordinance of the passover. There shall no stranger eat thereof; But every man's servant, that is bought with money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof. A foreigner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof.* There shall no stranger eat of the holy thing; a sojourner of the priest, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. But if the priest buy any soul with his money, he shall eat of it, and he that is born in his house; they shall eat of his meat."† See, also, Deut. xii. 12, 18.

That the condition of the purchased servant was greatly superior to that of the hired one, is clearly deducible from the parable of the prodigal son. When our Lord was about to present to our view a vivid portrait of a sinner deeply humbled under a conviction of his vice and follies, he represents the returning prodigal as determining to request his father to make him as one of his hired servants.‡

With regard to the duration of servitude, the Mosaic code is sufficiently clear in relation to Hebrew servants. Six years constituted the utmost period of servitude. But in this case special provision is made to prevent the abuse, which forms so glaring a feature of American slavery—the separation of families. "If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; If he were married, then his wife shall go out with him." Which seems to imply that a married man was not to be bought without his wife. But if the master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons and daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. The mother was not to be separated from her children. Under

these circumstances, it was hardly to be expected that the husband would incline to leave the service of his master, unless his condition there was disagreeable. A way is therefore made to keep the family together. "If the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children: I will not go out free. Then his master shall bring him to the judges; he shall, also, bring him to the door, or to the door post, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him forever."* This provision is evidently designed to favour the servant, by providing him with a permanent home, under the same roof with his wife and children. If he chooses to go free at the expiration of the sixth year, the master cannot detain him; but if he determines to remain, it does not appear that the master has any authority to discharge him. But the determination to continue in the service of the former master must be openly declared. He must be brought to the judges. Would a provision like this, in the slave laws of the southern states, be any thing more than an unmeaning letter? Or would any freeman willingly become an American slave merely because his wife and children were held in slavery? We shall hereafter see that the expression, *he shall serve him forever*, must be construed in a limited sense.

When the Hebrews sold themselves, the only legitimate sale which appeared consonant to the spirit of the Mosaic laws, the purchase money was, as already observed, a payment in advance, if, indeed, the purchase money was paid at the time of sale. But we find that a farther payment or gratuity was required at the expiration of the time. "And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty; thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press: of that wherewith the Lord hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him."† This seems like assisting him to set up for himself. Hence we may reasonably infer that servants were expected to be able, during their servitude, to acquire property, either by wages received from their masters, or from other available sources. We find, indeed, that they did sometimes attain considerable wealth. Thus Ziba, who is called the servant of Mephibosheth, and who seems, also, to have been the servant of Jonathan, must have had no trivial amount of property, for we find he had twenty servants, besides his fifteen sons to manage it.‡ His present to David, on a sudden emergency, indicates the command of

* Ex. xii. 43-45. † Levit. xxii. 10, 11.
‡ Luke, 15, 19.* Ex. xxi. 2-6. † Deut. xv. 13, 14.
‡ 2 Sam. ix. 9, 10.

resources, which the poor do not possess.* It seems that his servitude was similar to that of Eliezur, in the family of Abraham, who was considered as the heir as well as steward of his master. When David, upon a false charge of disloyalty, too hastily pronounced the property of Mephibosheth forfeited, Ziba, the servant, was viewed as the proper successor.†

An important trait in the character of the Israelitish servitude, was its limited duration. An engagement to serve during life, unless that service was to be compensated by wages, of which the servant should have the entire control, could hardly be made by a rational being. And, as already stated, the only method compatible with the principles of the Mosaic institutions, by which a person would become an object of sale, was the sale of himself. Hence we have *prima facie* evidence, that the servitude was of limited duration.

But the testimony on this subject, found in the law itself, appears to me conclusive. "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession: and ye shall return every man unto his family."‡ Though the Hebrew servant, who refused to leave his master's family at the expiration of his six years' service, and had his ear bored as an evidence of the perpetuity of his servitude, is said to be required to serve forever, yet it is agreed on all hands, that he became free on the year of jubilee. He then returned to the possession of his fathers. But the language is general, freedom was to be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the land.

It is farther observable that in the passage which authorizes the purchase of servants from the heathen, there is no intimation of hereditary servitude in the family of the purchased servants.

From this review I apprehend the proposition announced in the former number is fully sustained, that American slavery can derive no sanction from the usages of the patriarchal age, or the institutions of Moses.

(To be continued.)

For the Non-Slaveholder.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

The name of John Woolman is intimately connected with the history of the abolition of slavery in the society to which he belonged. He stands enrolled as one of the efficient pioneers in the progress of emancipation. Yet it may be fairly

* Sam. xvi. 1. † Ib. xvi. 4. ‡ Levit. xxv. 10.

questioned whether posterity has even yet appreciated the extent of his labours, or fathomed the spring from which his abhorrence of slavery was drawn.

He seems to have been prepared, even in childhood, for the part which in maturer life he took in this momentous cause. The simple but impressive tale which he tells, of killing a robin in the thoughtlessness of juvenile sport, and of the painful sensations which ensued, gives evidence of a mind delicately sensitive to the sufferings of the inferior race; and clearly shows that the Divine influence, which afterwards led him to sympathise so deeply with all the creatures, rational and irrational, whom the Creator had endowed with feeling and life, had then begun its salutary work. The child who deplored the miseries of the nestlings perishing for want of their dam, was not likely, when he became a man, to regard with indifference the sufferings of men, women and children, crowded in the suffocating holds of a slave ship. Viewing the whole human race as the off-spring of one common parent, and as equally the objects of the grace which comes by Jesus Christ, he was early instructed to believe that slavery, even in its mildest form, was inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion. What then was the course which he pursued? Having become convinced that holding the descendants of the African race in slavery was incompatible with christianity, he considered himself bound to abstain, as far as practicable, from sustaining the practice. In his movements we find no countenance given to gradualism, except the gradual illumination of his own mind, and that of others on the subject. When directed by his employer, with whom he was hired by the year, to write an article by which a negro woman, already in slavery, was to be transferred to another master, he obeyed, as he says, through weakness, and wrote it. Her buyer was one of his own religious society; and we have no intimation that the situation of the woman was changed for the worse by the sale; yet he was disturbed on account of the part he had taken in the transaction; and would never afterwards consent to write either a will or article of sale, in which slaves were bequeathed or transferred as property. And his firmness and Christian demeanor, in this respect, had so much influence over others, that in two instances, wills which he refused to write when slaves were designed to compose a part of the bequests, were eventually made giving them their freedom.

When he was afterwards engaged on a religious visit to the southern provinces, where

slaves were then more numerous, and their general condition, no doubt, more unfavourable than in his native land, his sympathetic mind was often turned toward this suffering class. He observes, "when I ate, drank, and lodged, free of cost, with people who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves, I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found from place to place this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burthen, and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burthens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them, in private, concerning it." This was in the 26th year of his age. He does not then appear to have seen any way of bearing his testimony against slavery, further than by private remonstrance with the masters where they were living at ease and in luxury upon the labour of their slaves. But upon visiting the South, ten or eleven years afterwards, his views upon this subject were evidently enlarged. Where he believed that his entertainment was extorted from the severe drudgery of slaves, he did not consider himself quite clear of participating in the gain of oppression, if he accepted it without cost. He therefore usually offered some pieces of silver to the master of the family, requesting him to give them to such of his negroes as he thought most likely to make a good use of them: or he presented to the slaves themselves a remuneration for his entertainment. If he, as a minister of the Gospel, travelling in the service of his Master, was accounted worthy of his meat, he also inculcated, by this procedure, the lesson, that the labourer in temporal things was also deserving of his hire.

He relates, in one place, with implied approbation, the circumstance of a Mennonist, who, being on business with his wagon at a distance from home, and night coming on, had thoughts of going for entertainment to the house of an acquaintance, who lived near where he then was: but passing by his field, and seeing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods, and spent the night there.

When attending the Yearly Meeting of Virginia in 1757, the meeting was engaged in the consideration of queries to be answered in the several monthly meetings. One of the queries adopted with general consent was, "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?" This implied that

members were expected to keep clear of this species of traffic. Another query, offered by the committee for the acceptance of the meeting was, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" This, of course, left their members at liberty to purchase slaves, from the slave ships, provided they were designed for the service of the purchasers, and not as objects of traffic. On these queries thus placed in contiguity, John Woolman judiciously remarked, that "as purchasing merchandise taken by the sword was always allowed to be inconsistent with our principles; negroes [slaves] being captives of war, or taken by stealth, these circumstances make it inconsistent with our testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow creatures who are sold as slaves, adds greatly to the iniquity." This unequivocal testimony, delivered ninety years ago, that purchasing slaves, obtained and imported as they usually are, is a more glaring violation of our peaceable principles, than the purchase of merchandise taken in war, will, no doubt, be generally admitted at the present day. From this admission the conclusion seems inevitable, that purchasing the products which these slaves are imported to bring into existence, and which are actually the result of their extorted and uncompensated labour, cannot be quite accordant with those principles. To this conclusion, it is manifest, John Woolman eventually arrived, as will appear in the sequel.

It is stated above that John Woolman gave no countenance to gradualism, except the gradual illumination of his own mind and that of others on this subject. This is forcibly illustrated by a passage in his journal under date of 1758.

In that year the subject of purchasing slaves was brought before the Yearly Meeting to which he belonged, on which occasion he remarks:

"Many friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work, and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of Truth and universal righteousness on the earth. Though none justified the practice of slave-keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned, lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren; alleging that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord in time to come might open a way for the deliverance of these people. Finding an engagement to speak, I said, 'My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of his judgments; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases, where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and cer-

tainty of his judgments, that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness, he hath opened our understandings, from one time to another, concerning our duty toward this people, and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and through a respect for the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty, in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, it may be that God may answer us, in this matter, by terrible things in righteousness."

He appears to have thought that when they were furnished with light enough on this subject, to see their way, it was presumptuous to wait for more.

The species of gradualism, which existed at that time in the Society of Friends, is illustrated by a circumstance related immediately after the passage just quoted. "Several Friends, who had negroes, expressed their desire that a rule might be made, to deal with such Friends as offenders, who bought slaves in future." This, evidently, did not satisfy John Woolman; for he observes, "it was answered," though he does not tell us by whom, probably by himself, "that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at, until a thorough search was made into the circumstances of such Friends who kept negroes, with respect to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be administered throughout."

That Friends who held slaves themselves, whom, or whose ancestors they or their fathers had bought, should advocate the formation of a rule to deal with such of their brethren as should do a similar act in future, would appear, at the present day, too closely bordering on the ludicrous, to constitute a part of a Yearly Meeting's procedure. This was keeping too near the surface for such a mind as John Woolman's. He was for going to the bottom of the matter. And where did he find that bottom? If we examine his own biography we shall readily find an answer to the question.

Near the beginning of 1770 he opened to his friends an apprehension that his duty required him to be resigned to pay a visit to some parts of the British West Indies. His concern in relation to the use of slave-grown products, and the traffic in them, is explained in the following extract from his journal, which, though long, is worthy of a serious perusal.

"Some years ago, I retailed rum, sugar and molasses, the fruits of the labour of slaves; but then had not much concern about them, save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor

was this concern so weightily attended to, as I now believe it ought to have been. But of late years being further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the degrees there are in the connexions of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness, Ephe. v. 11; and feeling an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, it hath appeared to me, that the small gain I got by this branch of trade, should be applied in promoting righteousness on the earth; and was the first motion toward a visit to Barbadoes. I believed the outward substance I possess should be applied in paying my passage, if I go, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when the time drew near, in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose, which hath been a continued trial for some months past; under which, I have with abasement of mind, from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction; and often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself, for that the Lord hid his face from him. During these exercises, my heart hath been often contrite; and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of my fellow-creatures, labouring under those expensive customs distinguishable from the simplicity that there is in Christ. 2 Cor. ii. 3. and sometimes in the renewings of Gospel love, I have been helped to minister to others.

"That which hath so closely engaged my mind in seeking to the Lord for instruction is, whether after so full information of the oppression which the slaves who raise the West India produce lie under, as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, written by Anthony Benezet, it is right for me to take a passage in a vessel employed in the West India trade.

"To trade freely with oppressors, and, without labouring to dissuade from their unkind treatment, seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy respecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to, by those with whom they have commerce. That complaint of the Lord by his prophet, 'They have strengthened the hands of the wicked,' hath very often revived in my mind; and I may here add some circumstances preceding any prospect of a visit there. The case of David hath often been before me of late years; he longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines, at war with Israel; and some of his men to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

"It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather, that David gave way to delicacy of taste; but having thought on the danger these men were exposed to, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord. The oppression of the slaves which I have seen in several journeys southward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister just cause of offence to none of my fellow-creatures, hath, from

time to time, livingly revived on my mind; and under this exercise, I have for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

"I do not censure my brethren in these things; but believe the Father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of these oppressed people; and is preparing soon to have a tender feeling of their condition: and the trading in, or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labours of those who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the prince of peace.

"After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may please the Lord, further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such further manifestation.

"The number of those who decline the use of the West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even amongst people truly pious; and the labours in Christian love on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive.

"Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be quite stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread.

"Did we on this continent, and the inhabitants of the West Indies generally dwell in pure righteousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right. Under these considerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of trading vessels, and of trying to hire a vessel to go in ballast have arisen in my mind, I have believed that the labours in Gospel love, yet bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness, are not arrived to that height.

"If the trade to the West Indies was no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage money would, for good reasons, be higher than it is now; and under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take the advantage of this great trade and small passage money; but as a testimony in favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go at this time."

By this extract we find that he had for some years declined the use of West India sugar, on account of the source from which it was obtained. That he endeavoured to avoid the use or consumption of other articles which were obtained by the oppression of slaves, is clearly shown by several incidents related in his journal. Being frequently at dinner where drink was set on the table, in vessels of silver, and in no others, he declined satisfying his thirst out of such vessels, but tenderly requested that some other might be furnished him.

When lying on the bed from which he was never to rise, and the application of medical aid was suggested, he made it a condition that no medicine should be given him which came

through polluted channels or oppressive hands. And when he felt the progress of disease impairing his powers of thought, he requested that in case his understanding should be further affected, nothing should be administered to him which his attendants knew he had a testimony against. From the general tenor of his life, it is readily inferred, that he alluded, in this case, to the products of slave labour.

In a life of John Woolman, recently published, as part of a volume* which may probably be introduced as a reading book into many of our schools, his testimony with regard to the products of slave labour is entirely overlooked. This, I consider as just cause of regret, and would willingly hope that in case a second edition should be issued, this omission may be supplied.

E. L.

SELECTIONS.

ELIZABETH HEYRICK'S PAMPHLET.

The annexed pamphlet, written by ELIZABETH HEYRICK, of Leicester, England, was published and extensively circulated in 1824. It proved greatly advantageous to the cause of Emancipation in the British West Indies. Until this time, WILKESPOURCE and the other leading abolitionists in Great Britain, had directed all their energy towards the abolition of the Slave Trade, under an impression that when this was accomplished the evils of slavery would be gradually mitigated, and the whole system would soon come to an end—in a word, they were *gradualists*. This pamphlet changed their views; they now attacked slavery as a sin to be forsaken *immediately*, and the result is known. A limited edition was published that same year in this city, and within the sphere of its circulation excited so much feeling and interest, as induces the belief that a republication will be attended with very beneficial consequences. A third edition is now offered to the American public. It is commended to the attentive, serious perusal of the reader, as the same principles and duties that apply to slavery in the West Indies, are equally applicable to that which exists in the United States.—*Philada. Edition*, 1836.

IMMEDIATE, NOT GRADUAL ABOLITION;

OR,

An Inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West India Slavery.

It is now seventeen years since the *Slave Trade* was abolished by the Government of this country—but *Slavery* is still perpetuated in our West India Colonies, and the horrors of the *Slave Trade* are aggravated rather than mitigated. By making it felony for British subjects to be

* Historical Memoirs of Friends, by Wm. Hodgson, Jr.—*Ens.*

concerned in that inhuman traffic, England has only transferred her share of it to other countries. She has, indeed, by negotiation and remonstrance, endeavoured to persuade them to follow her example. But has she succeeded? How should she, while there is so little consistency in her conduct? Who will listen to her pathetic declamations on the injustice and cruelty of the Slave Trade, whilst she rivets the chains upon her own slaves, and subjects them to all the injustice and cruelty which she so eloquently deplores when her own interest is no longer at stake? Before we can have any rational hope of prevailing on our guilty neighbours to abandon this atrocious commerce,—to relinquish the gain of oppression,—the wealth obtained by rapine and violence,—by the deep groans, the bitter anguish of our unoffending fellow creatures,—we must purge ourselves from these pollutions:—we must break the iron yoke from off the neck of our own slaves, and let the wretched captives in our own islands go free. Then, and not till then, we shall speak to the surrounding nations with the all-commanding eloquence of sincerity and truth; and our persuasions will be backed by the irresistible argument of consistent example. But to invite others to be just and merciful whilst we grasp in our own hands the rod of oppression,—to solicit others to relinquish the wages of iniquity whilst we are putting them into our own pockets—what is it but cant and hypocrisy? Do such preachers of justice and mercy ever make converts? On the contrary, do they not render themselves ridiculous and contemptible?

But let us, individually, bring this great question closely home to our own bosoms. We that hear, and read, and approve, and applaud the powerful appeals, the irrefragible arguments against the Slave Trade, and against Slavery,—are we ourselves sincere, or hypocritical? Are we the true friends of justice, or do we only cant about it? To which party do we really belong?—to the friends of emancipation, or of perpetual slavery? Every individual belongs to one party or the other; not speculatively or professionally merely, but practically. The perpetuation of Slavery in our West India colonies, is not an abstract question, to be settled between the Government and the Planters,—it is a question in which we are all implicated; we are all guilty, (with shame and compunction let us admit the opprobrious truth,) of supporting and perpetuating slavery. The West Indian planter and the people of this country, stand in the same moral relation to each other, as the thief and the receiver of stolen goods. The planter refuses to

set his wretched captive at liberty—treats him as a beast of burden—compels his reluctant, unremunerated labour under the lash of the cart-whip—why?—because we furnish the stimulant to all this injustice, rapacity, and cruelty, by purchasing its produce. Heretofore, it may have been thoughtlessly and unconsciously done, but now this palliative is removed; the veil of ignorance is rent aside; the whole nation must now divide itself into the *active supporters* and the *active opposers* of slavery; there is no longer any ground for any neutral party to stand upon.

The state of slavery in our West Indian Islands, is now become notorious; the secret is out; the justice and humanity, the veracity also, of slave owners, is exactly ascertained; the credit due to their assertions, that their slaves are better fed, better clothed,—are more comfortable, more happy than our English peasantry, is now universally understood. The tricks and impostures practised by the colonial assemblies, to hoodwink the people, to humbug the government, and to bamboozle the saints, (as the friends of emancipation are scornfully termed,) have all been detected, and the cry of the nation has been raised, from one end to the other, against this complicated system of knavery and imposture, of intolerable oppression, of relentless and savage barbarity.

But is all this knowledge to end in exclamations, in petitions, and remonstrances? Is there nothing to be done, as well as said? Are there no tests to prove our sincerity, no sacrifices to be offered in confirmation of our zeal? Yes, there is one, (but it is in itself so small and insignificant, that it seems almost burlesque to dignify it with the name of sacrifice)—it is ABSTINENCE FROM THE USE OF WEST INDIAN PRODUCTIONS, *sugar* especially, in the cultivation of which slave labour is chiefly occupied. Small, however, and insignificant as the sacrifice may appear, it would, at once, give the death blow to West Indian slavery. When there is no longer a market for the productions of *slave labour*, then, and not till then, will the slaves be emancipated.

Many had recourse to this expedient about thirty years ago, when the public attention was so generally roused to the enormities of the Slave Trade. But when the trade was abolished by the British legislature, it was too readily concluded that the abolition of slavery, in the British dominions, would have been an inevitable consequence; this species of abstinence was therefore unhappily discontinued.

“But (it will be objected) if there be no market for West India produce, the West Indian proprietors will be ruined, and the slaves, instead

of being benefitted, will perish by famine.” Not so,—the West Indian proprietors understand their own interests better. The market, though shut to the productions of *slave labour*, would still be open to the productions of *free labour*, and the planters are not such devoted worshippers of slavery as to make a voluntary sacrifice of their own interests upon her altar; they will not doom the soil to perpetual barrenness rather than suffer it to be cultivated by free men. It has been abundantly proved that voluntary labour is more productive, more advantageous to the employer, than compulsory labour. The experiments of the venerable and philanthropic Joshua Steel, have established the fact beyond all doubt; but the planter shuts his eyes to such facts, though clear and evident as the sun at noon day. None are so blind as those who will not see. The conviction, then, must be forced upon these infatuated men. It is often asserted, that slavery is too deeply rooted an evil to be eradicated by the exertions of any principle less potent and active than *self-interest*; if so, the resolution to abstain from West Indian produce, would bring this potent and active principle into the fullest operation,—would compel the planter to set his slaves at liberty.*

But were such a measure to be ultimately injurious to the interest of the planter, that consideration ought not to weigh a feather in the scale against emancipation. The slave has a right to his liberty, a right which it is a crime to withhold, let the consequences to the planters be what they may. If I have been deprived of my rightful inheritance, and the usurper, because he has long kept possession, asserts his right to the property of which he has defrauded me; are my just claims to it at all weakened by the boldness of his pretensions, or by the plea that restitution would impoverish and involve him in ruin? And to what inheritance, or birthright, can any mortal have pretensions so just, (until forfeited by crime) as to liberty? What injustice and rapacity can be compared to that which defrauds a man of his best earthly inheritance, tears him from his dearest connexions, and condemns him and his posterity to the degradation and misery of interminable slavery?

In the great question of emancipation, the interests of two parties are said to be involved,—the interest of the slave and that of the planter. But it cannot for a moment be imagined that these two interests have an equal right to be consulted,

* It has been ascertained, that the abstinence of one-tenth of the inhabitants of this country from West India sugar, would abolish West Indian slavery.

without confounding all moral distinctions, all difference between real and pretended, between substantial and assumed claims. With the interest of the planters, the question of emancipation has (properly speaking) nothing to do. The right of the slave, and the interest of the planter, are distinct questions; they belong to separate departments, to different provinces of consideration. If the liberty of the slave can be secured not only without injury, but with advantage to the planter, so much the better, certainly; but still the liberation of the slave ought ever to be regarded as an independent object; and if it be deferred till the planter is sufficiently alive to his own interest to co-operate in the measure, we may for ever despair of its accomplishment. The cause of emancipation has been long and ably advocated. Reason and eloquence, persuasion and argument, have been powerfully exerted; experiments have been fairly made, facts broadly stated in proof of the impolicy as well as iniquity of slavery,—to little purpose; even the hope of its extinction, with the concurrence of the planter, or by any enactment of the colonial or British legislature, is still seen in very remote perspective,—so remote that the heart sickens at the cheerless prospect. All that zeal and talent could display in the way of argument, has been exerted in vain. All that an accumulated mass of indubitable evidence could offer in the way of conviction, has been brought to no effect.

It is high time, then, to resort to other measures; to ways and means more summary and effectual. Too much time has already been lost in declamation and argument,—in petitions and remonstrances against British slavery. The cause of emancipation calls for something more decisive, more efficient than words. It calls upon the real friends of the poor degraded and oppressed African to bind themselves by a solemn engagement, an irrevocable vow, to participate no longer in the crime of keeping him in bondage. It calls upon them to “wash their own hands in innocency,”—to abjure for ever the miserable hypocrisy of pretending to commiserate the slave, whilst, by purchasing the productions of his labour, they bribe his master to keep him in slavery. The great Apostle of the Gentiles declared, that he would “eat no flesh whilst the world stood, rather than make his brother to offend.” Do you make a similar resolution respecting West India produce. Let your resolution be made conscientiously, and kept inviolably; let no plausible arguments which may be urged against it from without, no solicitations of appetite from within, move you from your purpose,—and in the course of a

few months, slavery in the British dominions will be annihilated.

"Yes, (it may be said) if all would unite in such a resolution,—but what can the abstinence of a few individuals, or a few families do, towards the accomplishment of so vast an object?" It can do wonders. Great effects often result from small beginnings. Your resolution will influence that of your friends and neighbours; each of them will, in like manner, influence their friends and neighbours; the example will spread from house to house, from city to city, till, among those who have any claim to humanity, there will be but one heart, and one mind,—one resolution, one uniform practice. Thus by means the most simple and easy, would West Indian slavery be most safely and speedily abolished.

"But, (it will be objected) it is not an immediate, but a gradual emancipation, which the most enlightened and judicious friends of humanity call for, as a measure best calculated, in their judgment, to promote the real interests of the slave, as well as his master; the former, not being in a condition to make a right use of his freedom, were it suddenly restored to him." This, it must be admitted, appears not only the general, but almost universal sentiment of the abolitionists: to oppose it, therefore, may seem a most presumptuous, as well as hopeless attempt. But truth and justice are stubborn and inflexible; they yield neither to numbers or authority.

The history of emancipation in St. Domingo, and of the conduct of the emancipated slaves for thirty years subsequent to that event (as detailed in Clarkson's admirable pamphlet, on the necessity of improving the condition of our West Indian slaves,) is a complete refutation of all the elaborate arguments which have been artfully advanced to discredit the design of immediate emancipation. No instance has been recorded in these important annals, of the emancipated slaves (not the gradually, but the immediately emancipated slaves) having abused their freedom. On the contrary, it is frequently asserted in the course of the narrative, that the negroes continued to work upon all the plantations as quietly as before emancipation. Through the whole of Clarkson's diligent and candid investigations, of the conduct of emancipated slaves, comprising a body of more than 500,000 persons, under a great variety of circumstances, a considerable proportion of whom had been suddenly emancipated—with all the vicious habits of slavery upon them; many of them accustomed to the use of arms; he has not, throughout this vast mass of emancipated slaves, found a single instance of bad behaviour, not even a

refusal to work, or of disobedience to orders; much less, had he heard of frightful massacres, or of revenge for past injuries, even when they had it amply in their power. Well might this benevolent and indefatigable abolitionist arrive at the conclusion, "that emancipation (why did he not say immediate emancipation?) was not only practicable, but practicable without danger." All the frightful massacres and conflagrations which took place in St. Domingo, in 1791 and 1792, occurred during the days of slavery. They originated, too, not with the slaves, but with the white and coloured planters; between the royalists and the revolutionists, who, for purposes of mutual vengeance, called in the aid of the slaves. Col. Malenfant, in his history of the emancipation, written during his residence in St. Domingo, ridicules the notion that the negroes would not work without compulsion,—and asserts that on one plantation, more immediately under his own observation, on which more than four hundred negroes were employed, not one in the number refused to work after their emancipation.

In the face of such a body of evidence, the detaining our West Indian slaves in bondage, is a continued acting of the same atrocious injustice which first kidnapped and tore them from their kindred and native soil, and robbed them of that sacred unalienable right which no considerations, how plausible soever, can justify the withholding. We have no right, on any pretext of expediency or pretended humanity to say—"because you have been made a slave, and thereby degraded and debased, therefore, I will continue to hold you in bondage until you have acquired a capacity to make a right use of your liberty." As well might you say to a poor wretch, gasping and languishing in a pest-house, "here will I keep you, till I have given you a capacity for the enjoyment of pure air."

You admit that the vices of the slave, as well as his miseries—his intellectual and moral, as well as corporeal degradation, are consequent on his slavery; remove the cause, then, and the effect will cease. Give the slave his liberty,—in the sacred name of justice, give it him at once. Whilst you hold him in bondage, he will profit little from your plans of amelioration. He has not, by all his complicated injuries and debasements, been disinherited of his sagacity,—this will teach him to give no credit to your admonitory lessons—your Christian instructions will be lost upon him, so long as he both knows and feels that his instructors are grossly violating their own lessons.

The enemies of slavery have hitherto ruined

their cause by the senseless cry of gradual emancipation. It is marvellous that the wise and the good should have suffered themselves to have been imposed upon by this wily artifice of the slaveholder, for with him must the project of gradual emancipation have first originated. The slaveholder knew very well that his prey would be secure, so long as the abolitionists could be cajoled into a demand for gradual instead of immediate abolition. He knew very well that the contemplation of a gradual emancipation, would beget a gradual indifference to emancipation itself. He knew very well, that even the wise and the good, may, by habit and familiarity, be brought to endure and tolerate almost any thing. He had caught the poet's idea, that—

"Vice is a monster of such frightful mien,
As to be hated, needs but to be seen;
But, seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

He caught the idea, and knew how to turn it to advantage. He knew very well, that the faithful delineation of the horrors of West Indian slavery, would produce such a general insurrection of sympathetic and indignant feeling, such abhorrence of the oppressor, such compassion for the oppressed, as must soon have been fatal to the whole system. He knew very well, that a strong moral fermentation had begun, which, had it gone forward, would soon have purified the nation from the foulest of its corruptions; that the cries of the people for emancipation would have been too unanimous, and too importunate for the Government to resist, and that slavery would, long ago, have been exterminated throughout the British dominions. Our example might have spread from kingdom to kingdom, from continent to continent, and the slave-trade and slavery might by this time have been abolished all the world over: "A sacrifice of a sweet savour," might have ascended to the Great Parent of the Universe; "His kingdom might have come, and his will (thus far) have been done on earth, as it is in Heaven."

But this GRADUAL ABOLITION has been the grand marplot of human virtue and happiness; the very master-piece of satanic policy. By converting the cry for immediate, into gradual emancipation, the prince of slaveholders "transformed himself, with astonishing dexterity, into an angel of light," and thereby "deceived the very elect." He saw very clearly, that if public justice and humanity, especially, if Christian justice and humanity, could be brought to demand only a gradual extermination of the enormities of the slave system; if they could be brought to acquiesce, but for one

year, or for one month, in the slavery of our African brother, in robbing him of all the rights of humanity, and degrading him to a level with the brutes; that then they could imperceptibly be brought to acquiesce in all this for an unlimited duration. He saw very clearly that the time for the extermination of slavery, was precisely that, when its horrid impiety and enormity were first distinctly known and strongly felt. He knew that every moment's unnecessary delay, between the discovery of an imperious duty, and the setting earnestly about its accomplishment, was dangerous, if not fatal to success. He knew that strong excitement was necessary to strong effort; that intense feeling was necessary to stimulate intense exertion; that, as strong excitement and intense feeling are generally transient, in proportion to their strength and intensity, the most effectual way of crushing a great and virtuous enterprise, was to gain time, to defer it to "a more convenient season," when the zeal and ardour of the first conviction of duty had subsided; when our sympathies had become languid; when considerations of the difficulties and hazards of the enterprise, the solicitations of ease and indulgence, should have chilled the warm glow of humanity, quenched the fervid heroism of virtue; when familiarity with relations of violence and outrage, crimes and miseries, should have abated the horror of their first impression, and, at length, induced indifference.

The father of lies, the grand artificer of fraud and imposture, transformed himself, therefore, on this occasion, pre-eminently "into an angel of light," and deceived, not the unwary only, the unsuspecting multitude, but the wise and the good, by the plausibility, the apparent force, the justice, and above all, by the humanity of the arguments propounded for gradual emancipation. He is the subtlest of all reasoners, the most ingenious of all sophists, the most eloquent of all declaimers. He, above all other advocates, "can make the worse appear the better argument;" can most effectually pervert the judgment and blind the understanding, whilst they seem to be most enlightened and rectified. Thus, by a train of most exquisite reasoning, has he brought the abolitionists to the conclusion, that the interest of the poor, degraded, and oppressed slave, as well as that of his master, will be best secured by his remaining in slavery. It has, indeed, been proposed to mitigate, in some degree, the miseries of his interminable bondage, but the blessings of emancipation, according to the propositions of the abolitionists in the last session of Parliament, were to be reserved for his posterity alone, and

every idea of immediate emancipation is still represented, not only as impolitic, enthusiastic, and visionary, but as highly injurious to the slave himself,—and a train of supposed apt illustrations is continually at hand, to expose the absurdity of such a project. “Who (it is asked) would place a sumptuous banquet before a half famished wretch, whilst his powers of digestion were so feeble that it would be fatal to partake of it? Who would bring a body benumbed and half frozen with cold, into sudden contact with fervid heat? Who would take a poor captive from his dungeon, where he had been immured whole years in total darkness, and bring him at once into the dazzling light of a meridian sun? No one, in his senses, certainly. All these transitions from famine to plenty,—from cold to heat,—from darkness to light, must be gradual in order to be salutary.” But must it therefore follow by any inductions of common sense, that emancipation out of the gripe of a robber or an assassin,—out of the jaws of a shark or a tiger, must be gradual? Must it, therefore, follow, that the wretched victim of slavery must always remain in slavery? That emancipation must be so gradual that the blessings of freedom shall never be tasted by him who has endured all the curses of slavery, but be reserved for his posterity alone?

There is something unnatural, something revolting to the common sense of justice, in reserving all the sweets of freedom for those who have never tasted the bitter cup of bondage,—in dooming those who have once been compelled to drink it, to drain it to the very dregs. Common equity demands that relief should be administered first to those who have suffered most; that the healing balm of mercy should be imparted first to those who have smarted most under the rod of oppression: that those who have borne the galling yoke of slavery, should first experience the blessings of liberty. The cause of emancipation loses more than half its interest, when the public sympathy is diverted from its natural channel,—turned from the living victims of colonial bondage to their unborn progeny.

It is utterly astonishing, with such an object as West Indian slavery before us, rendered palpable, in all its horrors, almost to our very senses, by a multitude of indubitable facts, collected from various sources of the highest authority, all uniting in the same appalling evidence;—with the sight of our fellow creatures in bondage so rigorous,—in moral and physical degradation so abject;—under a tyranny so arbitrary, wanton and barbarous—it is utterly astonishing, that our compassion and

sympathy should be so timid and calculating—so slow and cautious.

Under the contemplation of individual suffering, comparatively trifling, both in nature and duration, our compassion is prompt and quick in its movements,—our exertions spontaneous and instinctive; we go the shortest way to work, in effecting the relief of the sufferer. But, in emancipating eight hundred thousand of our fellow creatures and fellow subjects from a worse than Egyptian bondage, we advance toward the object by a route the most indirect and circuitous; we petition Parliament year after year, for gradual emancipation: to what purpose? Are we gaining or losing ground by these delays? Are we approaching nearer, or receding farther from the attainment of our object? The latter, it is too evident, is, and must be the case. The evil principle is more subtle and active in its various operations, than the good principle. The advocates of slavery, are more alert and successful in insinuating into the public mind, doubts and fears, coldness and apathy on the subject of emancipation, than the abolitionists are in counteracting such hostile influence; and the desertions from the anti-slavery standard, in point of zeal and activity if not in numbers, since the agitation of the question in Parliament last year, are doubtless very considerable.

Should the numerous petitions to Parliament be ultimately successful; should the prayer for gradual emancipation be granted; still, how vague and indefinite would be the benefit resulting from such success. Should some specific time be appointed by government, for the final extinction of colonial slavery, that period we have been informed from high authority, will not be an early one. And who can calculate the tears and groans, the anguish and despair, the tortures and outrages which may be added, during the term of that protracted interval, to the enormous mass of injuries already sustained by the victims of West Indian bondage? Who can calculate the aggravated accumulation of guilt which may be incurred by its active agents, its interested abettors and supporters? Why, then, in the name of humanity, of common sense, and common honesty, do we petition Parliament, year after year, for a gradual abolition of this horrid system?—this complication of crime and misery? Why petition Parliament at all, to do that for us, which, were they ever so well disposed, we can do more speedily and more effectually for ourselves?

It is no marvel that slaveholders should cry out against immediate emancipation, as they have done against all propositions for softening the

rigors of colonial slavery. “*Insurrection of all the blacks—massacre of all the whites,*” are the bugbears which have been constantly conjured up to deter the British Parliament from all interference between the master and his slave. The panic was the same, the outcry just as violent, when an attempt was made about forty years ago, to abate the horrors of the middle passage, by admitting a little more air into the suffocating and pestilent holds of the slave ships; and a noble duke besought Parliament not to meddle with the alarming question.* Confident predictions, from this quarter, of rebellion and bloodshed, have almost uniformly followed every proposition to restrain the power of the oppressor and to mitigate the sufferings of the oppressed.

It is therefore no wonder that West Indian proprietors and slaveholders should exclaim against immediate emancipation; that they should tell us, the slaves are so depraved as well as degraded, as to be utterly incapacitated, for the right use of freedom; that emancipation, instead of leading them into habits of sober, contented industry, would be inevitably followed by idleness, pillage, and all sorts of enormities; in short, that they would rise in a mass, and massacre all the white inhabitants of the islands.

That slaveholders should say, and really believe all this, is perfectly natural; it is no wonder at all, that they should be full of the most groundless suspicions and terrors; for tyrants are the greatest of all cowards. “The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth,” he is terrified at shadows, and shudders at the spectres of his own guilty imagination.

But that the abolitionists should have caught the infection,—should be panic-struck; that the friends of humanity,—the wise and the good—should be diverted from their purpose by such visionary apprehensions; that they should “fear where no fear is;” should swallow the bait so manifestly laid to draw them aside from their great object; that they should be so credulous, so easily imposed upon, is marvellous.

The simple inquiry, what is meant by emancipation? might have dissipated at once all these terrible spectres of rapine and murder. Does emancipation from slavery imply emancipation from law? Does emancipation from lawless tyranny, from compulsory, unremunerated labour, under the lash of the cart whip, imply emancipation from all responsibility and moral restraint? Were slavery in the British colonies extinguished, the same laws which restrain and punish crime in the white population, would re-

strain and punish crime in the black population. The danger arising from inequality of numbers would be more than counteracted by the wealth, influence, and the armed force, possessed by the former. But independent of such considerations, the oppressed and miserable, corrupt as is human nature, do not naturally become savage and revengeful when their oppressions and miseries are removed. As long as a human being is bought and sold,—regarded as goods and chattels,—compelled to labour without wages,—branded, chained, and flogged at the caprice of his owner; he will, of necessity, as long as the feeling of pain, the sense of degradation and injury remain, he will, unless he have the spirit of a Christian martyr, be vindictive and revengeful. “Oppression (it is said) will make (ever) a wise man mad.” But will the liberated captive, when the iron yoke of slavery is broken; when his heavy burdens are unbound; his bleeding wounds healed; his broken heart bound up; will he then scatter vengeance and destruction around him?

(To be continued.)

THE INEXPEDIENCY OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT PROVED BY STATISTICS DERIVED FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES.—1846.

Within the last fifteen or sixteen years, the infliction of death has been discontinued in England for sheep-stealing, robbery, house breaking and burglary, horse-stealing, and many other kinds of crime. Indeed, of 160 offences which were punishable with death in the reign of George the Third, only one—Wilful Murder—now virtually remains capital.

Now if it can be shown that offences which were capital, but are so no longer, did decrease upon the partial or entire discontinuance of the extreme penalty, whilst other crimes remained on the increase, then it follows, as an irresistible and unanswerable conclusion—That the pain of death did no good as regarded those offences, and was wisely abolished.

Well, this decrease of crime can be shown:—shown, not as regards one particular offence, but as regards various offences for which the capital penalty has been repealed:—shown, not in a dubious form, but in the most clear and indisputable manner.

The Government Returns prove, that there were fewer highway robberies in seven consecutive years, (ending 1840,) with 5 executions, than in the preceding seven years, with 58 executions;—that there were fewer acts of burglary and house-breaking in the same seven years, with only 2

* See the Debate on this subject in 1788.

executions, than in the preceding seven years, when 57 persons suffered death for those crimes;—that there was less horse-stealing in the same seven years, without any execution, than in the preceding seven years, during which for that offence alone, 22 convicts were sent to the scaffold.

Let us now advert to another crime,—one for which the capital penalty was almost sure to follow upon conviction. We refer to the crime of *incendiarism*. For this single offence, in the seven years ending with 1836, no fewer than 64 criminals were executed, and 538 committed: in the next seven years there were none executed, and only 386 committed. Here was a diminution of 28 per cent. in the crime. It will be observed that we are comparing periods of the actual and frequent infliction of capital punishment, with periods immediately following.

If from these details we turn to the state of crime in the aggregate, we find the following result presented by a Parliamentary Return, (No. 547,) printed in 1839.

The Return embraces two periods of five years, for England and Wales; and relates exclusively to such offences as were capital at the commencement, viz.:—

5 yrs. ending with 1838	Executed	259	Committed	11,992
5 yrs. " " 1839	Executed	99	Committed	11,332

This Return, then, shows in the aggregate a decrease of crimes that had been capital in the first period.

It may be said, perhaps, that such a result is owing to other causes:—to the spread of education, to the improved morality of the country, and to the increased vigilance of the police: that, in fact, the diminution in these particular cases was but a part of the general diminution of crime throughout the kingdom. But this argument is completely disproved by the fact that during the same time, the committals for minor offences (*i. e.* offences not capital in either period,) underwent a great increase; being 85,348 in the first period, and 99,540 in the second.

We have said that Wilful Murder is the only crime now virtually remaining capital. But for murder, no less than other crimes, the penalty of death, as an example, is momentary, and of no beneficial effect:—it disgusts the good, and brutalizes the bad, who witness the spectacle of man cruelly destroyed by man: as an act of extreme violence, it teaches violence to the people: as an act of deliberate homicide, it diminishes the regard due to the sanctity of life, and renders murder less revolting to the uninstructed mind. For murder as well as other crimes, it too often leads to impunity through the suppression of evidence by

the associates or acquaintances of the criminal, who recoil at the thought of becoming accessory to the death of one with whom they had formerly lived on terms of familiar intercourse.

Here are two facts upon the subject which speak volumes:—

The years 1815, 1817, 1818, and 1829, were the only years (since 1810) in which all the criminals who were convicted of murder (66 in number) were executed; and this was followed in the years respectively next succeeding by an increase in the crime of murder—an increase in the aggregate commitments amounting to 12 per cent.:

Taking four other years in which the smallest proportion of convicted murderers underwent their sentence, we find them to be 1836, 1838, 1840, and 1842. Now in these four years only 31 were executed out of 83 condemned, and the crime of murder diminished in the years respectively next succeeding—the aggregate commitments diminished 17 per cent.:

In other words, after the sanguinary penalty had been rigidly exacted, murder, the crime for which it was enforced, multiplied; and when the demoralizing exhibitions of the scaffold became fewer, and nearly two-thirds of the malefactors were spared, murders became fewer.

The Parliamentary Paper from which these results are extracted, is No. 618, of Session 1843. That document (in Table I,) also gives the commitments and executions for murder in England and Wales during the thirty years ending December, 1842, divided into five periods of six years each. They show that in the last six years, with only 50 executions, the commitments for murder were fewer by 62 than in the six years ending December, 1836, with 74 executions; fewer by 60 than in the six years ending December, 1830, with 75 executions; fewer by 56 than in the six years ending December, 1824, with 91 executions; and fewer by 93 than in the six years ending December, 1818, when the executions for this crime amounted to the large number of 122.

In the same Parliamentary Paper in which these results are presented, there are Tables which show—1. That from 1834 to 1841 (inclusive) in the counties where all who were convicted of murder were executed, the number of murders remained very nearly the same:—2. That in the counties where commutations of the extreme penalty took place (during the same period,) the years respectively following such commutations exhibited a diminution in the commitments for murder of 35 per cent.:—3. That in the counties where a large proportion of the persons commit-

ted for murder were acquitted on the ground of insanity (in the same period,) the number of the commitments in the years respectively following was fewer by 32 per cent.:—and 4. That in the counties where there were commitments and no convictions at all (during the same period,) the commitments for murder in the years respectively following were fewer by 23 per cent. These facts, let it be borne in mind, are beyond the reach of suspicion or denial: they are compiled and presented to us by our Rulers themselves—by the very men who uphold the gallows in defiance of their own published experience.

It appears, therefore, on the authority of these official Tables, that the crime of murder flourishes most under a system of invariable executions—that it prospers more than when the mercy of the Crown interposes with commutations of sentence—that it prospers more than under acquittals on the ground of insanity—and, lastly, that it even thrives better than under a total failure of justice through the acquittal of all who stand charged with the crime.

Here is another Table which shows that when there are fewest executions, there follow the fewest murders:—

Parliamentary Return, No. 48, Session 1841.

MURDER.		ENGLAND AND WALES.			
Periods of 5 years.		5 years ending 1825.	5 years ending 1830.	5 years ending 1835.	5 years ending 1840.
Committed	- - - -	383	317	339	291
Convicted	- - - -	88	74	81	87
Executed	- - - -	76	65	66	40
Centesimal proportion of executions to Convictions		86	87	81	45
Centesimal proportion of convictions to Committals		22	23	23	29

This also clearly proves that as executions for murder diminish, the certainty of conviction and punishment is greatly increased.

In the present year, 1846, another document, No. 21, has been printed by order of Parliament. It exhibits the number of executions for all crimes, in London and Middlesex, during 21 years, together with the convictions on charges of murder. In the three consecutive years 1834, 1835, 1836, no execution whatever took place, and it is distinctly stated upon official authority, that these were the only years in which there was no conviction of murder.

From the Returns of other countries similar re-

sults are obtained. The following statements will prove this:—

FRANCE.		Murder.	
		Executed.	Committed.
5 years ending with 1829,	...	352	1182
5 years " " 1834,	...	131	1172
PRUSSIA.		Executed.	Convicted of Murder.
5 years ending with 1824,	...	54	69
5 years " " 1829,	...	33	50
5 years " " 1834,	...	19	43

Here we see that the executions had diminished by two-thirds, and the crime by one-third; and this, too, in an increasing population.

BELGIUM.

The statistics derived from the Belgian Returns merit particular notice:—first, because Belgium is the only state in Europe which has recently tried the experiment of discontinuing the punishment of death altogether; and secondly, because in the year 1835, capital punishment was re-adopted there,—with what success we shall see.

During the five years ending with 1829, 22 persons had been executed out of 34 convicted of murder: whilst during the next five years, ending with 1834, none were executed, and only 20 were convicted of the same offence. In 1835, however, certain persons brought about a return to capital punishment, alleging (evidently in defiance of fact) that there existed an imperative necessity for making what is called "an example," or in other words, a necessity for re-erecting the guillotine. That there was no ground for this allegation is proved, not only by the figures above quoted, but by the Table which is here subjoined.

Dividing the 35 years, 1800 to 1834, into seven successive periods of 5 years each, we have these results, viz.:—

BELGIUM. Periods.	Executed, for all crimes.	Convicted of murder.
5 years ending with 1804	235	150
5 years " " 1809	88	82
5 years " " 1814	71	64
5 years " " 1819	26	42
5 years " " 1824	23	38
5 years " " 1829	22	34
5 years " " 1834	none.	20

How, with facts like the above before them, (observes Mr. Rowton,) any men calling themselves legislators could venture to say, in 1835, that great crimes were on the increase, and needed "the example" of the scaffold to repress

them, I cannot conceive. But they *did* say so; and the scaffold was restored. In 1835, 2 criminals were executed, and between 1836 and 1839, some more were executed, making 4 altogether. And what followed? Why, that condemnations for murder, which in the five years from 1830 to 1834,—when there were no executions,—had been 20 in number, rose in the next five years, when there were executions, to 31—or in other words, increased about fifty per cent.

The temporary abolition, and the complete success of the abolition of death punishments in Tuscany, is almost too familiar to be quoted. That enlightened Prince, the Grand Duke Leopold, says, after trying the effect of the abolition for 23 years, that the alteration, “instead of increasing the number of crimes, considerably diminished that of the smaller ones, and rendered those of an atrocious nature very rare.”

Have we not proved, then, not only that the penalty of death for secondary crimes is inefficacious and mischievous, but that even as regards the crime of murder itself, its enforcement increases the offence, and its abolition represses it?

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH 1, 1847.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—We derive from the British Friend of the 2d month last, the valuable statistical paper which appears in our columns on the inexpediency of capital punishment. It is chiefly extracted from a pamphlet entitled “The Punishment of Death, reviewed by Frederick Rowton.” To the succeeding number of that journal we are indebted for the following observations of a correspondent:

“It was gratifying to myself, and will doubtless be so to many of your readers who take an interest in the subject of capital punishment, to mark the extraordinary change which has taken place for the better in our penal laws, as evinced by the important statistics advertised in your last number. Many are discouraged at even the present state, and the present amount of punishment existing in our country, but they may be encouraged when they are made aware of this one fact, which of itself speaks volumes:—IN ONE YEAR of the reign of Henry VIII. no less than THREE THOUSAND human beings—criminals—were EXECUTED, or rather strangled! And be it remembered that at that period the population did not amount to 4,000,000 souls, so that it was actually equivalent to the annual execution of 14,000 of our present population!

“A few more years and we confidently anticipate, that the present comparatively small amount of legal deaths, will be looked upon with feelings

not very dissimilar to those which fill our minds when we read the bloody catalogue of King Henry, three centuries ago.”

Pennsylvania set, we believe, the first example of abolishing the death penalty for every other offence than that of wilful murder. This example has been followed in several other States of the American Union, and is approximated elsewhere. As the sphere of this punishment comes to be contracted, it is remarkable how the lovers of the system cluster round the previously disregarded Noachic precept, as the last citadel from which they can religiously defend it. We trust they are destined to be dislodged from even this point of defence. The argument, to be availing in their hands, must show that human life is made inviolable by the precept under all circumstances, *that only excepted*, which, according to their construction, makes it a rule for the shedding of man's blood. If society may extend the occasions of taking human life, it may as justly diminish them, without infracting the Divine law, but it can make no departure from a Divine law, on either hand, with impunity. On what principle then can it perpetrate wars, or inflict sanguinary penalties for offences not required to be so punished by the precept?

In an “Essay on the Ground and Reason of Punishment with special reference to the penalty of Death; by Tayler Lewis, Esq.” its author endeavours to show that this penalty, in case of murder, is demanded both by the Jewish law, and the “solemn declaration made to the whole human family directly after its departure from the ark.” To the latter he assigns the higher authority implied by the remark “that it was given not to a particular nation, but to the whole race then existing, and that too under circumstances of the most awfully solemn and impressive kind;” N. Y. edition, page 69: and yet in the preceding page this sentiment was expressed,—“We would that our law sentenced the adulterer to death. We admire the wisdom of the Jewish legislation, that affixed this penalty, not to offences involving injury to property, as in the severe code of commercial England, but to those crimes that struck directly at the life of society, in the destruction of the individual life, and in the invasion of the sacred, domestic and marriage relation!” Consistency is a jewel! The friends of capital punishment must carry out their construction of the precept to Noah, in its inhibitions, as well as in its permissions, ere we can do them the credit to believe they are fully sincere in their interpretation of it.

We hoped to have been furnished for the

present number, by our correspondent Aleph, with a continuation of his remarks on this precept, though his other engagements, we are aware, have been peculiar and absorbing. We trust he will show that in this much quoted text there is no abiding place for the doctrine of capital punishment, but that it makes all taking of human life a desecration of the Divine image.

WILLIAM KIRKWOOD.—To few in the present day can the saying of our Saviour, when he saw Nathaniel coming to him—“Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile,” be more applicable than it was to the humble Christian—the genuine philanthropist—the evangelical minister—whose death we record.

After several months of confinement and suffering, William Kirkwood departed this life on the 11th of last month, in his 65th year. He became a member of the religious Society of Friends through a conviction of the truth of its principles and testimonies, which he maintained with remarkable firmness and simplicity.

For more than forty years he had been deeply concerned on the subject of slavery, and believed that the principles he professed required an abstinence, as far as practicable, from its productions; so that when a few Friends convened in Philadelphia in the Fourth month, 1845, to form a Free Produce Association, he was prepared cordially to unite with them, and to sign the Address which was subsequently published. A few weeks before his decease, in a letter addressed to a friend, he gave strong evidence of the continuance of his interest in this concern. “I have often felt” said he, “great sympathy and unity with thy exercise on account of the use of slave-produce. The more I dwell under the exercise, the more I believe it to be a righteous testimony, and to be of the Lord. It appears to me that I can no longer consider myself other than a partner and supporter of all the atrocities of slavery when I freely partake of the produce, and particularly when the choice of free and slave produce is in my power. Oh! the sweet peace that flows from offering a willing sacrifice in the Lord's time: but when we meet with apathy where help might be expected, and opposition where we might expect a pleasant reception, there is need of other help than man's to enable us to persevere. John Woolman experienced shyness from valuable friends, and no doubt more than he writes. But this, in part, was on account of the great simplicity into which he was led, and I have often feared that Friends too much overlooked that subject: for one unneces-

sary thing may almost imperceptibly be introduced after another till little or no distinction can be made in many things between the Quaker who so often hears about plainness and simplicity, and the worldling who thinks there is nothing in these things. But to return to the subject of slavery. Stolen goods, generally, are gotten and come through a less objectionable and corrupt channel than goods that come through the channel of slavery. A thief does not disturb the owner of the property he takes, if he can avoid it; and he leaves more than he takes, if he is not opposed: for the thief does not hinder him from using his exertions to get more or from living with his wife and children. But to commence with the poor African torn from his country and every thing dear—bereft of every thing but life, and that, by reason of oppression, a burthen—confined and almost starved to death in the slave-ship—afterward sold to be under the caprice of a master till released by death—and if, in his bondage, he may get wife or children he will have the painful reflection that they also must remain under the lash till death—the fruits of his labour all torn from him and sold to us. Knowing all this, can we be less guilty in buying those fruits, than in buying goods from a thief, knowing them to be stolen, but without otherwise injuring the owner?”

Truly may it be said of the work in which our dear friend felt so lively an interest, that the harvest is great and the labourers few; and earnestly do we crave, that the Lord of the harvest would send more such labourers as he.

During his protracted sickness, he experienced much of the peace and tranquillity which are the reward of obedience. In the letter to which we have alluded, he remarked:—“Ever since my great weakness of body commenced I have been shielded from the buffetings of the enemy. The time to me has been as a day without clouds. In the time of such weakness of body and keen outward trials, [the death of a daughter and her husband,] Oh! what an unspeakable favour—what cause of gratefulness of heart—what cause of continual rejoicing instead of mourning or repining: for truly I can adopt the language of the Psalmist, ‘Thy mercies are new every morning—great is thy faithfulness!’”

THE ANNIVERSARIES.—The annual meetings of various national and state societies in the city of New York, made the week commencing the 10th ultimo one of great interest.

The anniversaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the American and Foreign

Anti-Slavery Society, were held on the 11th; the one in the morning, the other in the afternoon of that day. The attendance at each was large and respectable, and the proceedings at these, and successive business meetings, such as gave full assurance of an undiminished hostility to slavery. We select the following from the more numerous resolutions of the two Societies as indicating their respective opinions on various important subjects.

By the American Anti-Slavery Society:

"Resolved, That the duty of every American is, to give his sympathy and aid to the Anti-Slavery movement,—and the first duty of every citizen is, to devote himself to the destruction of that Union and that Constitution, which have already shipwrecked the experiment of civil liberty here, and bids fair, in the end, to swallow up the hopes of honest men in a worse than military despotism; assured, ourselves, that out of the wreck we may confidently expect a state which will unfold in noble proportions the principles of that Declaration of Independence, whose promise made us once the admiration of the world.

Resolved, That if it be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty, then it is a truth equally self-evident, that all those who enslave their fellow-men, or who justify or connive at their enslavement, are sinners of the first rank—guilty of the highest kind of theft—men-stealers:—that if it be a piratical act for an American citizen to seize or purchase a native-born African, in Africa, with the design of making him a slave; then it is equally piratical to seize or purchase a native-born American, in America, for a similar purpose:—That if a person engaged in the African Slave Trade is justly deserving of capital punishment, no matter what may be his defence of his conduct, then the American slaveholder as justly deserves the same punishment—for he claims an absolute right to possess, buy, and sell human beings, and stimulate the foreign trafficker, by opening for him a profitable market.

Resolved, That the Whig party, in declaring the present war with Mexico to have been unconstitutional, waged by the President of the United States, for a purpose no less diabolical than that of extending and perpetuating the system of Slavery, and then voting for all the supplies required to give energy and success to the war, involves itself in far greater condemnation and guilt than its rival, which, with almost unparalleled audacity and untruthfulness, affirms that the war is a just and righteous one, on the part of the United States, and that it ought to cover the present national administration with glory.

Resolved, That the eagerness manifested by the leading Whig presses to turn the murderous exploits of Gen. Taylor to party account—to find in him an 'available' candidate for the Presidency—to crown him with unfading laurels, and place him on the pedestal of patriotic renown—while they are denouncing the war which he is

prosecuting with such terrible success, as inhuman, aggressive, and infamous—indicates the deepest and most disgusting political profligacy, the most wanton violation of all the principles of morality, and the blackest treason to the cause of free Government and popular liberty. Nevertheless,

Resolved, That the man who holds in the galling chains of Slavery, as his property, two hundred human beings—who gives his example and sanction to the enslavement of three millions of his fellow-countrymen—who goes for wholesale concubinage, robbery, and murder—who conducted the horrid war against the Seminole Indians, and employed as his auxiliaries blood-hounds imported from Cuba expressly to hunt them down—who is now the leader in the war for the conquest of Mexico for the extension of Slavery—is precisely the man to represent both the Whig and the Democratic parties, both the Church and the State, in the Presidential chair.

Resolved, That a paper, located in the District of Columbia,—in the capital of the country,—at the head quarters of the slave-traffickers, and surrounded by slave prisons and slave auctions,—and ostensibly by name and position the grand organ of the Anti-Slavery movement in the United States,—yet conducted in such a doubtful, cool, pointless manner as to elicit no outbreak of slaveocratic feeling in any quarter, not even a single animadversion from the Washington 'Union,' (the national organ of the Slave Power,) not the slightest expression of alarm or indignation in all the slaveholding regions, but, on the contrary, commendation from the Southern press for its lack of all the characteristics of unadulterated abolitionism,—is a paper which neither represents the Anti-Slavery cause, nor deserves the patronage of real Abolitionists; and such is the National Era, established under the auspices of the 'American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.'

Resolved, That any movement ostensibly seeking the religious improvement of the slave population, without first demanding their immediate and complete emancipation, is not only to be regarded with distrust and jealousy, but denounced as worthless and impracticable, and as substituting a sham for a reality, and a shadow for the substance, and giving an opiate to the consciences of those who are not willing to bear the odium of uncompromising abolitionism, and yet would fain be regarded as deeply concerned for the temporal and eternal welfare of those who are reduced to the condition of things. Therefore,

Resolved, That we regard the project of giving the Bible to the slaves, which has been started in Massachusetts, by those who claim to be Abolitionists, as delusive, and calculated to retard the Anti-Slavery cause, by diverting attention from the great question of immediate emancipation, and discarding a doctrine which is morally, philosophically, and historically true, that the liberation of the slave is essential to his intellectual and religious elevation.

Resolved, That it behoves the Abolitionists of

this country, and of all who regard with jealousy the predominance of the Slave-Power in the councils of the nation, to watch with especial vigilance the evolution of the plot now developing itself, of annexing fresh provinces of Mexico, now free from human slavery, for the purpose of cursing them anew with that abominable crime, and to be instant in season and out of season, to expose, and, if possible, to defeat it.

Resolved, That the proposition to furnish the Bible to slaves, who are forbidden to learn to read it by penal laws in every State except in Kentucky, (in which, according to Henry Clay, it is forbidden by a public sentiment, stronger than law itself,) is as preposterous a farce and as absurd a burlesque of a philanthropic movement as would be one to supply all the blind in the United States with telescopes and spectacles before their restoration to sight.

Resolved, That this Society repeats and asserts anew its distinctive principle, which separates it from all political parties alike, of NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, by which it will be guided until Slavery be abolished, or we are convinced that there is some more excellent way for the deliverance of the slave from his woe, and of ourselves from our participation in the guilt of his tyrant.

By the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:

"Resolved, That in view of the wide diffusion of anti-slavery information throughout the country, and the thorough discussions the iniquitous system of slavery is undergoing, we have great cause of thankfulness to Him who has caused light to spring up to those which sat in the region and shadow of death, who maketh the wrath of man to praise him, and who encourages us to labor with unabated zeal by the gracious assurance that the Lord taketh part with those who plead the cause of the poor and needy.

Resolved, That the avowal that the Bible sanctions American slavery is blasphemous and heretical; that it tends to drive men into infidelity; that it should be thus considered in every 'doctrinal basis' formed to promote union among Christians; and that no slaveholder ought to be fellowshipped as a Christian, because of the countenance he affords to immorality and heresy.

Resolved, That it is the right of every individual man, throughout the world, bond or free, to possess and read the Bible, and obey it for himself, under his responsibility to God, who has given that revelation to be a lamp to his feet and a light to his path; that it is the right of every man to enjoy the rest of the Lord's day, to be protected in his family relations, to enjoy the fruits of his own labour, to educate his children, and to sit under his own vine and fig tree, without any to make him afraid.

Resolved, That we view with peculiar satisfaction the establishment of the 'National Era' at the seat of Government; and that we recommend to all the friends of impartial liberty to sustain this paper, without abating their liberal support of other anti-slavery papers, in the ex-

pectation that ere long it will be published daily, and long continue an ornament to the press, and a powerful auxiliary to the cause of human rights.

Resolved, That we look upon the existing war being waged by this country against Mexico, for the support and extension of slavery, with unmingled abhorrence; that no victories won during its continuance can add true glory to the nation or the combatants; that we believe, in the language of Jefferson, 'the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest;' and that we fervently hope that peace will speedily be restored to both the invading and invaded nation, leaving each in the enjoyment of its original rights and territory, with not a foot of the free Mexican soil converted into an area for the extension of American slavery.

Resolved, That, while we would not relax our efforts to move the hearts and consciences of men by direct moral suasion, we most cordially approve the principles of the Liberty party of the United States; that we rejoice in the increase of its numbers and influence; in its determination, under no circumstances, to vote for a slaveholder to fill any office; and that we recommend that a National Convention be held, at a suitable time, to select candidates for the high offices of President and Vice President, who will unite the suffrages of those who have already broken away from the two great political parties, and those who will forsake them, determining no longer to follow a multitude to do evil.

Resolved, That we hail with fraternal respect and sympathy, brethren in foreign lands who are labouring for the downfall of slavery and its natural ally, the slave trade, and who mourn with us over the prevalence and extension of slavery in this land of boasted freedom and equality, while it is nearly banished from other parts of the civilized world, and even from semi-civilized countries; and that, while we assure them of our uncompromising and determined opposition to slavery, and our entire confidence in its ultimate extinction in this country, we earnestly bid them God speed in their labours to put an end to it throughout the world.

Resolved, That we tender our sincere sympathy to our brethren, the people of colour of the United States, both bond and free, lamenting that they are the victims of oppression and prejudice; exhorting them to patience, meekness, trust in God, hope of deliverance, a diligent and faithful use of the means and advantages they enjoy for self-culture, the education of their children, their own moral and religious improvement; assuring them of our determination not to relax our labors while a single slave exists in this nation; reminding them of the advice of that great Abolitionist of ancient times, not to be cast down and disheartened, 'but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.'

Resolved, That we lament and pity the ignorance, wickedness, delusion, and impolicy, of our countrymen who hold their fellow-men in slavery, and those who, with still greater folly

and criminality, not being slaveholders, uphold the accursed system, by false doctrine, evil example, political subservency, ecclesiastical expediency, treachery to liberty, or love of gain, while we conjure them to remember the prohibition and warning in Holy Writ, 'Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him. Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry; and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.'

The following resolution submitted to the American Society by Henry Grew, is noticed in the proceedings as "laid on the table, and not called up by any one." An amendment offered by William Lloyd Garrison is stated to have been mislaid, which, we fear is the last we shall know of it.

"Whereas, The purchase and use of the unrequited products of the coerced and cruel toil of our brethren in bonds, constitutes a commercial union with slaveholders which is the pecuniary basis and vital principle of the whole system of Slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That the principle we have proclaimed to the world, of 'No union with slaveholders,' requires abstinence on our part from the purchase and use of the fruits of robbery and oppression."

The National Era makes the following appropriate remarks on the resolution of the American Society respecting that paper:

"THE ERA DENOUNCED.—The reader, by turning to the letter of our special correspondent from New York, will see that the Era has been publicly denounced at the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, because, it seems, *we have not been mobbed!*"

It has been our lot to differ with many Anti-Slavery men, as to the mode of advocating the cause of human rights. The necessity or wisdom of violence has never been apparent to us. We could not see what was to be gained by always appearing to be in a passion. The importunity of facts, in our estimation, was more potent than the repetition of bald declamation. The example of Luther, so often appealed to as a cover for the bad temper of minor reformers, had little weight with us. He would have been a better reformer had he manifested more of the spirit of Christ, and the Reformation would have proved a far greater blessing, had it not been alloyed with so many of the evil passions of human nature.

We have been mobbed more than once, and have no fear of violence before our eyes. The truth we spoke in Cincinnati, we speak here; the principles we urged there, we insist upon here. If our language be somewhat more studied, (and of this we are not conscious,) it is not from fear of violence, but a desire to remove prejudice, and keep open the channels through which information may be communicated to minds strangely ignorant of the true nature of our enterprise.

If Mr. Garrison and his party think this all wrong, we have no objection to their saying so. Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind. Their philosophy of reform and ours widely differ."

FREE PRODUCE MEETING IN NEW YORK.—We have received the gratifying intelligence that the annual meeting of the Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, held on the evening of Third day last, in the Yearly Meeting House, was very numerously attended by the members of that Yearly Meeting. This large attendance was probably the result, in part, of notice being given by the Clerk, in the Yearly Meeting, of the intended meeting of the Association, and its purpose being there approvingly spoken of by several influential members; but it is believed, it may be more attributed to an increasing, deepening sense throughout the Yearly Meeting of the duty of working with CLEAN HANDS in our efforts to subvert the system of slavery. A subscription was opened at the meeting toward the establishment of a Free Produce Store in New York, and the sum of \$550 raised, additional to previous collections. A large committee consisting of several members within each quarterly meeting, was appointed to collect further sums. We hope to give a fuller account next month.

JOHN WOOLMAN.—We are glad to find in the communication which has for its title the name of this good and truly great man, a notice of the omission of any reference to his disuse, on principle, of the products of slave labour, in a book which to some extent has become a school book amongst Friends. We think a just portraiture of John Woolman's character cannot be given, without including this peculiar aspect of it. Such, unquestionably, was the opinion of Friends when a testimony concerning him was issued by Burlington Monthly Meeting, and approved by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; from which we extract the following:—

"He was particularly desirous that Friends should not be instrumental to lay burthens on this oppressed people, ('the poor enslaved Africans' and their descendants,) but remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us, but, being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty, with a degree of confidence, for his interposition and relief; being particularly careful, as to himself, not to countenance slavery

even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labour."

ELIZABETH HEYRICK'S PAMPHLET.—We have heretofore had occasion to refer to the connection which this book had with the second great effort of British Abolitionists, and to the influence its principles exerted in the overthrow of British West India Slavery. Some of our subscribers have not seen the book, and desire to learn its contents. Others who have read it frequently, still feel refreshed by its perusal. It is a document worthy of all the perpetuity we can give it.—Under these several considerations we publish a moiety of it to-day, and expect to give the remainder in our next number.

INTELLIGENCE.

From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND THE BRITISH AND NORTH AMERICAN ROYAL MAIL COMPANY.

The following letter detailing the particulars of the outrage committed, in refusing him a place in the saloon of the *Cambria*, after having paid for the accommodation, was addressed by Mr. Douglass to the editor of the *Times* and other papers.

MR. EDITOR;—I take up my pen to lay before you a few facts respecting an unjust proscription to which I find myself subjected on board the steam ship *Cambria*, to sail from this port (Liverpool) at ten o'clock to-morrow morning (April 4) for Boston, United States.

On the 4th of March last, in company with George Moxhay, Esq., of the Hall of Commerce, London, I called upon Mr. Ford, the London agent of the Cunard line of steamers, for the purpose of securing a passage on board the steamship *Cambria* to Boston, United States. On inquiring the amount of the passage, I was told £40 19s. I inquired further, If a second-class passage could be obtained? He answered, No; there was but one fare, all distinctions having been abolished. I then gave him £40 19s., and received from him in return a ticket entitling me to berth No. 72, on board the steamship *Cambria*, at the same time asking him if my colour would prove any barrier to my enjoying all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other passengers? He said, No. I then left the office, supposing all well, and thought nothing more of the matter until this morning, when, in company with a few friends, agreeably to public notice, I went on board the *Cambria* with my luggage, and on inquiring for my berth, found to my surprise and

mortification that it had been given to another passenger, and was told that the agent in London had acted without authority in selling me the ticket. I expressed my surprise and disappointment to the captain, and inquired what I had better do in the matter. He suggested my accompanying him to the office of the agent in Water-street, Liverpool, for the purpose of ascertaining what could be done. On stating the fact of my having purchased the ticket of the London agent, Mr. Melver (the Liverpool agent) answered that the London agent, in selling me the ticket, had acted without authority, and that I should not go on board the ship *unless I agreed to take my meals alone and not to mix with the saloon company, and give up the berth for which I had paid.* Being without legal remedy, and anxious to return to the United States, I have felt it due to my own rights as a man, as well as to the honour and dignity of the British public, to lay these facts before them, well knowing that the British public will pronounce a just verdict on such proceedings.

I have travelled in this country nineteen months and have *always* enjoyed equal rights and privileges with other passengers, and it was not until I turned my face towards America, that I met with anything like proscription on account of my colour.

Yours respectfully,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

From the London Times.

The tyranny complained of in a letter signed "Frederick Douglass," which appeared in our paper of Tuesday, ought not to be allowed to pass in this country without some public expression of disapprobation and disgust at a proceeding wholly repugnant to our English notions of justice and humanity. A highly respectable gentleman of colour, after visiting England, being about to return to America, had taken and paid for a berth in the steamship *Cambria*, when, on going on board with his luggage, he is informed that the accommodation he had purchased for himself has been allotted to another passenger. On seeking for an explanation of this piece of manifest dishonesty (for it is certainly dishonest to take a sum of money and refuse to perform the condition on which it has been received), the aggrieved person was told that if he wished to go by the ship he must take his meals alone, forego mixing with the company in the saloon, and relinquish to another the berth he had paid to secure. The plain fact of the matter appears to be, that Mr. Douglass, being a man of colour, was not allowed to go out on an equal footing with the rest of the passengers on board the *Cambria*. It

signifies very little to us how contemptible the Americans may make themselves by the prejudices they act upon in their own country, and it concerns, perhaps, none but themselves, that they should present the anomaly of a nation talking largely of equality and liberality while practically drawing one of the meanest and most senseless distinctions that it is possible to conceive. The shame is theirs alone of giving the lie to their own boasted theory of freedom both in action and opinion, by the habitual exercise of the most despotic restraint over the former in the case of the coloured population, and the subjugation of the latter in their own case to a most paltry prejudice. We are unfortunately compelled to witness in some points a deviation on the part of America from those general principles of enlightenment which are acknowledged by the people of every other civilized nation in the world. We, however, are not in any way bound to tolerate the introduction into this country of any of the degrading peculiarities of society in the United States, nor can we observe with calm indifference any tendency to import among us prejudices utterly at variance with our feelings and character. We therefore do not refrain from expressing our most intense disgust at the conduct of the agents of the *Cambria*, in having succumbed to a miserable and unmeaning assumption of skin-deep superiority by the American portion of their passengers. We do not know who the over-sensitive individuals may have been that feared contamination in taking out a person of colour as a fellow-passenger in the *Cambria*, but we cannot believe them to have been superior either in education, position, or refinement, either natural or acquired, to the average run of our English colonial governors. The latter—although acting as the representatives of Her Majesty—do not refuse to receive at their tables the class of gentlemen whom American nicety will not admit even into equal participation of the advantages of a public conveyance, which is free to all except in the land making special claim to freedom.

It is one of the most inexcusable aggravations of the gross injustice of the case we have been alluding to, that the ship in which Mr. Douglass had paid for the berth he was not allowed to occupy, on account of his colour, belongs to a partly English company, which draws an immense sum of English money annually for its conveyance of the mail, and is otherwise greatly indebted to English connexion. Common decency should have taught the agents of the *Cambria* not to offend our notions of justice and common sense

for the sake of truckling to an unworthy prejudice of our transatlantic neighbours. Mr. Douglass had, by his sojourn and reception in this country earned at least some title to be regarded as not unfit to mix in the society of a vessel accessible to the public in general. The breach of the contract entered into with him seems to us as dishonourable, as the prejudice against him is ignorant and contemptible.

From the London Morning Chronicle.

We have waited, with a patience which the event shows to have been most woefully misplaced, to see whether the Cunard steam-ship company would put forth anything in the shape of a contradiction, defence, or explanation of the disgraceful charge lately brought against them, by a gentleman who had the ill fortune to confide in their punctual performance of an express contract. As the company, however, are silent under Mr. Frederick Douglass's accusation, we have nothing left for it but to conclude that this gentleman's account of the transaction alluded to is true to the letter, and that a commercial company, largely dependent on British capital and confidence, and actually patronized by the British Government, have been deliberately guilty of a particularly disgusting act of meanness and bad faith.

The history of this shameful piece of "repudiation" is too fresh in the public memory to need recapitulation; and its moral features are too obvious to call for any other comment than the simple expression of intense and unmixed disgust. This Anglo-American mail-packet company, for the sake of propagating as base and vile a prejudice as ever disgraced any community, ancient or modern, Christian or heathen, have impudently broken at Liverpool the contract they signed in London. They have dared to attempt importing into England the infamous transatlantic doctrine that commercial faith need not be kept with persons of a particular race and lineage, and that the commonest rights and decencies of social life may be disregarded in the case of gentlemen of a particular complexion. * * * * *

Our readers will probably share our regret that Mr. Douglass so hastily took for granted the non-existence of any "legal remedy" for the dishonest insolence of which he was the victim. We beg to assure him that he was very much mistaken; and had it consisted with his personal convenience to stand on his legal rights, and hold the company to their contract, and bring an action of damages for its audacious violation, twelve men, good and true, would have had the greatest pleasure imaginable in convincing him of his

error. After Mr. Douglass had known us so long, and had such excellent opportunities for becoming acquainted with our morals, manners, and institutions, he really should have given us credit for possessing some available legal remedy for a barefaced breach of a legal contract. "Repudiation" has no place either in the theory or practice of English law; and it would have done an English jury's heart good to give tangible expression to their abhorrence of the innovation. Mr. Douglass is quite safe in "believing that the British public will pronounce a just verdict on such proceedings." But we do feel vexed that the British public have not had the opportunity afforded them of throwing their "verdict" into that particular shape in which it would be most effectual for the moral instruction and reformation of the repudiators.

The subjoined letter is in reply to a most scurrilous effusion that appeared in the *Times*, under the signature of Charles M. Burop, and which, as will be seen, turned out to be altogether fictitious!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

Sir,—Observing in the *Times* of this day a letter signed "Charles M. Burop, of Aegill, Virginia, United States, Head Manager of the Cunard Company of Liners," I beg to inform you that no such person, or any other individual in the United States, holds any share or interest in the steamships alluded to, and that the statements set forth in that letter are entirely untrue.

No one can regret more than I do the unpleasant circumstances respecting Mr. Douglass's passage; but I can assure you that nothing of the kind will again take place in the steamships with which I am connected.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

S. CUNARD.

22, Duke-street, St. James's, April 13.

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The following petition of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society has lately been presented to both Houses of Parliament; that in the Lords by Lord Brougham, and that in the Commons by Dr. Bowring.

The petition of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society respectfully sheweth:

That your petitioners acknowledge with pleasure and satisfaction, the desire which the British Government has for many years evinced to abolish the abominable and demoralizing traffic in human beings, known as the African slave-trade.

That your petitioners have viewed with great interest the increased vigilance and activity that have characterized the later efforts of the Legislature and Government of their country for the above purpose. But while they acknowledge the testimony which that vigilance and activity afford of increased interest in, and appreciation of, the importance of abolishing the African slave-trade, yet the facts which have been brought to light by those late efforts, have impressed them with the conviction that the means used for the suppression of the traffic are not calculated to effect the end proposed, but rather tend to aggravate its evils and add to its horrors.

That your petitioners will not intrude upon the time and patience of the Legislature by any detailed recapitulation of the facts alluded to, as many of them have been already laid before you, and all are within the reach of those who wish to become acquainted with them; but they would simply allude to the character of those facts, and their bearing on the matter under consideration.

First,—The attempt to suppress the African slave-trade by the employment of ships of war, and other applications of force, have caused the attention of those engaged in the trade to be applied, almost solely, to methods of transmitting their cargoes rapidly and securely; and that, consequently, the miseries of the wretched people who formed those cargoes are fearfully increased. They are crowded into vessels of inadequate bulk and structure, with imperfect and deficient preparations for their accommodation, and in which the health and comfort of the unfortunate victims are wholly unattended to. The hardships and cruelties which they suffer before shipment, are also manifestly aggravated from the same cause; a fearful instance of which lately occurred in the destruction of 4,000 human beings in one of the depots of Africa, in consequence of the vigilance of one of the English cruisers depriving their brutal holders from having the opportunity of selling them.

Your petitioners will not further dwell upon this portion of their reasons for a change in the mode at present adopted for the suppression of the traffic, although it discloses scenes of misery and horror of the most revolting character, and which cannot fail to impress upon all the importance of thoughtful consideration as to the means which are employed for the promotion of even good and benevolent objects.

The second reason, which your petitioners would urge upon your consideration, is derived from the known waste and destruction of life, and very great expense, caused by maintaining a

naval force on the coast of Africa; the service there being amongst the most unhealthy and dangerous in which British subjects can be engaged.

The third class of facts, to which your petitioners would direct attention, are those which prove—*That the means adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade have altogether failed of effecting that object.* They respectfully propose to your attention the official communications of your own subordinates upon this subject, which have already been laid before the Executive; from which it is perfectly manifest, that the slave-markets in Cuba, Brazil, &c., are as fully supplied now as they were before the adoption of the present system of prevention; that the number of slaves disposed of is as large as ever, and that the restriction only serves to increase the price, and thus stimulate those engaged in the trade to make greater efforts and encounter greater risks; whilst the number lost by sickness and hardship from the causes before alluded to, induce a much larger amount of loss of life, and a fearful increase of all the cruelties and barbarities which are consequent on the seizure of slaves in Africa.

From all these considerations your petitioners would impress upon you, as Christian legislators, the necessity of the complete abandonment of the use of armed vessels, and all other, than moral means, for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and that the efforts of Government be directed to the abolition of the slave-markets, as they are convinced, that so long as those markets exist, the slave trade cannot be suppressed.

That your petitioners see in national negotiation—in the encouragement of the produce of articles of free-states, which are generally cultivated by slaves, for which produce large districts in your own East India colonies are admirably adapted, which would be a means of preventing the Coolie immigration, which we believe to be bad both in principle and practice, and in the spread of knowledge and civilization amongst mankind generally, and amongst the people of Africa in particular, means by which this desirable condition of human society might be advanced and ultimately matured.

That your petitioners lay these facts and reasonings before you, hoping that you will give them your most earnest consideration, and legislate accordingly.

And your petitioners will be ever grateful.

Signed on behalf of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society.

ANDREW T. ROCHE, Ald. Chairman.
RALPH VARIAN, Sec.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

FREE PRODUCE MEETING.

A general Meeting of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, will be held at Clarkson Hall, north side of Cherry street, above Sixth, on Sixth day, 6th mo. 11th, at 8 o'clock, P. M. Friends generally, of both sexes, are invited to attend.

GEO. W. TAYLOR, Secretary.

Philada., 5th mo. 29th, 1847.

The Free Produce Store.

The undersigned has now the satisfaction to inform the friends of the Free Produce cause that he has received some very superior *fine* sheeting and sheeting muslins, bleached and brown, light and heavy; also prints of fine quality, neat styles; and hopes to be able to secure a constant supply of those articles. He has also received a few pieces of fine 6-4 plaid muslins.

A fresh importation of brown sugars of very superior quality just opened, which will be sold at a considerable reduction from former rates.

The attention of housekeepers is particularly invited to his stock of Green and Black Teas, both as to fineness of quality and flavour and *lowness of price.*

GEO. W. TAYLOR,

N. W. corner 5th and Cherry Sts.

Philada., 5th mo. 29th, 1847.

Friends' Catechism.

A Catechism designed for the use of the schools and families of the Religious Society of Friends. Approved by the Representatives of the Yearly Meeting of New York, the 5th of Fourth month, 1847. Published by Collins & Brother, 254 Pearl St., New York, and for sale by them; also for sale by Henry Longstreth, Philadelphia, and by James Hammond, Newport, R. I.

Life of William Allen.

The first volume of this very interesting work, comprising about one-half, is now ready for delivery, and will be forwarded to Subscribers as fast as possible. Those Agents who have not sent names of subscribers will please do so at once. Those Preparative and Monthly Meetings who wish to secure copies for their Libraries, will please inform the Publisher immediately. He has fixed the following prices:

In 2 vols.	Muslin, \$3.00; with Portrait, 3.25.
"	Sheep, 3.25; " " 3.50.
In 1 vol.	Muslin, 2.50; " " 2.75.
"	Sheep, 2.75; " " 3.00.

It is also proposed to put to Press the Life of Elizabeth Fry in one or two volumes, same size and price as that of William Allen. It is rarely that two works of such interest are brought to the notice of Friends. The Agents of the Non-Slaveholder, and others interested, are requested to collect names of subscribers for the above and forward them to the Subscriber with as little delay as possible.

HENRY LONGSTRETH,
347 Market St., Philadelphia.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

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COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SCRIPTURAL DEFENCE OF SLAVERY.

(Concluded.)

Having shown, as I trust conclusively, in the preceding numbers, that the slavery of our age and country can derive no authority from the usages of the patriarchal age, or the institutions of Moses, it seems almost needless to inquire whether it can deduce any sanction from the precepts and doctrines of our Saviour and his apostles. And I wish it to be understood that the servitude to which my observations apply, is slavery as it exists in law and practice in the United States; not an utopian system which may perhaps be imagined, but has never been found. Slavery then is a forced and unnatural condition, in which the will of the slave is subject to that of the master. A condition of involuntary servitude is one to which no man would submit, except by constraint. The reduction of a man to that condition or his detention in it, is of course a direct and palpable violation of the precept which condenses the morality of the law and the gospel: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." To suppose that our blessed Lord, in whom were hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, after pronouncing this maxim in broad and unqualified terms, gave his authority to a system which is totally irreconcilable with it, is to suppose that he is inconsistent with himself. In other words, we must either discover not only that some, but that all who are held in slavery continue in that condition without constraint on their wills, or we must agree that slavery is incompatible with the doctrines of Christianity. To advance arguments in proof of the position that slavery, as maintained in the United States, must be supported, if supported at all, by the fear or application of force, and in direct opposition to the will of the slave, would be to insult rather than to enlighten the understandings of my read-

ers. And yet the advocates of the scriptural lawfulness of slavery have not flinched from an effort to evade the force and application of this self-evident truth. For we are gravely told that there is nothing in the maxim above quoted which is prohibitory of slavery, but what is contained in the precept of Moses, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" and that this injunction and slavery are found in the same code.* To such arguments it would be useless to make a formal reply; as they merely shew the desperate expedients of a desperate case. It may, however, be observed that among the Jews the neighbour whom they were required to love as themselves, seems to have been considered as one of their own nation; and it is agreed on all hands that Hebrew servants could not be held beyond a limited time, without violating the laws of Moses. Our Saviour, both in his sermon on the mount, and his parable of the good Samaritan, gives an extension to the Mosaic precept which includes the whole human race.† Hence the principles of the Mosaic laws, with our Lord's exposition, clearly condemn perpetual and hereditary slavery.

But it is said that our Saviour and his apostles have not condemned slavery; and that some of the latter have expressly sanctioned it. This argument, as far as it relates to our Lord, is merely negative. If he has nowhere uttered a direct prohibition of slavery, we may reasonably ask in what passage has he forbidden the exhibition of gladiators? Are we therefore to infer that such abominable sports are to be maintained by Christians? The truth is, that every practice which is inconsistent with the tenor of his doctrines, and with the purity of life which he inculcated by his precepts and example, is virtually forbidden, whether specified or not. He is emphatically called the Prince of Peace. The ruling principle of his government is love. He enjoined his followers to love one another, as he had loved them.

* Stringfellow's Examinations.

† Matt. 6: 43-4. Luke 10: 29, 37.

And this love was not to be restricted to their friends, but to include their enemies also. That he never specifically prohibited servitude in all its degrees and modifications is no matter of surprise, when we reflect on the various capacities and characters of men. There are some whom natural imbecility places under guardians during life. There are others whose insanity or vicious propensities render them proper objects of restraint. But in these cases there is no necessary violation of the law of love. An idiot, a maniac, or a criminal may be held under such restraint as his own safety, and that of the community may require, and be employed in occupations suited to his capacity and condition, under the supervision of others, in conformity with the precepts of our Saviour. The relation of parents and children, or of masters and apprentices, including a species of servitude, may be maintained for mutual advantage, in full accordance with the law of love. Our Lord did not subject his followers to the interminable labour of learning their duty by studying and committing to memory, a code of laws in which all actions, with their countless distinctions and modifications, were specifically defined and described; but he has laid down the principles by which all our actions are to be regulated. He has taught us to rectify our conduct by the righteousness which purifies the springs and motives of action. Of course the enquiry, whether he has sanctioned the slavery of our age and country, amounts simply to this, whether that slavery could be introduced and supported in strict conformity with the spirit and tenor of the Gospel. Such an enquiry certainly need not detain us long. Whatever may be conceded to the kindness and humanity of individual slaveholders, and I freely admit there are many who conscientiously endeavour to exercise their authority with all the tenderness of which the case is susceptible, it is still undeniably true, that no man would voluntarily place himself or his descendants, under the absolute control of another. The condition of a slave is that of compulsion, not of choice. Consequently to reduce a human being to that condition, or to continue him in it, is to violate a positive maxim of Christian morality.

But if we examine the precepts of our Saviour we may perhaps find that he has directly and positively prohibited the slavery in the United States. He has distinctly affirmed the moral maxims of the Mosaic code. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot on one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till

all be fulfilled."* Now what says this law on the subject of slavery? "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."†

Without stopping to enquire whether our Saviour has given his sanction to the penal provision of this statute, there can be no reasonable doubt that his general affirmance of the moral law includes a prohibition of the act thus rendered capital. And as the essence of the crime is the reduction of a freeman into slavery, or the converting of a human being into an article of merchandise, the law which prohibited the least violent modes of effecting this object, must also prohibit the more violent. The slavery of the United States originated, as is well known, in the African slave trade; and the right of ownership claimed by the slaveholders of our day, must be traced to that traffic. The supposition that the trade which supplied the United States with its original stock of slaves, was compatible with the principles of the Christian religion, is too reckless for the boldest infidel to avow. Indeed the denunciation of this nefarious commerce as piracy, by the federal legislature, and by the British Parliament, at the suggestion of our government, joined to the unequivocal abhorrence with which it is generally regarded, sufficiently attests the sentiments of the Christian world respecting it.

If then, the negroes were transported from their native land, and consigned to slavery in the western world, in total defiance not only of Christianity, but of common morality, I would seriously ask the advocates of slavery, at what period of time, or with what generation of the descendants of the slaves first imported, did the religion of our Saviour adopt the system? Christianity does not deal in technical subtleties. By adopting and refining the morality of the Mosaic law, it adopted its principles. Stealing a man was forbidden by the latter, consequently every act, whatever shape or character it may assume, if it accomplishes the same purposes, is forbidden by the former. The slaves of each generation, whatever may have been the condition of their parents, are as completely debarred from their natural rights, as those who are seized on the African shore. If Christianity repudiates and condemns the reduction of the first generation into slavery, it is impossible to assign a valid reason, or to adduce a solitary precept of our Lord for the detention of the second or any subsequent one, in that unnatural condition.

The argument in favour of slavery, derived from

* Matt. 5: 17, 18.

† Ex. 21: 16.

our Lord's supposed silence on the subject, is singularly unfortunate. For it is admitted on all hands, that the slavery of the Roman world, at the time of his personal appearance, was excessively cruel and oppressive. The excruciating death by crucifixion appears to have been introduced for the punishment of slaves. Tacitus informs us, that during the reign of Nero, four hundred slaves were executed, in conformity with an ancient law of the empire, because their master was murdered by one of their number.* Indeed some of the pro-slavery writers urge the well known barbarity of Roman slavery, which they assert our Saviour and his apostles did not condemn, as an argument to prove that the more modified servitude of our day is not inconsistent with the Christian religion. But they seem to forget that, according to their own admission, the slavery which they would have us to believe our Lord tacitly sanctioned, was extremely odious and cruel. Their argument of course implies that the Saviour of men, who came to save his people from their sins, silently sanctioned a system of cruelty and oppression. Such a declaration may suit the lips of an infidel, but certainly not of a Christian.

It is true that our Saviour, in his instructions to the people, sometimes speaks of masters and servants, and even mentions the case of a servant being ordered for sale, with his wife and children, and all that he had.† And he also speaks of a man falling among thieves who stripped, wounded, and left him half dead. But there is no recognition of the lawfulness of the acts alluded to. He refers to existing practices, for the purpose of illustrating his doctrines, but not of justifying the practices themselves.

The precepts and doctrines of the Master being clearly prohibitory of American slavery, we need not search the writings of the Apostles for its support. For they certainly neither claimed nor possessed any authority to abrogate the mandates of their Lord. But as a few passages from some of their epistles have been adduced by pro-slavery authors, a brief examination of those texts will be made. "Servants be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart, as unto Christ. Not with eye service as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord, and not to men. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he

be bond or free. And ye masters do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.* Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye service, as men pleasers, but with singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons. Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in heaven.† Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit.‡ Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering again; not purloining, but showing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.§ Servants be subject to your masters, with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully; for what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently; but if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.¶

It has been remarked by a recent commentator, that the Greek words here translated servants, being the plural of *doulos* and *oiketes*, are not those usually employed to designate slaves; and that the words *kurios* and *despotes*, which are here used in the plural, do not properly signify slaveholders; the word *andrapoda* being commonly used for the former, and *andrapodistai* for the latter. Hence it has been inferred that the servants and masters, mentioned or addressed in these passages, were not slaves and slaveholders, but freemen at service, or servants engaged for a limited time, and their employers.

Whether we admit this inference or not, it is not easy to discover any thing in these passages which might not be rationally applied to ser-

* Eph. 6: 5, 9.

† Col. 3: 22—25; 4: 1.

‡ 1 Tim. 6: 1, 2. § Ib. 2: 9, 10. ¶ 1 Pet. 2: 18, 20.

* Annals B. 14, sec. 45.

† Matt. 18: 25.

vants and employers, where slavery, in the present acceptation, is totally unknown. And if we were to suppose the servants to have been slaves, held as those in the South usually are, I can see nothing in these admonitions, which a sober abolitionist would not willingly address to a slave. The advice to masters, if faithfully followed, would certainly divest slavery of its most objectionable features, if not totally destroy its existence. If masters were to treat their servants as the apostle advises, and to render a just equivalent for their service, the slaves would be, in fact, whatever they might be in name, transformed into hired laborers. The value of a slave depends upon the service which can be extracted from him, beyond the equivalent returned. Restore the equilibrium, by rendering the equivalent, and the relation is instantly changed.

The case of Onesimus, who is assumed to have been a slave that eloped from his master, and being converted by the apostle Paul, was sent back to his owner, has been frequently cited in defence of slavery under the gospel dispensation. But if we read the epistle to Philemon, with which this supposed fugitive slave was intrusted, we must perceive, that whatever his previous condition may have been, he was not to be received as a slave, (a *doulos*) but as a brother beloved. Consequently he was not sent back into slavery, if indeed he ever was a slave, but into freedom. And in the epistle to the Colossians, we find Onesimus, no doubt the same man, commended by the same apostle as a faithful and beloved brother. If my recollection is not deceptive, ecclesiastical history has recorded the name of Onesimus as one of the bishops of the primitive age.

From this brief review of the question I confidently infer the conclusion that the advocates of American slavery must revert to some other testimony than the Bible, if they would defend their cause with effect, and that the opponents of the Christian religion may search the sacred volume in vain for arguments drawn from any alliance with slavery, which can, with the show of reason or justice, be fastened upon it. E. L.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

I recently found in an old family library, a small work,* entitled "The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule. By John Hepburn, 1714." So far as I can ascertain, it was the earliest publication by a Friend in America,

*It appears to have belonged to one of my ancestors, "Thomas Scattergood, 1730."

against slavery. A claim was made for that title a number of years ago, in behalf of a tract by Wm. Burling, of Long Island, 1718. Ralph Sandiford's tract, "The Mystery of Iniquity, &c.," was published in 1729, and Elihu Coleman's "Testimony against making slaves of men," in 1733.

I should like to know something more of John Hepburn. This work is not accurately written, but it evinces the earnestness of thorough conviction. The film of "gradual emancipation" does not appear to have dimmed his vision. Connected with his own tract he republished "Arguments against making Slaves of Men. Written by a native of America, September 14th, 1713." "The Athenian Oracle," from the second London edition, 1704. Also some tracts on Predestination, The Salvation of Children, and Water Baptism, by Thomas Laury. The whole pamphlet concludes with some observations by himself on Baptism, which he says he gave to the Anabaptists at their Yearly Meeting at Middletown, New Jersey, 1712, desiring an answer, which they did not give. I transcribe the preface to the "American Defence," and propose to send hereafter, if it meets the views of the editors, some extracts from the work itself.

SAMUEL ALLINSON, Jr.

"Christian Reader: It is not singularity or ostentation that I appear in print, but my Christian duty, in honour to God, and the salvation and well being of the souls of men, in the detection of the Anti-Christian practice of making slaves of them who bear the image of God, viz. their fellow-creature, Man. A practice so cruel and inhumane, that the more it is thought upon by judicious men, the more they do abhor it; it being so vile a contradiction of the Gospel of the Blessed Messiah.

And if our Negro Masters were put to it, to bring an instance that a man denied the Christian faith, I think they could not bring a stronger instance, than that he was found in the practice of making slaves of men. And furthermore, I doubt not but this may be to some a very unwelcome theme, and they would wonder to find their beloved Delilah, the making slaves of Negroes and others, rejected; although the more moderate Christians do full well know that I have the Truth on my side. And if these lines should come to the Island of Great Britain, (my native land,) I hope the sincere Christians there, of all sects, will commend my Christian care in detecting so gross a corruption as this, crept in by reason of the ease and gains it brings to our

American Christians. And I hope the learned Christians there will admonish their American brethren for putting such an affront upon the ever blessed Messiah and his glorious Gospel, as this their practice doth, in making slaves of men. This practice can not but be very offensive to sincere and honest hearted Christians, that this practice should be heard among the heathen, to harden them in their heathenish practices.

And now, Reader, I am going to show thee a wonder, and that is, this thirty years I have been in America, this practice has been carried on in almost profound silence, which it is like the Negro-Masters will take it the harder to be opposed now. It is true, John Tillotson, of Canterbury, hath two sermons in print, concerning Restitution; and he tells them there that they cannot have admittance into Heaven without making restitution of the wrong done to their fellow-creatures. And if this be applied to the wrong done to Negroes, I have Bishop Tillotson on my side. This and many other excellent things have dropt from the pen of that (in many things no doubt, an) excellent man.

And Cotton Mather calls the enslaving of Negroes, a crying sin in the land.

And George Fox printed against this practice, and sent it to the Barbadoes Quakers. Such was the early care of this excellent man above forty years ago; but his Christian admonition was rejected. It is true there are some excellent souls among them still, who came out of Old England, that have kept their integrity, namely, John Saltkill, Thomas Chalkley, and others, who, when they see this abomination acted by their American brethren, they openly bear testimony in their public assemblies, and declare against it, (as I am credibly informed.) There was another paper printed by (I think,) G. Keith his party, at Philadelphia: and half a sheet was printed against this practice at London, called "The Athenian Oracle." But the most of all those writings, I doubt are destroyed by negro masters; that the reader will find them almost as scarce to be found as the Phenix Egg. And, last of all, I have appeared against this practice, although I have lain dormant above this thirty years: for the which I acknowledge my failure before God and man, and I desire forgiveness of God, and next I desire the forgiveness of man; for the reason that I was silent so long, because I waited for my betters to undertake the work; and if any had appeared in this work, it is like I had been silent still.

Now, whether they will hear or forbear for the

future, I hope to be clear of their blood, and if they will not repent and make restitution, I cannot help it; for I have faithfully warned them of their danger; for I earnestly contended for the truth and honestly declared against this inriching sin, in making slaves of men. And now I think to end my preface as I began it, and that is I chiefly design the honour of God and next the welfare and salvation of souls. If happily I might be instrumental to deter one soul from being caught with this inriching sin, or instrumental of the repentance of restitution made by one soul that is already guilty, then I desire they should give God the glory, and I make no question in having my reward.

And now to find the Longitude,
Many a man hath gone about,
But the Perpetual Motion,
Our Negro Masters have found out.

JOHN HEPBURN.

New Jersey, 1st mo., 1714.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

MONKTON, Vt., 3d mo. 28th, 1847.

The reading of the letter of Ellwood Harvey, copied from the Pennsylvania Freeman, in the last Non-Slaveholder, has reminded me of an occurrence that I was witness to a few months since. The account of it you are at liberty to publish, if you think it will not be a breach of faith, a needless exposure of domestic affairs, too common, I fear in the Old Dominion. I may not have given the exact words that were used on the occasion, although I think they are nearly the same.

"William, take a pass as thou goes to the Post Office this evening." "Take a pass?" inquired the friend on whose errand William was going, (to a Post Office in Virginia,) "Is William a slave, that he requires a pass to go so short a distance with?" "William will be free when he is twenty one," was the answer; "until then he is regarded in the eye of the law as a slave, and to be out after eight o'clock in the evening without a pass, would expose him to the severity of the law. It was only a few weeks since, (in the 9th month) that we sent him to the store, less than a mile distant, towards evening, and had he been waited upon in season he might have returned home before eight o'clock; but he was detained in the store till after that hour, and as he set his foot upon the pavement, there was an authority in waiting there ready to take him to the watch-house. Thither he was compelled to go, and there he remained 'in durance vile' from that (seventh day) evening until second

day morning, with one solitary meal, and that not of the 'choicest viands.' **

It did not appear that William had voluntarily transgressed any wholesome law—he did not appear of a disposition inclining to disobedience, but on the contrary was mild and inoffensive. What then constituted “the head and front of his offending?” It was that he had a portion of African blood coursing through his veins—“his skin was not coloured like our own”—he was a “moral leper.” A few days before, I had been told by a slaveholder in Richmond, that “the blacks were the happiest people on earth!” What kind of happiness, I felt ready to inquire, can these people enjoy who are daily and hourly exposed to such, and far worse treatment than this? Is it the kind of happiness to which reference was had as one of the inalienable rights of man, in the Declaration of Independence? Far otherwise we all know.

Although I saw nothing of slave auctions in Virginia, yet as I passed through one of the back streets of Richmond, I took the liberty of casting an inquisitive eye into one of the auction rooms. There stood the desk on which doubtless many a heaven defying deed of sale had been made out—and there the table, on which, in another hour, the poor down-trodden slave would have to stand, stripped of all his rights. To know that this room was appropriated to this loathsome purpose—to think of the many bleeding hearts that had in that room been torn asunder—of the many hopes disappointed; of the fears realized; of the tears that had been shed—the sobs and sighs and groans that had there been wrung from the victims of our oppression, was soul-sickening enough without seeing the auction. Well might the poet say

“There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart.”

If we could be assured that that auction was the last foul act in the drama, it would be comparatively bearable, but to reflect that those auction rooms are but the portals to prolonged sufferings under severe toil, scanty food and desperate drivers, it greatly darkens the shading of the picture. And further, that much of this is done and endured that Christians may have cheap cotton, cheap rice, and cheap sugar; that practical abolitionists may have cheap cotton shirts to

* It is due to the individual in whose employ William is retained, that he is justly regarded as a friend to the blacks, and has been instrumental in securing what freedom the law allows to many, who, without his friendly aid, would have been robbed even of that—shadow that it is.

lecture against slavery in, or to vote against slavery in, is an anomaly hard to be reconciled to.

Numbered amongst those who have not yet observed the inconsistency of building up with one hand, what they are attempting to pull down with the other, may be found many of the fellow professors of John Woolman. Is it too much to say, that the mass of those who can point with honest satisfaction to the records of the oft-repeated testimony issued by the Society of Friends against slavery, and rightfully claim a little property therein, are as truly, in degree, the virtual upholders of slavery, as though no testimony had ever been issued against that atrocious institution?

But let us hope for better days—let us hope that the sentiment contained in the motto of your paper, may take deep root in the minds of its readers.

If we lay claim to the title of pioneers in the anti-slavery movement, let us not jeopardize that claim by indifference to the amount of motive we give to the slaveholder.

Yours respectfully,
HENRY MILES.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

TO THE MANAGERS OF THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.

Dear Friends,—Your acceptable communication of 6th mo. 30th, 1846, was duly received, and we trust our correspondence may conduce to our mutual encouragement.

Although we are not able to inform you of any remarkable results from our labours the past year, yet we do not feel that we have been unprofitably occupied; and the evidences have not been few that the testimony which we have associated to promote, is spreading in our country, and that our field of labour is rapidly extending, and calls not only for renewed energy and perseverance on the part of those who have already entered into the work, but for an increase of faithful labourers. While our hearts are deeply affected under the consideration of the extent and enormity of the sin of slavery, and the difficulties of guarding on every hand against a participation therein, we desire that neither you nor we may be discouraged; but faithfully pursuing our convictions of duty, and remembering that it is “not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts,” let us have faith to believe that the “great mountain” before us shall yet “become a plain.”

Notwithstanding the apathy which prevails in

our religious society on this branch of our testimony against slavery, and which leads the mass of our members to continue in a practice directly promotive of both slavery and war, we hope the strong prejudices long existing on this subject amongst us are gradually passing away, and with them the hostility which our movements have had to encounter.

The truth to which we are endeavoring to draw the attention of our brethren, is so simple and so easy to be perceived when viewed apart from the influences of interest and prejudice, that, like the axioms of Euclid, it receives the intuitive assent of every mind. To present it, therefore, on every suitable occasion to the consideration of those with whom we have intercourse, may essentially promote its progress, and as “actions speak louder than words,” and “example goes before precept,” in no way, perhaps, can we more effectually impress the subject upon the minds of our friends than by faithfully abstaining, when at their tables, from articles in which a discrimination may be made between such as are produced by free labour and those which are the avails of slavery. While no reasonable doubt can be entertained that a general abstinence from the staple products of slave labour would inevitably put an end to slavery, it may well be assumed that abstinence on the part of a comparatively small number of persons may lead to an increased interest on the subject, and to the adoption of auxiliary modes of removing the evil, and thus by a combination of efforts, the great end may eventually be obtained. It has been stated that one of the salutary effects of abstinence from sugar in Great Britain during the struggles for the abolition of the African slave trade and of slavery itself, was the discussion which it introduced at tens of thousands of tea tables, and by which correct information and sound views were widely disseminated.

Among the evidences to which we have alluded, of the spreading of our testimony, may be mentioned the organization of Free Produce Associations among Friends in Ohio and Iowa, and of the Western Free Produce Association in Indiana; also the establishment of a wholesale Free Produce store in Cincinnati, and the opening of small Free Produce stores in various places.

We may also advert to the enlargement of the Free Produce store in this city, now belonging to our friend George W. Taylor. He is assisted by a committee of this Board in investigating the sources of his supplies, and will scrupulously guard against all kinds of deception. The cotton goods manufactured for our Association are depo-

sited in his store for sale, and he intends to keep a large stock of other dry goods and of groceries and other articles produced by free labour.

It is also encouraging to find that our friends in England persevere in their efforts to promote the manufacture of goods from free cotton, and the exclusive use of free produce generally. A meeting of the friends of the cause was held in London on the 29th of 1st mo. last, when it was resolved that the duty of abstinence from slave produce, as far as practicable, should be earnestly urged on the attention of the friends of the slave throughout Great Britain, and that steps should be taken to increase the supply of goods manufactured exclusively from cotton raised by freemen. We doubt not that you rejoiced, as we did, when the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in the early part of the present year, issued an address to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout the world, on the disuse of slave produce. Notwithstanding the noble and laborious exertions of Christian philanthropists, and the measures which have been adopted by several governments for the suppression of the African slave trade, it is well known that this trade is still prosecuted with undiminished vigour, and it has become an admitted truism that it can only be suppressed by the abolition of slavery itself. The committee, in their address, set forth the present extent of the traffic in human beings, and express their belief that the increased consumption of slave grown sugars in Great Britain will extend and strengthen the system of slavery and give a dreadful stimulus to the slave trade. Under these circumstances they call upon the friends of the anti-slavery cause to adopt the use of free grown produce as a practical and efficient measure, in combination with other efforts, for the abolition of slavery. “In asking you to adopt this recommendation in your daily practice, permit us,” says the address, “to suggest it as a matter of consideration, whether those who needlessly purchase slave produce are less accessory to the crime of the slaveholder, than is the purchaser of stolen goods to the robbery by which they are obtained? Slaveholding involves in itself nearly every crime by which the physical and moral nature of men is wronged and outraged. The slave is robbed of his person and the fair reward of his toil; he is, in a multitude of instances, deprived of the means of mental and moral improvement; and doomed, after a life of suffering, frequently to a premature death. It must be obvious to all reflecting minds, that it is the demand which exists for slave produce which is the chief support of slavery. It is this which keeps open

the slave markets. May it not, therefore, be said that to the commission of a great amount of crime, and the infliction of unparalleled sufferings on a large portion of mankind, do the consumers of slave produce, however unintentionally, furnish the motive?" "To the female heads of families," continues the address, "we would especially and earnestly appeal on this important subject, under the well grounded persuasion, that their judgments and feelings will alike combine to lead them to the adoption of the course suggested in this address. They will not, we are convinced, turn a deaf ear to the cries of Africa, ravished of her children; or consent, by their practice, to add a pang to the sorrows of the slave in the land of his captivity and exile."

In turning again to our own land, we may remark that we believe, in the language of your letter, "there is a good and a strong spirit in many of the members of your Yearly Meeting," and that, if, instead of being scattered over a wide extent of country, they were in a position to concentrate their efforts, you would not have to regret the loss of their aid in carrying out your measures. That those who have the pecuniary means of rendering efficient aid in supplying themselves and their fellow members with the necessities of life unstained by the blood of the slave, should be ignorant or so unmindful of their duties as "good stewards," is, indeed, deeply to be regretted. We would, however, encourage you to persevere; and we deem it especially important that a Free Produce store should be established in New York, under your patronage. Many conscientious persons are discouraged from an attempt to avoid the use of slave produce by the uncertain channels through which articles, professedly free grown, have been in some instances introduced. A decided preference for free goods exists in the minds of so many Friends and others, that we cannot doubt that an establishment in which full confidence might be placed, would be liberally sustained, and afford a reasonable income to a qualified, conscientious person with a capital of 2000 or 3000 dollars.

One of the objects contemplated by you and by us in forming our respective associations, was to procure correct information of the condition of the countries with which we have commercial intercourse, in respect to free and slave labour, and the means of discriminating between their productions when they exist together. It is doubtless known to you that for several years past large quantities of sugar and molasses from the island of Porto Rico have been disposed of in your city as the productions of free labour. Porto Rico

being a slave importing as well as a slaveholding island, it has become a matter of serious inquiry whether any of its plantations are cultivated, and their products manufactured, exclusively by free-men.

If upon due investigation this should be ascertained to be true, another question will arise—whether proper care is taken to keep the products of free labour unmixed with those of slave labour—and also whether any of the latter description are sold in New York under the character of the former. We respectfully and earnestly beg your immediate and thorough examination into this case. If those who are engaged in importing or selling the sugar and molasses to which we have alluded, possess the requisite evidence that the character of those articles is such as they represent, they cannot hesitate to present it to you; for a refusal on their part must necessarily be considered strong negative proof that no such evidence exists. Under this circumstance, or in case you clearly ascertain that the desired evidence cannot be furnished, the fact cannot be too soon communicated to those who, in attempting to avoid the use of slave produce, have been grossly deceived.

We would also solicit your attention to the source from whence the rice is obtained which is offered for sale in New York, as the production of free labour.

Your association and ours occupy a highly responsible position in relation to the thousands of conscientious persons, in various sections of our country, who rely upon us to make investigations of the kind we have suggested; and we trust none of us will be disposed to shrink from the performance of our duties.

Inquiries have been instituted relative to the practicability of procuring sugar and molasses from the English West India Islands. Considerable quantities of these articles are imported from states in South America, which have passed emancipation laws; and it is not improbable that when the invading armies of the United States shall have been withdrawn from Mexico, we may receive further supplies of sugar from that country. We are not without hope that the German and some other emigrants in Texas will furnish our market with free grown cotton, sugar and rice.

The annual meeting of our association was held on the evening of the 20th of 4th month. For a short statement of our proceedings the past year, together with our Annual Report, we may refer you to the Non-Slaveholder of the present month.

We have recently succeeded in getting sheeting and shirting muslins and print cloths manufactured

of a much finer quality than any heretofore made for us. Some of the cloths are now in the hands of the calico printer.

We propose to send an agent into the south early in the autumn, for the purpose of obtaining a variety of information relative to the cultivation of cotton by freemen, and also to collect free grown cotton. Several manufacturers desire a full supply of this kind of cotton, and we hope an effort will be made this season to place a few hundred bales in the market for them. This plan, if successful, will furnish a large amount of free goods on the same terms with those made of slave grown cotton.

In conclusion, dear friends, permit us to say, what we believe you feel to be true, that the position of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, as regards the impropriety of using the productions of slavery, is more clearly defined than that of other members of our religious society. As a body, you have recognized, in no equivocal terms, the obligation to cease being "customers in the market which makes slavery." Is it not, then, the duty of the members, individually, to conform, in their daily practice, to the principle which they have openly acknowledged? If, in pursuing this course, they meet with obstructions to a full performance of duty, does not consistency require that diligent means should be promptly applied for their removal?

However discouraging the prospect may sometimes appear, we yet feel that there is much to animate us with hope, and, dear friends, "let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."

Signed by direction and on behalf of a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, held 5th mo. 17th, 1847.

SAMUEL RHODES, Sec.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH 1, 1847.

NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING.—The annual convention of this ancient Yearly Meeting of Friends, was held, for public worship, at Newport and Plymouth, Rhode Island, on First day, the 13th ultimo, and, for the transaction of its religious affairs, at Newport, on the five succeeding days; the morning of Fifth day being appropriated to public worship. Its interesting and harmonious session was terminated on Sixth day, the 18th of the month, immediately following the reading of a fraternal epistle from London Yearly

Meeting, which had just arrived, and which, with the adjourning minute, constituted an impressive conclusion to the proceedings.

These several meetings were largely attended by the members, and the meetings for public worship by numerous inhabitants of the Island, not in membership.

The course prescribed to ourselves for the conducting of this journal, does not permit us to enter into other business particulars than those which have relation to the great topics in which humanity is largely concerned, and which congregate, as to a common platform, the feelings of all who love their fellow men with that intensity which is demanded by the precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The subject of war, in the various affecting aspects in which it ever presents itself to the Christian disciple, and the lover of his species, was feelingly dwelt upon. In contemplating the horrors usually associated with this mighty agent of wrong and evil, it did not escape attention that the calamitous war in which this nation is now engaged, has for its probable end, if not its intended purpose, a large extension of the area of slavery. It was felt to be a war not ending in its effects with the present hapless victims of its ruthless violence, or even with the present generation of men, but going deep down, in its withering, dehumanizing influences, into posterity. It was felt to be a renewed call to the carrying out by Friends, of their principles, both against war and slavery, that, in every possible way, they may be clear of the guilt of their brothers' blood. The concern of the meeting was embodied in the following minute.

"Among the exercises which have been with us during our deliberations at this time, has been a concern for the consistent and upright maintenance by all our members of our testimony to the unchristian nature of all wars and fightings—a testimony in accordance with the belief and practice of the primitive followers of Christ. We are liable at this time to some peculiar temptations on this account. Our country is involved in war with a neighbouring nation, and armies are contending in the field; and the testimony of the Scriptures, that 'every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood,' is brought home to us by frequent intelligence from the scene of strife. We earnestly desire that all our dear friends may be mercifully preserved in a christian frame of mind under these trying circumstances.

To the humble follower of Him whose kingdom is not of this world, but who, as a stranger and pilgrim here, is journeying towards another country, that is, a heavenly—how do the destruction and horrors of the field of battle, or the city

made desolate by an encompassing foe, the tears of the widow and the cries of the orphan, fill his mind with sorrow! He can have no sentiment allied to rejoicing at scenes like these. His soul must be clothed with mourning and his spirit with lamentation, and his prayer will be, that that day may be hastened when the nations shall learn war no more.

Our dear friends are affectionately entreated to be careful how they expose themselves unnecessarily to temptations calculated to lead the mind from a right frame of thought on these subjects; or by mingling with those who take delight in such strife, become in any measure leavened into their spirit; that in all our intercourse with the world, we may manifest ourselves to be followers of Him whose advent was announced by the song of the heavenly host, of peace on earth and good will to men.

In contemplating the present war in which our country is engaged, its exceeding wickedness has been forcibly presented to us, not only in its direct consequences as a war, but in the principle object, which, as we believe, produced it, namely, the perpetuation and extension of slavery. We have been concerned that our members may keep ever before them the miseries and sinfulness inseparable from the practice of holding our fellow-men in bondage, and its utter inconsistency with the command of Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and that we fail not, faithfully in the fear of the Lord, to bear our testimony against it, not feeling excused therefrom in consequence of its practical enactment not coming immediately before our view in this part of our land."

ECCLESIASTICAL TESTIMONIES.—Under this title an article appeared, some time since, in the National Era, of which the following is a copy:

"The Baptist Clergymen of New England are rapidly signing the strong protest against slavery, which has been alluded to in a previous number of the Era. In the New England Yearly Meeting of Friends, a division took place two years ago, upon doctrinal grounds. The smaller meeting has just issued an excellent 'Testimony' against slavery, decidedly in advance of any previous action of Friends in this section, who have too generally rested satisfied with the fact that slavery had no existence in the Society, and have been too ready to censure the manner in which others attempted to rid themselves and the country of the great evil. If the division shall have the effect to revive the ancient spirit of Quakerism on this subject, and provoke it to a rivalry of good works, it can scarcely be regarded as an evil.—J. G. W."

We were led by the high terms in which our friend Whittier speaks of the testimony referred to, to seek a copy of it. This we have only recently succeeded in obtaining; and we avail ourselves of the first opportunity to express the high gratification its perusal afforded us. With the occasion and merits of the secession or division which has separated, as we doubt not, very

brethren, we have nothing, as journalists, to do. Not so with the important sentiments presented by this document. They belong to mankind, and the Church, and should be spread broadcast through the land. If, indeed, they contain not the whole truth, written out in palpable characters, they at least point to it with a significance which it were almost blindness not to perceive.

We present the following graphic description of slavery and its influences, and the inquiry succeeding it, as justifying these views.

"We have felt it a duty incumbent upon us, at this time, to revive our religious testimony against the iniquitous system of slavery. The present peculiar and alarming condition of our country, in its relation to this fearfully important subject, has awakened in our minds feelings of deep solicitude; and we desire to give forth a faithful and honest expression of our concern and travail therein, with no other than a fervent hope that we may be found labouring, according to our ability, for the promotion of that peace on earth, and good will to men, which characterizes the Gospel of our blessed Redeemer.

The considerations growing out of this momentous subject are such as overwhelm us with sorrow, and fill us with the liveliest apprehensions for our country's welfare. The enormous wrong of slavery not only still continues in this highly professing land; but, notwithstanding the many noble examples and testimonies against it, and the indefatigable labours of Christians and philanthropists many years for its abolition, it is still multiplying its victims, and even now is seeking, by violence and blood, to enlarge its borders. The desolating scourge of war, with its host of revolting crimes and horrors, has been carried, by this nation, into the heart of a neighbouring republic, with the undisguised purpose of despoiling it of a large portion of its territory, and, as seems evident from the circumstances by which it is marked, with a view to re-establish slavery where it has already been abolished by a less enlightened people. The slave-trade, the abhorrence of all good men, is carried on in the midst of our country. From the border slave states to the far south and south-west, the vessels of the slave-trader, regularly ply, laden with youthful victims, reared like cattle for the market. All the tender ties of kindred and home are unfeelingly sundered, and they are bound, and tasked, and tortured, under the oppressor's lash in a distant clime,—and this with the sanction and under the protection of the laws.

Such is the sorrowful spectacle which this professedly Christian land now exhibits before the world. How great a reproach to the Christian name, and how widely opposite, in all its features, to the Christian character! Instead of love to our neighbour, a system of robbery and outrage upon him. Instead of endeavouring to raise the coloured man up from his degradation and woe, the foot is ruthlessly placed upon his neck, preventing even his own efforts for improvement. Throughout the whole land, whether bond or free, he is subjected to an inveterate

prejudice against his colour and his race, which lies as an incubus upon him scarcely less cruel than slavery itself. Shall there be no end to oppression like this? How long shall the crushed bondman in vain appeal to a professedly Christian people for relief? How long shall he be ranked with the brute that perisheth, by his brother man? Shall this devoted country continue always forging chains for the bondman's limbs, and putting shackles on his mind? Will not the Lord in righteousness visit for these things?—will he not be avenged on such a nation as this? Oh that we may lay these things to heart, and be wise before the judgments of the Most High come heavily upon us!

But how shall this deep-rooted evil be overcome? What power is potent enough to withstand its encroachments, and to turn back its overwhelming tide?"

We have only space for the following additional selection from this truly eloquent testimony:

"No mere profession of religion, no acknowledgement of the doctrines of the Gospel, nor yet the practice of a round of religious observances, will avail anything, so long as there is an unwillingness to do the Divine will, and the fruits of righteousness be wanting; 'For He hath showed thee, O man! what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?' Far better is it to be in fellowship with those who, though few in number, are walking by this rule, than with those who can boast of numbers, wealth, and influence, if the gain of oppression is in their hands; for the cry of the oppressed reaches the ear of Him who beholds with an equal eye all the children of men, and who will be avenged on the oppressor, however high may be his pretensions to religion."

"If the gain of oppression is in their hands!"—what a theme for quiet, individual, introverted enquiry!

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S RESOLUTION.—In our account of the proceedings of the late Anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we noticed the presentation of a resolution on the subject of the purchase and use of the products of slavery, by Henry Grew, and of another offered as a substitute for it by William Lloyd Garrison. The first only of these resolutions was published. The other was mislaid, but has since been supplied from memory. It will be found in the valuable paper bearing the signature of Henry Grew, which we transfer to our columns from another journal. We think our friend Garrison has stated, in his usually clear manner, a proposition, not intending it, however, as an expression of his own sentiment, which it will require all his ingenuity to subvert. It may be that in the terms "guilty," and "equally ac-

countable," guilt and accountability having reference to consciousness of wrong, he may find a door of escape. There are supposable cases in which the kidnapper may be less accountable for the guilt he perpetrates, than he who, measuring all the consequences of his actions, remotely induces the wrong done by the other. Under equal degrees of intelligence, Paul, suffering the witnesses to lay down their clothes at his feet, was as guilty of the death of Stephen, as were the actual perpetrators of the death-doing deed.

OBJECTIONS TO ABSTINENCE FROM SLAVE PRODUCTS.—We cheerfully comply with the request of our much valued friend, L. T., contained in the following memorandum:

"Objections are made to the sole use of the products of free labour, by some conscientious people. 1st. The poor can't afford to wear linen, silk, or woollen. 2d. We can't supply ourselves with free labour goods. Will you insert a short reply in the Non-Slaveholder to such objections."

The first objection supposes that no goods are clear of slave labour, except linen, silk or woollen. This is not the fact. Cotton goods, the product of compensated toil, are to be obtained to an amount fully adequate to, and indeed largely exceeding the existing conscientious demand for free goods. He that doubts this, need only visit the free produce store at the north west corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, in this city, and his doubts will be removed.—There are the goods—ready to meet a large demand of that character. Increase the demand, and an increased supply will certainly follow, or the axiom that "supply follows demand," will, for the first time in commercial history, be found to be untrue. Such a store we have reason to believe, will soon be established in New York, which will bring the evidence nearer to the door of our esteemed correspondent.

The same objection supposes that goods made of flax, silk and wool, are relatively dearer than goods made of cotton; usefulness and durability, forming, we suppose, the standard of value. It were reasonable to imagine, that this would be the case where the labourer is unpaid for the toil he expended in producing the cotton, but we do not know that it is so. The greater durability of the other fabrics, and the less frequent expense of converting them into garments, are important offsets to the opposite claim of less

original cost. We have known rigid economists to differ on this question of cheapness, and therefore will not attempt to settle it; especially as it is not important to any practical issue, affecting the duty of using solely the products of free labour, there remaining enough free cotton and free cotton goods, to supply the demand created by a sense of that duty.

The whole difficulty which really exists to the poor carrying out the abstinence principle, is the difference which now unavoidably exists, between the cost of slave-grown and free-labour goods. This difference will be perpetually diminishing with the increasing demand for the latter description of merchandize, until an equality between them shall be obtained:—when, farewell to slavery! The conscience of the world will then be on the side of purchasing only the products of free and justly remunerated toil. Till then, we would hold up this encouraging language to the honest poor, who would keep themselves clear of the blood of the slave,—"Who ever saw the righteous forsaken, or his seed begging bread?"

To the second objection there has been given a sufficient answer, in the remarks which the first elicited. It may almost be regarded as a law of our being, that "where there is a will there is a way." The result of the efforts of the humble few, who have embarked in the enterprise of bringing into the market the productions of uncoerced labour, is an earnest of what can be effected by the many. With the means which the many could bring into action, how quickly would the market be brought to that equilibrium, in which the motive for the continuance of slavery would cease to exist. Did this consummation never arrive—did the effort result in no other end, than keeping ourselves clear of the robbery practised on the bondman, the duty of non-participation in the wrong done him, would not be the less certain, nor the heart-cheering reward attending its fulfilment, the less sure.

ELIZABETH HEYRICK'S PAMPHLET.—In the remarks in our last number introductory to this valuable document, the word third, near the end, should be changed to second, or 1836 to 1837—the third Philadelphia edition having been published in the latter year.

FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.—We present, under the head of Associated action, an interesting document read at the annual meeting of that body in the

Fifth month last. Further particulars of the meeting than have yet appeared in our columns are desirable.

TO CORRESPONDENTS AND READERS.—The communication which appears in this number, bearing the remote date of 3d mo. 28th, was mislaid at its receipt, and only recovered within a few days.

In a few instances, papers whose intended publication was necessarily delayed by the amount of other matter furnished to the printer, have been subsequently overlooked, up to a period when their insertion would have been considered as out of time.

The residence of two of our editors in the country, and the paramount, anterior engagements of the third, which have rendered impracticable a fuller attention than we have bestowed upon this journal, we hope will be a sufficient apology for the above and any other deficiencies which have appeared in conducting it. For the typographical errors which have occurred, the kindness of our readers has, probably, already supplied an excuse or remedy.

SELECTIONS.

ELIZABETH HEYRICK'S PAMPHLET.

IMMEDIATE, NOT GRADUAL ABOLITION;

OR,

An Inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West India Slavery.

(Concluded.)

Should the wretched African find the moment for breaking his own chains,—and asserting his own freedom,—he may well be expected to take terrible vengeance,—to push the law of retaliation to its utmost extreme. But, when presented with his freedom,—when the sacred rights of humanity are restored to him, would that be the moment for rage, for revenge and murder? To polished and Christianized Europeans, such abuses of liberty may appear natural and inevitable, since their own history abounds with them. But the history of negro emancipation abundantly proves that no such consequences are to be apprehended from the poor uncultivated and despised African.

"But, to demand immediate emancipation, however safe, however just and desirable in itself, would (we are told) be most impolitic,—for it would never be granted; by striving to obtain too much, you would lose all. You must go cautiously and gradually to work. A very powerful interest and a very powerful influence are against you. You must try to conciliate, instead of provoke the West Indian planters; to convince them

that their own interest is concerned in the better treatment and gradual emancipation of their slaves, or your object will never be accomplished."

But you will strive and labour in vain; you will reason, however eloquently, however forcibly, in the ears of the "deaf adder." The moral and rational perceptions of the slaveholder, are still more perverted than those of the slave; oppression, is more debasing and injurious to the intellect of the oppressor, than that of the oppressed. The gains of unrighteousness,—familiarity with injustice and cruelty, have rendered the slaveholder more obstinately, more incurably blind and inaccessible to reason, than the slave. And what justice or restitution would there be in the world, were unlawful possessions never to be reclaimed till there was a disposition in the possessor voluntarily to relinquish them,—till he was convinced that it was his interest to part with them?

The interests and the prejudices of the West Indian planters, have occupied much too prominent a place in the discussion of this great question. The abolitionists have shown a great deal too much politeness and accommodation towards these gentlemen. With reference to them, the question is said to be a very delicate one. (Was ever the word delicacy so preposterously misapplied?) It is said to be beset with difficulties and dangers. Yes, the parties interested,—criminally interested, protest that the difficulties are insurmountable,—the dangers tremendous. But those difficulties and dangers have been proved to be visionary and futile, the offspring of idle, or of hypocritical fears. A little temporary pecuniary loss, would be the mighty amount of all the calamities which emancipation would entail upon its virulent and infuriated opposers.* And is that a consideration to stand in competition with the liberation of eight hundred thousand of our fellow creatures from the heavy yoke of slavery? Must hundreds of thousands of human beings continue to be disinherited of those inherent rights of humanity, without which life becomes a curse instead of a blessing; must they continue to be roused and stimulated to uncompensated labour, night as well as day, during a great part of the year, by the impulse of the cart whip, that a few noble lords and honourable gentlemen may experience no privation of expensive luxury,—no contraction of profuse expenditure,—no curtailment of state and equipage? Must the scale

*The account of the London meeting of West India Planters, which took place in February last, perfectly justifies the application of these epithets.

in which is placed the just claims, the sacred rights of eight hundred thousand British subjects, be made to kick the beam, when weighed in the balance against pretensions so comparatively light and frivolous?

Among the West Indian proprietors, there are doubtless, individuals of high character and respectability, whose education and circumstances may, nevertheless, disqualify them from taking a strictly impartial view of colonial slavery. Such, of course, must be exempt from the just odium,—the reprobation, which belongs to the general body, as far as they have rendered their own character notorious by their own declarations,—by the speeches they have published, and the decrees they have issued; by the virulent abuse, the rage and calumny which they have heaped upon the abolitionists; by the alternatives of fawning servility and insolent threatening, with which they at one time "prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne;" at another protest, in the tone of defiance, not to say rebellion, against British interference with colonial legislation. Towards these gentlemen, there has been extended a great deal too much delicacy and tenderness. They are *culprits*, in the strictest sense of the word,—and as such, they ought to be regarded, notwithstanding their rank and consequence, by every honest, impartial moralist. They have received too long the gains of oppression; too long have they fattened on the spoils of humanity.

It matters not at all how, or when, the planter acquired his pretended right to the slave; whether by violence or robbery,—by purchase or by inheritance. His claim always was, and always will be, ill-founded, because it is opposed to nature, to reason, and to religion. It is also illegal, as far as legality has any foundation of justice, divine or human, to rest upon. His plea for protection against the designs of the abolitionists, on the ground that his property has been embarked in this nefarious speculation, on the faith of Parliament;—in the confidence that no change would be effected in the laws which sanction the enormous injustice and wickedness of slavery, is childish and futile. Are not commercial speculations of every kind, subject to perpetual vicissitudes and revolutions? Are not human laws perpetually undergoing new modifications and changes in accommodation to the ever-varying circumstances of the times,—to increasing light and civilization? It is absurd to imagine that the progress of humanity, of moral and political improvement, is to be arrested, because some individual perquisites, derived from institutions of

brutal ignorance and barbarism, would be curtailed. A great deal more reasonably might the industrious artizan, whose daily subsistence depends on his daily labour—whose only property is his labour—and who, in many cases, has no means, like the West Indian capitalist, of transferring it from one channel to another; with a great deal more reason might he exclaim and cry out for protection against all mechanical improvements, which diminish labour, which deprive thousands of the laboring classes of their wonted resources, and drive them to beggary.

But if the West Indian gentlemen fail to obtain protection against the designs of the abolitionists, then they demand compensation, in the event of the emancipation of their slaves, to the immense amount of *sixty-four millions*. And is compensation demanded in no other quarter?—or, if not demanded, is it no where else due? If compensation be demanded as an act of justice to the slaveholder, in the event of the liberation of his slaves; let justice take her free, impartial course; let compensation be made in the first instance, where it is most due; let compensation be first made to the slave, for his long years of uncompensated labour, degradation, and suffering. It is in this quarter, that justice cries aloud for compensation,—and if our attention is turned, but for a moment, to these two substantial and well authenticated claims,—the demands of the *slaveholder* (even had they been couched in terms less arrogant and insulting) will become not a little questionable.

Experience has already sufficiently evinced the fallacy of the notion, of the superior policy of aiming at gradual, instead of immediate emancipation, on the ground of its meeting with less opposition; for the planters have shown themselves just as much enraged at the idea of *gradual*, as of immediate emancipation. They appear indeed, either incapable of perceiving, or determined to confound all distinction between them; for, in the bitterness of their invectives, they accuse the *gradual* abolitionist of endeavoring to bring upon their heads all the calamities and destruction which they formerly deprecated as the inevitable consequence of *immediate* emancipation.

On this great question, the spirit of accommodation and conciliation has been a spirit of delusion. The abolitionists have lost, rather than gained ground by it; their cause has been weakened, instead of strengthened. The great interests of truth and justice are betrayed, rather than supported, by all softening, qualifying concessions. Every iota which is yielded of their rightful claims, impairs the conviction of their rectitude, and consequently weakens their success. Truth

and justice make their best way in the world, when they appear in bold and simple majesty; their demands are most willingly conceded when they are most fearlessly claimed.

Were the *immediate* freedom of the slave demanded, because, in the first instance, it was unlawfully and violently wrested from him!—because, ever since, it has been most unjustly and cruelly withheld from him; because it is his inalienable right, which he holds by a divine charter, which no human claims can disannul: were the immediate abolition of slavery in the *British dominions* demanded, because slavery is in direct opposition to the spirit of the *British constitution*, to the spirit and letter of the Christian religion, to every principle of humanity and justice; because, as long as it is suffered to exist, it must remain the fruitful source of the most atrocious crimes, the most cruel sufferings; because, as long as it is suffered to exist, its abettors and supporters, passive as well as active, (*now that their eyes are wide open to its enormities*) must lie under the divine malediction, and experience, sooner or later, the certain and awful visitations of retributive justice,—the fearful accomplishment of that solemn declaration—“With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.”—demands so evidently just;—such plain appeals to reason and conscience,—to law and equity;—such serious reference to Divine authority,—to future retribution, would be more successful—would be better calculated to keep alive the public sympathy—would lead to more unwearied exertions—to greater sacrifices, than the slow, cautious, accommodating measures now proposed by the abolitionists; than any timorous suggestions of expediency—any attempts to conciliate the favour, or to disarm the opposition of West Indian slaveholders.

When an obvious and imperative duty is encumbered with considerations which do not properly belong to it; its obligations, instead of being enforced, are enfeebled; its motives, instead of being concentrated, are divided and scattered; and the duty, if not entirely neglected, will be but languidly and partially performed. We make slow progress in virtue, lose much time in labour, when, instead of going boldly forward in its straight and obvious path, we are continually inquiring how far we may proceed in it without difficulty, and without opposition.

Had the abolitionists preserved a single eye to their great object; had they kept it distinct and separate from all extraneous considerations; had they pursued it by a course more direct, through means more simple; had they confided more in

the goodness of their cause, and dreaded less the opposition of its adversaries; had they depended more upon divine, and less upon human support, their triumphs, instead of their defeats, would long since have been recorded. Surely their eyes must at length be opened; they must perceive that they have not gone the right way to work,—that the apprehension of *losing all by asking too much*, has driven them into the danger of losing all by having asked *too little*; that the spirit of compromise and accommodation has placed them nearly in the situation of the unfortunate man in the fable, who, by trying to please every body, pleased nobody, and lost the object of his solicitude into the bargain.

It had been well for the poor oppressed African, had the asserters of his rights entered the lists against his oppressors with more of the spirit of Christian combatants, and less of worldly politicians—had they remembered through the struggle that it was a conflict of sacred duty against sordid interests,—of right against might; that it was, in fact, an *holy war*—an attack upon the strongholds, the deep entrenchments of the very powers of darkness, in which courage would be more availing than caution; in which success was to be expected less from prudential or political expedients than from that all-controlling power which alone gives efficacy to human exertions—which often defeats the best concerted schemes of human sagacity and accomplishes His great purposes through the instrumentality of the simplest agency. Had the labours of the abolitionists been begun and continued on Divine, instead of human reliance, *immediate* emancipation would have appeared just as attainable as *gradual* emancipation. But, by substituting the latter object for the former, under the idea that its accomplishment was more probable, less exposed to objection; and by endeavouring to carry it through considerations of interest rather than obligations of duty, they have betrayed an unworthy diffidence in the cause in which they have embarked; they have converted the great business of emancipation into an object of political calculation; they have withdrawn it from Divine, and placed it under human patronage; and disappointment and defeat have been the inevitable consequence.

If the deadly root of slavery be ever extirpated out of British soil, it will be by such exertions as are prompted by duty rather than interest. We cannot sufficiently admire the great wisdom and goodness of those providential arrangements which have, in the general course of events, so inseparably connected our duty with our interest;

but with regard to the broad and palpable distinctions between right and wrong, virtue and vice, the more simple and direct the reference to the will of our Divine Lawgiver, and that of his vicergerent, conscience, the more determined will be our resolution—the more decisive our conduct. “How shall I do this great wickedness and sin against God,” will be the most influential of all considerations. And the solemn inquiry, pressed home to the conscience, how an enlightened and Christian government—how an enlightened and Christian community can, in any way, encourage or sanction such a complicated system of iniquity as that of slavery—“the greatest practical blunder, as well as the greatest calamity that has ever disgraced and afflicted human nature,”—without sharing its guilt, and, if there be a righteous Governor of the universe, its punishment also—will be followed up by propositions more consistent and energetic, than such as aim only at its *gradual* extermination.

The very able mover of the question in Parliament last year, proposed that our colonial slavery should be suffered “to expire of itself, to die a natural death.” But a natural death it never will die. It must be crushed at once, or not at all. While the abolitionists are endeavouring *gradually* to enfeeble and kill it by inches, it will gradually discover the means of reinforcing its strength, and will soon defy all the puny attacks of its assailants.

In the mean time, let the abolitionists remember, while they are reasoning and declaiming and petitioning Parliament for gradual emancipation, let them remember that the miseries they deplore remain unmitigated—the crimes they execrate are still perpetuated; still the tyrant frowns, and the slave trembles; the cart whip still plies at the will of the inhuman driver, and the hopeless victim still writhes under its lash. The ameliorating measures recommended by Parliament to the colonial legislators are neglected and spurned. The bad passions of the slaveholder are exasperated and infuriated by interference, and vengeance falls with accumulated weight on the slave. It had been better for him had no efforts been made for his emancipation, than that they should ultimately fail, or be feebly exerted—the interval of suspense will be an interval of restless perturbation,—of aggravated tyranny in the oppressor,—of aggravated suffering to the oppressed. *Unsuccessful opposition to crimes of every description, invariably increases their power and malignity.*

An *immediate* emancipation, then, is the object to be aimed at; it is more wise and rational—more politic and safe, as well as more just and

humane, than gradual emancipation. The interest, moral and political, temporal and eternal, of all parties concerned will be best promoted by *immediate* emancipation. The sooner the planter is obliged to abandon a system which torments him with perpetual alarms of insurrection and massacre—which keeps him in the most debasing moral bondage—subjects him to a tyranny, of all others the most injurious and destructive, that of sordid and vindictive passions; the sooner he is obliged to adopt a more humane and more *lucrative* policy in the cultivation of his plantations; the sooner the over-laboured, crouching slave is converted into a free labourer—his compulsory, unremunerated toil, under the impulse of the cart whip, exchanged for cheerful, well recompensed industry,—his bitter sufferings for peaceful enjoyment—his deep execration of his merciless tyrants, for respectful attachment to his humane and equitable masters; the sooner the Government and the people of this country purify themselves from the guilt of supporting or tolerating a system of such monstrous injustice, productive of such complicated enormities—the sooner all this mass of impolicy, crime, and suffering, is got rid of, the better.

It behoves the advocates of this great cause, then, to take the most direct, the most speedy and effectual means of accomplishing their object. If any can be devised more direct, more speedy and effectual, or less exceptionable in its operation than that which has been suggested, let it be immediately adopted; but let us no longer compromise the requisitions of humanity and justice for those of an artful and sordid policy; let there be no betraying of the cause by needless delay; delay is always dangerous; on this momentous question, (humanly speaking,) it will be fatal, if much longer protracted. The public sympathy is already declining, people are becoming tired of the subject, they grow listless and impatient when it is introduced; they tell you "they wish to hear no more of it, their minds are made up; no advantage can be gained by farther discussion; the subject must now be left to Parliament." Alas! and how has Parliament disposed of it? How has it realized the *very modest* hopes indulged by the abolitionists in consequence of its declarations in favour of gradual abolition, a year ago? By its recent decisions, the great work of emancipation appears to retrograde instead of advance. The bullying of the slaveholders is said to have proved completely triumphant. The royal proclamation just issued, is rightly denominated a *hope extinguisher* to the wretched slave population. Well may the abolitionists express their disappointment

on finding the present measures of Government fall so far short of the expectations which the promises of last session had excited. Well may the right honourable secretary be charged with "having done nothing, or worse than nothing; with being satisfied, at most, to see his pledge in favour of a whole archipelago reduced to a single island; while a law is still to prevail in every island of the West Indies, except *Trinidad*, which authorizes a female negro to be stripped in the presence of her father, husband, or son, and flogged with a cart whip!"

There were some who anticipated these results; cheerless and melancholy as they are, they are such as might reasonably have been expected from the proposition for *gradual* emancipation, and if persisted in it will assuredly end in *no* emancipation. The time is critical. The *general* interest in this great subject is evidently on the wane, and it should be remembered that even the most humane and susceptible—those who are most under the influence of true Christian principle, are not always bound up to such a pitch of disinterested and ardent zeal as is requisite to cope with such a host of interested and powerful opponents as are the West Indian proprietors and slaveholders. Those who are "called to glory and virtue,"—invited to labour in the Divine vineyard, are admonished to "work while it is day, for the night cometh, in which no man can work;" whilst they have light, they are admonished to "walk in the light, lest darkness come upon them." Mental darkness, and spiritual night, steal fast upon those, who, when an imperative duty is presented to them—when sufficient ability is imparted for its accomplishment—falter and procrastinate.

If the great work of emancipation be not now accomplished, humanly speaking, it may be despaired of, as far as our agency is concerned. The rising generation may furnish no such zealous, devoted advocate, as a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, and a Buxton. If the clear light, the full information, they have so generally diffused; the deep interest and sympathy they have so generally excited, produce no other results than those at present contemplated by the abolitionists—this country may fall under the curse of being judicially hardened and blinded, in consequence of having been softened and enlightened to so little purpose; and the emancipation of *eight hundred thousand British slaves* may be effected through other means and other agency, which, when once roused into action, may realize all those terrific scenes of insurrection and carnage which the imagination of the planter has so often contemplated.

Since the preceding pages were written, the sentences passed upon the insurgents of Demerara and Kingston have reached us. Some had been hung, others had received corporeal punishment, to what extent, let those who have ears to hear, and hearts to feel, deeply ponder. Some had received, others were yet to receive—*ONE THOUSAND LASHES*—and were condemned to be worked in chains during the residue of their lives!! The horrid work, has probably, by this time been completed; human interposition, therefore, with respect to these individual victims of WEST INDIAN JUSTICE, will now be of no avail.

But shall such sentences as these be suffered to pass the ordeal of public opinion? Shall they be established as precedents for future judgments, on future insurgents? Forbid it—every feeling of humanity—in every bosom. Let every principle of virtue which distinguishes the human from the brute creation,—the professors of the benignant, compassionate religion of Christ, from the savage and blood-thirsty worshippers of Moloch,—raise one united, determined, and solemn protest against the repetition of these barbarities, which blaspheme the sacred name of justice, and seem to imprecate Almighty vengeance.

Will the inhabitants of this benevolent, this Christian country, now want a stimulant to rouse their best exertions, to nerve their resolutions against all participation with these human bloodhounds? Will the British public now want a "spirit stirring" incentive to prohibit, and to interdict, henceforth and for ever, the merchandise of slavery? Let the produce of slave labor, henceforth and for ever, be regarded as "the accursed thing," and refused admission into our houses; or let us renounce our Christian profession, and disgrace it no longer, by a selfish, cold-hearted indifference, which, under such circumstances, would be reproachful to savages.

What was the offence which brought down this frightful vengeance on the heads of those devoted victims? What horrible crime could have instigated man to sentence his fellow man, to a punishment so tremendous?—to doom his brother to undergo the protracted torture of a *THOUSAND LASHES*?—to have his quivering flesh mangled and torn from his living body?—and to labour through life under the galling and ignominious weight of chains? It was insurrection. But in what cause did they become insurgents? Was it not in that cause, which, of all others, can best excuse, if it cannot justify insurrection? Was it not in the cause of self-defence from the most degrading, intolerable oppression?

But what was the immediate occasion of this

insurrection? What goaded these poor wretches on to brave the dreadful hazards of rebellion? One of them, now hanging in chains at Demerara, was sold and separated from his wife and family of ten children, after a marriage of eighteen years, and thereby made a rebel. Another was a slave of no common intellect, whose wife, the object of his warmest affections, was torn from his bosom, and forced to become the mistress of an overseer. His domestic happiness thus destroyed for ever, he became (how should it have been otherwise?) disaffected and desperate. Such provocations, added to their common and every day wrongs, seem beyond human endurance, and might instigate "the very stones to mutiny."

How preposterously partial and inconsistent are we in the extension of our sympathy, our approbation, and our assistance towards the oppressed and miserable! We extol the resistance of the *Greeks*,—we deem it heroic and meritorious. We deem it an act of virtue,—of *Christian charity*, to supply them with arms and ammunition, to enable them to persist in insurrection. Possibly, in the longest list of munificent subscribers to these *Greek* insurgents, the names of some noble lords and honorable gentlemen may be found—who sanction and approve the visitation of WEST INDIAN SLAVE INSURGENTS, with the GIBNET, and the infliction of *ONE THOUSAND LASHES*!!

But let us, whose moral perceptions are unblinded by interest or prejudice—whose charity is unwarping by partiality or hypocrisy; let us pursue a more rational and consistent course. Let us not overlook our own urgent duties in the pursuit of such as are less imperative. Let us first—*mind our own business*,—"pluck the beam out of our own eye." Let us first extend the helping hand to those who have the first claim to our assistance. Let us first liberate our own slaves—which we may do without furnishing them with arms or ammunition. Then, we shall have clean hands,—and the Divine blessing may then be expected to crown our exertions for the redemption of other captives.

Should the weak objection still haunt some inconsiderate reader, of the little good which can reasonably be expected to result from individual abstinence from West Indian produce; let him reflect, that the most wonderful productions of human skill and industry; the most astonishing effects of human power have been accomplished by combined exertions, which, when individually and separately considered, appear feeble and insignificant. Let him reflect, that the grandest objects of human observation consist of small agglomerated particles; that the globe itself is com-

posed of atoms too minute for discernment; that extended ages consist of accumulated moments. Let him reflect, that greater victories have been achieved by the combined expression of *individual opinion*, than by fleets and armies; that greater moral revolutions have been accomplished by the combined exertion of *individual resolution*, than were ever effected by acts of Parliament.

The hydra-headed monster of slavery will never be destroyed by other means, than the united expression of *individual opinion*, and the united exertion of *individual resolution*. Let no man restrain the expression of the one, or the exertion of the other, from the apprehension that his single efforts will be of no avail. The greatest and the best work must have a *beginning*,—often, it is a very small and obscure one. And though the example in question should not become *universal*, we may surely hope that it will become general.

If it is too much to expect that the matter will be taken up, (otherwise, than to make a jest of it) by the thoughtless and the selfish; what proportion these bear to the considerate and the compassionate, remains to be ascertained. By these, we may reasonably expect that it will be taken up, with resolution and consistency. By Christian societies of every denomination,—pre-eminently by that which has hitherto stood foremost in the great cause of abolition. By the great body of the Catholics, too, who attach so much merit to abstinence and self-denial;—and by all the different Protestant professors, (who are at all sincere in their profession) of the one religion of universal compassion,—which requires us, “to love our neighbor as ourselves,” this testimony against slavery may be expected to be borne with scrupulous and conscientious fidelity.

Think, but for a moment, at what a trifling sacrifice the redemption of eight hundred thousand of our fellow creatures from the lowest condition of degradation and misery may be accomplished. Abstinence from one single article of luxury would annihilate the West Indian slavery!! But abstinence it cannot be called;—we only need substitute *East India*, for *West India* sugar,—and the British atmosphere would be purified at once, from the poisonous infection of slavery. The antidote of this deadly bane, for which we have been so many years in laborious but unsuccessful search, is most simple and obvious,—too simple and obvious it should seem, to have been regarded. Like Naaman, of old, who expected to be cured of his leprosy by some grand and astonishing evolution, and disdained to wash, as he was directed, in the obscure waters of Damascus;—we look for the abolition of British slavery,

not to the simple and obvious means of its accomplishment, which lie within our own power,—but through the slow and solemn process of Parliamentary discussion,—through the “pomp and circumstance” of legislative enactment;—most absurdly remonstrating and petitioning against that system of enormous wickedness, which we voluntarily tax ourselves to the annual amount of two millions sterling, to support!*

That abstinence from West Indian sugar alone, would sign the death warrant of West Indian slavery, is morally certain. The gratuity of two millions annually, is acknowledged by the planters to be insufficient to bolster up their tottering system,—and they scruple not to declare to Parliament, that they must be ruined, if the protecting duties against East Indian competition be not augmented.

One concluding word, to such as may be convinced of the duty, but may still be incredulous as to the *efficiency* of this species of abstinence, from the apprehension that it will never become sufficiently general to accomplish its purpose. Should your example not be followed; should it be utterly unavailing towards the attainment of its object; still, it will have its own abundant reward; it will be attended with the consciousness of sincerity and consistency,—of possessing “*clean hands*,” of having “no fellowship with the workers of iniquity;” still, it will be attended with the approbation of conscience,—and doubtless, with that of the Great Searcher of hearts, who regarded with favourable eye, the mite cast by the poor widow into the treasury, and declared that a cup of cold water only, administered in Christian charity, “shall in no wise lose its reward.”

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.
FREE LABOUR PRODUCE.

The voluntary purchase and use of the products of Slavery, a practical subversion of the principle avowed by Abolitionists of “No Union with Slaveholders.”

FRIEND GAY:—I avail myself of your kind offer, in compliance with my request, to publish a communication on the subject of abstaining, as far as practicable, from the purchase and use of those articles which we believe and declare to be the fruits of robbery and oppression.

Important as I consider this subject, I have no desire to demand for it undue attention. If my brethren think that I am doing this, I can truthfully assure them that I call their attention to the

*Every reader may not be aware, that such is the amount of our duty laid on *East India*, to keep up the unnatural price of *West India* sugar.

subject, not because I do not appreciate other appropriate means for the advancement of our benevolent enterprise, but because I am persuaded that this article of our duty has been too much overlooked and disregarded.

At our late interesting convocations for Liberty in New York and Boston, our attention has very properly been called to first principles. Our noble and beloved Pioneer has done this, and our friend Hathaway has reminded us of our duty to carry out these principles into all our social, commercial, and religious action. What are these principles? We have declared, in vindication of our opposition to the great national sin of oppression, that man's right to liberty and the fruits of his own toil, are the gifts of the Creator, and inalienable. We therefore charge upon the slaveholder the sin of robbing his brother of the products of his toil, and unite with the spirit of truth in denouncing “Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.”

We deny the oppressor's right to these fruits of robbery, and, by necessary consequence, his right to sell them. Where, then, have we obtained the right to buy of that oppressor or his agents? From which of our principles of righteousness do we deduce the right to become the receivers of goods which we know and declare to be stolen? From which of those principles do we infer that it is a mere matter of *inexpediency* to do this, and that it is not a *moral* wrong? Do our courts of common justice—do we ourselves admit that the man who is encouraging thieves, by receiving and paying them for the fruits of their iniquity, is chargeable with no moral guilt? My never-ceasing love of our brother Garrison, for his devotion to the cause of outraged humanity, cannot preclude the conviction, that, in respect to this subject, he descends from the high position of holy principle which he usually occupies.

If, as our friend Hathaway avers, we are bound to carry out our principles “in commercial and religious action,” does it not follow that we are bound to cease buying and selling the fruits of Slavery? Is it consistent anti-slavery action, to contribute into the hands of the slaveholder, voluntarily, that very profit which is the most effective motive for maintaining the whole system? The origin of the atrocious act of converting an intelligent being, whom God has made in his own image, into a chattel, is found in the avarice of the human heart. This “fire of hell” glows in the soul of the oppressor, and consumes all the interests of humanity which pertain to the life

which now is, and to that which is to come. I now ask the purchasers of these products to pause one solemn moment, and consider the fearful fact that they are supplying the entire fuel to feed this infernal fire! From them the merchant receives the profit which induces him to purchase the fruits of unrighteousness of the slaveholder, together with the money which he remits to the latter, which is his inducement to rivet the chain of Slavery, and to encourage the slave-trader, by purchasing the victims of his cupidity. The slaveholder is accessory to the sin of the slave-trafficker, who would discontinue his heinous traffic if the former did not open a market for him. The merchant is accessory to the sin of both, as he opens a market for both. The consumers are accessory to the sins of all the others, as they open the final market on which all the others are entirely dependent. Let the consumers stop this “union with slaveholders,” and the whole operation of the infernal machine ceases. The mainspring is broken. No more shall the wail of outraged humanity ascend from the slave-ship, the rice-swamp, the sugar plantation, or the cotton-field.

It is remarkable that during our Anniversary business meetings in New York, our esteemed friend Garrison offered a resolution which closes as follows: “That if a person engaged in the African Slave-Trade is justly deserving of capital punishment, no matter what may be his defence for his conduct, then the American slaveholder as justly deserves the same punishment—for he claims an absolute right to possess, buy and sell human beings, and stimulates the foreign trafficker, by opening for him a profitable market.” Why this man is to be charged with moral wrong, because he “stimulates the foreign trafficker, by opening for him a profitable market,” while the man who stimulates both the slaveholder and the slave-trader, by opening for both a “profitable market” is to be considered morally innocent, is a problem I leave my respected friend to solve at his leisure.

Abolitionists often quote Mr. Wesley's declaration, that “men-buyers are on a level with men-stealers.” If such is their moral position because they buy, what they know or ought to know is stolen, what must be the moral position of those who know and declare that the cotton and the sugar they buy are stolen?

It is objected by those who really appear to me to be building up the very system of abominations which they profess to destroy, that the principle of abstinence cannot be carried out. This objection seems to concede that the principle is a righteous one, for if it is not, the objector has no

need to say that it *cannot* be carried out, but he may say at once, it *ought not* to be carried out. If it is a good principle, it is our duty to carry it out as far as practicable. It is our duty to do no more with respect to any principle. Neither morality nor religion require impossibilities.

It is indeed impossible to abstain from all use of the products of Slavery, or from other fruits of dishonesty. With all our consistent and honest endeavors to avoid encouraging evil-doers, by partaking of their evil-deeds, we shall occasionally do so. An honest man, intending to purchase those articles only which have been honestly obtained, will sometimes purchase such as have not been so obtained. Does this justify the man who voluntarily supplies himself continually at the shop which is notorious for the constant reception of stolen goods? Will you say that these two persons occupy the same moral position, and that the latter is doing that which is merely *inexpedient*? An honest man may ignorantly receive and pass counterfeit money. Shall we therefore allow the man to excuse himself who knowingly purchases and uses it? We tell the slaveholder that liberty is the inalienable right of all men. He replies, "this is a mere abstraction," "a rhetorical flourish," "you cannot carry it out." He repels the charge of the Englishman against Slavery, with the charge of oppressing his own operatives in the manufactory; and, as my friend Phillips said, that he would as willingly go to the judgment in a shirt of cotton, as in one of Irish linen, so the slaveholder will tell you that he would as willingly go to the judgment with his slaves as with English operatives. "So they wrap it up." My esteemed friend will permit me to say, that if he affirms of the Irish shirt what he does of the American, i. e. that it is the fruit of robbery and oppression, he should have too much reverence for the holy commandment, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness," &c. to be willing to go to the judgment in either.

It is affirmed that the slaves are willing that their abolition friends should use the products of their labour. One fugitive, I think, affirmed this at our meeting in Boston. If the transaction were only between the slave and the consumer, and the former should freely sell or give the latter some of the fruits of his toil, there would be no moral wrong in the reception. But it is not so. The act of the slaveholder, in robbing the slave of the fruits of his toil, and selling what is not his own, is a moral wrong, to which the purchaser of the stolen article is accessory, voluntarily partaking of the sin, and in fact, presenting the chief inducement for its continuance. Now the slave

has no right to be accessory to moral wrong. To be knowingly accessory to moral wrong, is itself a moral wrong, consequently, he can delegate no man to do it.

We are told that abstaining from the products of slave-labour will have little or no effect. Will the objector allow such an excuse for not avoiding other moral evils? No. Then, he will maintain principle, and say, that "he who is unjust in that which is least, is unjust also in much; and he who is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much." We have proved, however, that this is not a small evil, either in its nature or consequences. Nor is it true that no effect is produced by a consistent practice in this matter. Our practical testimony has good effect in calling the attention of some to the great sin of slavery. Moreover, the diminution of the demand for the fruits of unrequited toil, if Abolitionists only abstained from the use, would be followed by a proportionate and considerable diminution of unrighteous and cruel slave-toil. The supply will be according to the demand. If there is an increasing demand for slave-products, there will be increased toil on the part of the slaves to supply, and vice versa. So in respect to free goods. If Abolitionists will demand them, and present a market for them, they will have them.

Although our friend Hathaway affirmed it to be our duty to carry out our anti-slavery principles "in commercial and religious action," Mr. Foster asserted that trading with slaveholders is no union with them: that union is aid, and that trading with them is not aid, and that slaveholders did not care for our abstaining. Is it necessary for me to attempt to refute such reckless assertions as these? Is it needful for me to prove that the men who fill their stores or their houses with the goods purchased from the slaveholder, have no commercial union with him? Will Mr. F. please to inform us in what commercial union consists? Will he affirm that the receivers and purchasers of stolen goods offer *no aid* to the villains who have stolen them? Will he affirm that the man, who has opened his store, cares not whether or not he has any customers?

The inconsistency of Abolitionists in this matter is obvious enough in other cases. If the man who is continually encouraging those who defraud others, by paying them for their stolen goods, should put out a sign declaring, "No union with thieves;" we say that it is a mockery and a lie.

There is another subterfuge. As the slaveholder attempts to repel our charge of unrighteousness, by assuring us that he holds the slave in bondage

for his own good, so the purchaser of slave products attempts to excuse himself by assuring us that he does it for the good of the slave. Admitting both to be sincere, they are both doing evil that good may come. Supposing, instead of being an anti-slavery society, that we were a society for detecting horse-thieves and abolishing horse-stealing. Some of our members, we ascertain, are in the practice of buying horses they know are stolen. We remonstrate against their practice. Oh, gentlemen, says one, I do this for the good of our cause. I buy the stolen horses so cheap that I have more money to put into our treasury. Another says, my practice enables me to pay the expense of my journeys when I go to lecture against horse-stealing, besides, horse-thieves care nothing about men abstaining from buying their stolen horses; buying their stolen horses affords them "no aid." The pirate, the slave-trafficker, the slaveholder, will all tell you that they do good with the fruits of their iniquities. The truth is, that the Abolitionist who cares not to abstain from the purchase and use of the fruits of robbery and oppression, is practically building up the very system of iniquity which he professes to hate and destroy.

It remains only for me to notice the manner in which my respected friend, Garrison, attempted to invalidate my resolution in New York, designed to show that our profession of "No union with slaveholders," required us to abstain from the continual voluntary use of the fruits of their unrighteousness and oppression. To my resolution, Mr. G. offered the following amendment, viz:

"That whosoever buys, sells, or consumes the productions of slave labour, is a participant in the crime of slaveholding, and guilty of assisting in the perpetuity of Slavery and the Slave-Trade; and therefore is to be held equally accountable with the African kidnapper and the American slaveholder, for all the crimes and horrors of the slave system."*

Mr. G. offered this amendment, *not as his own sentiment*, but to test my resolution, and to disprove the soundness of its principle.

My first remark on this amendment is, that if it subverts my resolution, which requires the Abolitionists to cease stimulating the slaveholder and the slave-trader, "by opening for both a profitable market," it must certainly subvert that part of Mr. Garrison's own resolution at the same meeting, which condemns the slaveholder for sti-

*Mr. G.'s original amendment was not published with my resolution, nor could I obtain a copy at the Anti-Slavery office in New York. My friend gave me the above as corresponding with the original as near as he could remember.

mulating "the foreign trafficker, by opening for him a profitable market." If the amendment proves the impropriety of the demand of abstainers to send back the coons which are the fruits of unrighteousness, it equally proves the impropriety of the cry in Mr. G.'s last paper, "SEND BACK THE MONEY."

It is, in my opinion, a truth worthy of the serious consideration of every man, that they who are freely buying, selling, and using the productions of slave labour, are, in an important sense, as I have already shown, accessory to the general crimes and horrors of the slave system. *Their money is the ultimatum of the whole system.* Some sins, however, pertaining to this monstrous evil, like those pertaining to other evils, are more heinous in the sight of God and men, than others. We are, indeed, "accountable" for every wrong action, but there is not only an important difference between that participation with moral evil, which is voluntary and with knowledge, and that participation which is unintentional; but there is also a great variety of degrees of criminality in different acts of voluntary participation.

After the most deliberate examination of this subject, it appears to me, that, on the very same principle that we call on our fellow-citizens either to abandon the Declaration of Independence which demands liberty for all men, or that Constitution which withholds it from millions, so we ought either to haul down our banner which we have unfurled to Freedom's breeze, "No union with slaveholders," or abandon our commercial union with oppressors. All which is respectfully submitted to the serious consideration of the friends of the slave, by their fellow-labourer in the cause of humanity,

HENRY GREW.

Milton, June 2d, 1847.

INTELLIGENCE.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN LONDON.

LONDON, May —, 1847.

Last night we had a most glorious meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in Finsbury Chapel, to which building it had been transferred from the Hall of Commerce, the place for which it had been convened, but which was found too small for the numbers who assembled. We were honoured, I cannot tell you why, with the presence of the Conde Montemolin and suite. That exiled prince, who now bears a relation to Spain, very similar to that which Charles Edward sustained to this country, is not very likely to sympathize with the free and manly sentiments which

were uttered in his hearing last night, and which I believe he has English enough to understand. However, it is gratifying to know that, through the medium of the press, the grand doctrines which are expounded in our public assemblies, are constantly finding their way to the notice, not only of those who have influence, but to those by whom the reins of power are held.

The report of the Society was indeed one of progress.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That this meeting feel it to be their duty to protest, in the strongest terms, against the recent legislative enactments which have gone into effect in the Crown Colonies, as not only abridging the just rights of the emancipated classes and of the immigrant laborers, and subjecting the former to enormous, unequal, and unjust taxation, for purposes other than those of civil government, but as giving to their masters or employers undue, and, when exercised, oppressive powers over them, both on the estates and in the courts of justice; and that, therefore, they strenuously recommend to all parties in the colonies injuriously affected by these enactments, as well as to their friends in this country, the necessity and importance of seeking by every constitutional means, the establishment of local representative Legislatures, upon a thoroughly liberal basis, as the best means of securing just laws, and an equitable system of taxation, and a pure administration of justice.

Resolved, That whilst this meeting express their unabated hostility to the immigration schemes, now in force, for supplying various emancipated colonies with foreign labourers, as unjust, inhuman, and impolitic, they would especially enter their protest against the proposed importation of negroes from parts of Africa out of British jurisdiction, as not only open in an eminent degree to the general objections urged against those schemes, but because it will furnish a pernicious example to foreign States, having slave colonies or territories, to supply them with nominally free but really slave labourers, and thus to beget a new and more extended form of the slave trade, and consequently the greater degradation and desolation of Africa.

Resolved, That this meeting, in reviewing the events of the past year, in connection with the anti-slavery cause, would record their sincere satisfaction and thankfulness, at its marked progress in various parts of the world, especially in the United States and in France; and that, whilst they would express their deep sympathy with abolitionists of every country, in the severe strug-

gle in which they are engaged for human freedom, they would urge them to increased exertions to promote the abolition of slavery without delay and without compromise, as the only effectual way of terminating the atrocious traffic in human beings, and of securing the great objects they have in view.

Resolved, That this meeting, painfully alive to the fearful consequences likely to ensue from the introduction of slave-grown sugars, and other articles of slave produce, into the British markets, feel called upon to recommend to the friends of the oppressed and suffering slaves, not only in this country, but throughout the world, the duty of abstaining, as far as practicable, from the use of such produce, and of substituting the produce of free labour in its place, as an important means of promoting the universal and complete abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

Resolved, That this meeting, regarding the attempt of Her Majesty's Government to introduce into the British colonies a system of compulsory education, to be sustained by a scheme of taxation and penalties, earnestly recommend to the friends of the anti-slavery cause, both in the colonies and the mother country, the duty of opposing it by all constitutional means as a gross infringement on the social rights and religious liberty of the emancipated classes, as well as calculated to do the greatest injury to the free schools already established.

Resolved, That this meeting would respectfully, yet urgently, press on the Government the importance of requiring, according to the stipulation of the treaties now existing between this country and Brazil and Spain for the suppression of the slave trade, the emancipation of all slaves who have been illicitly introduced into the territories and colonies of those countries, respectively, as a solemn duty which they owe to international faith, the claims of humanity, and the cause of freedom throughout the world.—*National Era*.

PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

In accordance with the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the County Commissioners have paid to the Trustees of the Pennsylvania Hall Association the sum of \$27,942 77. This act of partial justice, it is said, will pay the liabilities of the Association and about twenty per cent of the capital stock—the balance being of course lost. It is nine years since the Hall was burnt by a small, but reckless, pro-slavery mob, aided by the cool indifference of the citizen spectators, and the tardy interference of the municipality. The violence then tacitly assented to, has been since imitated, on various occasions of popular outbreak, to the great discredit and cost of our community.

POETRY.

In our research for papers issued in the slave's behalf, following the parliamentary vote, in 1791, which negatived a motion to abolish the slave trade, we met with the following very beautiful poem by one of England's most gifted daughters. Some elegant selections from her writings are given in Frost's British Poets; but this does not appear among them, nor do we believe it can be found in any other American volume. We suppose that to most of our readers it will be as new and acceptable as it was to us.—*Eps*.

EPISTLE TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

On the rejection of the bill for abolishing

THE SLAVE TRADE.

BY ANNA LETITIA BARBAULD.

(London, J. Johnson, M DCC. XCI.)

Cease, Wilberforce, to urge thy generous aim!
Thy Country knows the sin, and stands the shame!
The Preacher, Poet, Senator in vain
Has rattled in her sight the Negro's chain;
With his deep groans assailed her startled ear,
And rent the veil that hid his constant tear;
For'd her averted eyes his stripes to scan,
Beneath the bloody scourge laid bare the man,
Claim'd Pity's tear, urg'd Conscience's strong con-
troul,
And flash'd conviction on her shrinking soul.
The Muse, too, soon awak'd, with ready tongue
At Mercy's shrine applausive peans rung;
And Freedom's eager sons, in vain foretold
A new Astrean reign, an age of gold:
She knows and she persists—Still Afric bleeds;
Unecheck'd, the human traffic still proceeds;
She stamps her infamy to future time,
And on her harden'd forehead seals the crime.

In vain, to thy white standard gathering round,
Wit, Worth, and Parts and Eloquence are found;
In vain, to push to birth thy great design,
Contending chiefs, and hostile virtues join;
All, from conflicting ranks, of power possess
To rouse, to melt, or to inform the breast.
Where seasoned tools of Avarice prevail,
A Nation's eloquence, combined, must fail:
Each flimsy sophistry by turns they try;
The plausible argument, the daring lie,
The artful gloss, that moral sense confounds,
Th' acknowledged thirst of gain that honour wounds:
Bane of ingenuous minds, th' unfeeling sneer
Which, sudden, turns to stone the falling tear:
They search assiduous, with inverted skill,
For forms of wrong, and precedents of ill;
With impious mockery wrest the sacred page,
And glean up crimes from each remoter age:
Wrung Nature's tortures, shuddering, while you tell,
From scoffing fiends bursts forth the laugh of hell;
In Britain's senate, Misery's pangs give birth
To jests unseemly, and to horrid mirth—

Forbear!—thy virtues but provoke our doom,
And swell th' account of vengeance yet to come;
For, not unmark'd in Heaven's impartial plan,
Shall man, proud worm, condemn his fellow-man?
And injured Afric, by herself redrest,
Darts her own serpents at her Tyrant's breast.
Each vice, to minds deprav'd by bondage known,
With sure contagion fastens on his own;
In sickly languors melts his nerveless frame,
And blows to rage impetuous Passion's flame:
Fermenting swift, the fiery venom gains
The milky innocence of infant veins;
There swells the stubborn will, damps learning's
fire,
The whirlwind wakes of uncontroul'd desire,
Sears the young heart to images of woe,
And blasts the buds of Virtue as they blow.

Lo! where reclin'd, pale Beauty courts the breeze
Diffus'd on sofas of voluptuous ease;
With anxious awe, her menial train around,
Catch her faint whispers of half-utter'd sound;
See her, in monstrous fellowship, unite
At once the Scythian, and the Sybarite;
Blending repugnant vices, misall'd,
Which frugal nature purpos'd to divide;
See her, with indolence to fierceness join'd,
Of body delicate, infirm of mind,
With languid tones imperious mandates urge;
With arm recumbent wield the household scourge,
And with unruffled mien, and placid sounds,
Contriving torture, and inflicting wounds.

Nor, in their palmy walks and spicy groves,
The form benign of rural Pleasure roves;
No milk-maids' song, or hum of village talk,
Sooths the lone Poet in his evening walk:
No willing arm the flail unwearied plies,
Where the mix'd sounds of cheerful labour rise;
No blooming maids, and frolic swains are seen
To pay gay homage to their harvest queen:
No heart-expanding scenes their eyes must prove
Of thriving industry, and faithful love:
But shrieks and yells disturb the balmy air,
Dumb sullen looks of woe announce despair,
And angry eyes thro' dusky features glare.
Far from the sounding lash the Muses fly,
And sensual riot drowns each finer joy.

Nor less from the gay East, on essenc'd wings,
Breathing unnam'd perfumes, Contagion springs;
The soft luxurious plague alike pervades
The marble palaces, and rural shades;
Hence, throng'd Augusta builds her rosy bowers,
And decks in summer wreaths her smoky towers;
And hence, in summer bow'rs, Art's costly hand
Pours courtly splendours o'er the dazzled land:
The manners melt—One undistinguish'd blaze
O'erwhelms the sober pomp of elder days;
Corruption follows with gigantic stride,
And scarce vouchsafes his shameless front to hide:

The spreading leprosy taints ev'ry part,
Infects each limb, and sickens at the heart.
Simplicity! most dear of rural maids,
Weeping resigns her violated shades;
Stern Independence from his glebe retires,
And anxious Freedom eyes her drooping fires;
By foreign wealth are British morals chang'd,
And Afric's sons, and India's, smile aveng'd.

For you, whose temper'd ardour long has borne
Untir'd the labour, and unmov'd the scorn;
In Virtue's fasti be inscrib'd your fame,
And utter'd your's with Howard's honour'd name,
Friends of the friendless—Hail, ye generous band!
Whose efforts yet arrest Heaven's lifted hand,
Around whose steady brows, in union bright,
The civic wreath, and Christian's palm unite:
Your merit stands, no greater and no less,
Without, or with the varnish of success;
But seek no more to break a Nation's fall.
For ye have sav'd yourselves—and that is all.
Succeeding times your struggles, and their fate,
With mingled shame and triumph shall relate,
While faithful History, in her various page,
Marking the features of this motley age,
To shed a glory, and to fix a stain,
Tells how you strove, and that you strove in vain.

GOOD BYE.

BY R. W. EMERSON.

Good bye, proud world! I'm going home:
Thou art not my friend, and I'm not thine,
Long through thy weary crowds I roam;
A river ark on the ocean brine.
Long I've been toss'd like the driven foam;
But now, proud world! I'm going home!
Good-bye to Flattery's fawning face;
To Grandeur with his wise grimace;
To upstart Wealth's averted eye;
To supple Office, low and high;
To crowded halls, to court and street;
To frozen hearts and hasting feet;
To those who go and those who come;
Good-bye, proud world! I'm going home.

I'm going to my own hearth-stone,
Bosom'd in yon green hills alone—
A secret nook in a pleasant land,
Whose groves the frolic fairies planned;
Where arches green, the livelong day,
Echo the black-bird's roundelay,
And vulgar feet have never trod
A spot that is sacred to thought and God.
O, when I am safe in my sylvan home,
I tread on the pride of Greece and Rome;
And when I am stretched beneath the pines,
Where the evening star so holy shines,
I laugh at the lore and the pride of man,
At the sophist schools, and the learned clan,
For what are they all in their high conceit,
When man in the bush with God may meet?

ADVERTISEMENTS.

The Free Produce Store.

The undersigned has now the satisfaction to inform the friends of the Free Produce cause that he has received some very superior *fine* shirting and sheeting muslins, bleached and brown, light and heavy; also prints of fine quality, neat styles; and hopes to be able to secure a constant supply of those articles. He has also received a few pieces of fine 6-4 plaid muslins.

A fresh importation of brown sugars of very superior quality just opened, which will be sold at a considerable reduction from former rates.

The attention of housekeepers is particularly invited to his stock of Green and Black Teas, both as to fineness of quality and flavour and *lowness of price*.

Geo. W. TAYLOR.

N. W. corner 5th and Cherry Sts.

Philada., 5th mo. 29th, 1847.

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Shirting and Sheetting Muslin, Bleached and Brown.

"Manchester" Gingham of superior quality, various styles.

2d Quality do. assorted patterns.

Calico, do. do.

Coloured Cambrics and Canton Flannel, assorted colours.

Bleached and Brown do. do. and Table Diaper.

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stock exclusively of Free Labour Goods, to which the sub-

scriber would invite the attention of Country Merchants, as

well as his friends and the public generally.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

N. W. corner Fifth and Cherry Sts.

Philadelphia, 2d mo. 25th, 1847.

WANTED, a young man of careful habits and good moral character, who writes a neat business hand, and would be willing to make himself generally useful in a lumber business carried on a few miles from Philadelphia. Compensation moderate. For further particulars, apply to G. W. TAYLOR, corner of Fifth and Cherry streets.

Life of William Allen.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 1847.

[NO. 8.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BIBLICAL INVESTIGATIONS.—NO. IV.

The Precept to Noah—continued.

As no stream, by its own power, can rise higher than its fountain, so no translation of Holy Scripture can, of its own authority, establish an obligation which had no existence in the sacred original. I pursue my enquiry as to the import of the precept to Noah and his sons in full view of this truth, and with no desire for any other result than this truth will sustain.

In our last number the amount of knowledge which the Christian world had of this precept, during the many centuries in which they read the Scriptures in the Greek and Latin languages, was shewn;—and shewn to be adverse to the view that "by man," and "shall be shed," in an injunctive sense, were component parts of it. I proceed in the present number to a consideration of the views developed by modern versions—first withdrawing a suggestion made in the former, that, on the supposition that the expression in the copies whence the Septuagint was taken was *bedem*, it was probably the genuine reading. I consider on further reflection that the presence of *בדם*, *badem*, in Samaritan copies written in the ancient Hebrew letter, as well as in Jewish copies written in the Chaldee character, as used by the Jews after the Babylonish captivity, shows *badem* to have been an ancient reading. Whether the more ancient I leave to the determination of others.

Whilst this reading is confirmed by the Samaritan version in the Aramæan dialect supposed to have been made at a date antecedent to the Christian era, and the Syriac, usually referred to the close of the first or commencement of the second century, the retention of *בֵּת*, and the continued

use of the merely indicative form of the future, without any attempt to take either out of their ordinary signification, widens the proof that *beth* ought to be accepted in the sense of *in*, and the verb understood according to its simple unstrained indication. This proof is further extended, if the Latin exemplification of the Arabic version made in the tenth century, as found in Bishop Walton's polyglott, is a literal rendering.

The English Protestant and Catholic translations have already been given to the reader. The German version of Martin Luther, the German Catholic, the French of John Calvin, the Italian of John Diodati, and the Spanish Catholic version, contain probably all the remaining important varieties of accepted versions. Of the modern Latin versions we need only refer to the literal interlinear rendering of the Hebrew in the polyglott adverted to, as most appropriate to our enquiry.

The following are intended to be exact English translations of the five intermediately named versions, omitting the reason of the precept common to all.

1. Whoso man's blood sheds, his blood shall also by man be shed.—*Luther*.
2. Whoso man's blood sheds, that one's blood shall also be shed.—*German Catholic*.
3. Who will have shed the blood of the man in the man, his blood will be shed.—*Calvin*.
4. The blood of him who will shed the blood of man will be shed of man.—*Diodati*.
5. All he that will shed human blood, his blood will be shed.—*Spanish Catholic*.

The polyglott interlinear translation of the precept is in these words,—*Effundens sanguinem hominis in homine sanguis ejus effundetur, quia in imagine Dei fecit hominem*; and may be thus literally rendered:—*Pouring out (or shedding) the blood of man in man blood of him will be*

poured out, because in the image of God he has made man.

Luther's German version undoubtedly represents the future of the verb "shed" as indicating an appointed, or, at least, an inevitable retribution, by employing the verb *sell*, *shall*, in place of *wird*, *become*, which denotes the ordinary future. Its rejection of the usual sense of *beth*, using *by*, instead of *in*, is characteristic of the bold reformer.

The particle *beth*, occurs twice in the precept in near proximity—and it is agreed on all hands, that its sense in one instance, at least, is *in*. Why should it not be so in the other? In the remaining parts of the address to Noah and his sons, it occurs fourteen times, in all of which its clear indication is *in*, and so the Hebrew scholar reads it; though in accommodation to the nicer discriminations, or requirements of the English idiom, the translators have rendered it once *into*, once *therein*, twice *upon*, four times *of*, once *with*, and once *when*. In verse 11th, of the same address, the Hebrew particle translated *by*, is *mem*. If the sense *by* existed in the other case, why did not the same particle express it?

To make apparent the extent in which *beth* is used in the primitive sense of *in*, throughout the Mosaic writings, and the relative claims of secondary significations to an expression by that particle, as also for other purposes of comparison, I have prepared, from a careful examination of the pentateuch, a table, showing the senses in which various Hebrew particles have been rendered by our Protestant translators, which I subjoin; and by which the *questionable* expression of the sense *by*, will be more clearly perceived than could be done by a conjecture of the facts short of this research. I have yet, however, to learn that Luther considered the precept to contain, within itself, a distinct commission to man to fulfil, without other divine appointment, its provisions.

The German Catholic version uses the same intense verb *sell*, as was done in the former, omitting the human agency; but, following the text is a reference to Matthew xxvi. 52, and Revelations xiii. 10, qualifying it, by shewing that in contemplation of the translator, the precept indicated predictively, not legally, the consequence of the offence of one man shedding the blood of another.

Calvin's French version was founded on the opinion that *badem* had the force of an emphatic amplification, much used in the Hebrew, and by which he supposed the high crime of voluntary homicide might be the better distinguished, and on the conviction that *by man* was wholly a

"forced" construction. In his commentary on the passage, he interprets it in a denunciatory rather than in a legislative way, well observing "that though men are unworthy of his wonderful goodness, the Divine Being doth here reveal the grounds of his care for the sacredness of human life; and most sedulously should the doctrine of this passage be marked, that NO PERSON CAN INJURE HIS NEIGHBOUR, BUT HE INJURES GOD; a truth which if men would remember, there would be much less violence in human society."—Calvin, as quoted by Cheever.

Diodati's Italian version uses the term "of man" in a sense probably similar to the expression "among men," by which John Le Clerc rendered it. This distinguished biblical critic in a note on the word says, that if the sense had been *per*, *by*, then, "in accordance with the most frequent usage of the Hebrew language, it would have been said *Bjad adam*, [בִּיד אָדָם, *bid adam*,] by the hand of man," yet it is always read *baadam*, or *in* or *among* men; and he views the passage as conveying the idea that "homicides generally suffer a retributive punishment for their crimes, whether they fall into the hands of the laws, or by the just providence of God perish by some violent death."

The Spanish Catholic version is simply indicative of a consequence resulting from the crime of shedding human blood; not assigning that consequence to a divine appointment, except as may be inferred from the reason of the precept which is contrary to such an inference—and not requiring of man its fulfilment, any more than he is required to fulfil a mere prediction, or to bring upon himself the same consequence which the prediction is supposed to assure him, will ever attend the shedding of human blood.

We have no present comment to make upon Bishop Walton's interlinear translation, except this—that any version to be just and true, must be substantially comprehended within its terms.

The translations we have had under consideration disagree in several important particulars. It is not our purpose to magnify or reconcile this difference. It is, however, some evidence of ambiguity in the text that this want of agreement exists. It was a just remark of Schlegel, that "in the writings of Moses, whatever is meant to be a practical law is expressed with the greatest precision." From these translations, brought to the touchstone of this rule, we do not perceive that the precept, in whatever light they present it to us, is such a law as *unequivocally* imposes upon man the duty of enforcing the solemn consequence it pre-announces. If not to counteract the will of God be our duty, then we are admo-

nished not to put upon the precept a construction contradictory to that holy and ever benignant will as thus expressed through the prophet Ezekiel: "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord God: and not that he shall return from his ways and LIVE?"

There is no reason to suppose that any difference of views in relation to the right of taking human life in self-defence, including the right of capital punishment as a protective remedy, however disallowed by primitive Christianity, had any influence in producing a difference in the translations of this precept. On the contrary, it is to be presumed that an accordancy in the views of the translators on that subject from Jerome downwards, led them into the common adoption of an error, probably first suggested by the Jewish predilections of Onkelos, of prefixing to the precept a pronoun impersonating the offender. It will be seen on reference to the polyglott interlinear, that there is no counterpart in the original for the "whoso" or other pronominal expression with which the translators introduce their respective versions of the precept—the Hebrew text pointing to the doing of the crime, and not to the criminal. Will it be said that according to the Hebrew idiom the agent is implied, when his act merely is spoken of, and that therefore the introduction of the pronoun is proper? The precision which, according to Schlegel, characterises the legal annunciations of Moses, is opposed a priori to the suggestion, and the comparative facts elicited by a careful examination of the pentateuch are a conclusive denial of it. In the 103 cases in which *whoso*, *whosoever*, *whatman-soever*, and *whatsoever*, appear as nominatives in our English translation, their exact counterparts are found in the Hebrew text in 102 instances, and supplied in the other by a connective particle; and in the cases in which *He that*, is so used, I have found no instance, involving a legal consequence, in which the pronoun was not directly or connectively represented in the original by an equivalent noun or pronoun.

Will it be said that, notwithstanding these facts, an intelligent rendering of the precept demands the adoption of the pronoun in order to make sense of the passage, and that therefore we are authorized to supply it as we are to supply any proven omission? This is to suppose that the spirit of the precept has been rightly ascertained by one or other of the translations which prefix the pronoun. To this suggestion we oppose the important consideration, that in none of these translations are the rule and reason coincident. A true translation, we submit, cannot exist until

these are in harmony. In the fact that man was created in the image of God, we can perceive no occasion why the blood of man should ever be shed by man, but we can see abundant reason why the shedding of the blood of man by man shall bring, both upon the individual and the class, blood-guiltiness, and why it should be in figurative effect a shedding of the hallowed blood of Him whose image man bears. The versions I may offer to the reader in my next number will have reference to these consequences, giving, as I finally must, a preference to that which is most purely literal.

ALEPH.

Table showing the English Protestant translation of sundry Hebrew particles in the Pentateuch, with notes.

Rendered	כ	ל	ם	על	כי
In	1658	119	16	73	
Into	86	17	1	8	
At	71	18	14	21	
At, in connection with "hand" (1.) noting accountability or derivation (2.)	0	0	3	0	
On	133	17	45	71	
Upon	98	13	1	516	
Over	22	2	0	89	
Above	0	0	7	21	
With	326	84	10	46	
Among	59	6	5	3	
Of	65	261	439	5	
For, in the sense of "pro"	72	550	29	84	261
For, "because"					
Throughout	21	38	0	0	
Through = throughout	1	0	0	0	
Through, noting passage (3.)	22	0	1	0	
Through, "cause" (4.)	6	0	0	0	
Through, "medium" (5.)	5	0	0	0	
Against	56	17	2	58	
By, noting asseveration (6.)	8	0	0	0	
By, "place, time or class" (7.)	42	45	2	76	
By, in connection with things, noting various instrumentality	39	18	7	5	
By, in connection with "hand" noting personal agency	19	0	1	0	
By, in connection with hand in the Hebrew, noting personal agency (8.)	1	0	0	0	
By, in connection with persons, noting their agency, but this sense of כ, in each instance, denied (9.)	6	4	1	2	2
	2816	1209	595	1108	261

NOTES.—(1.) Hand, כ, id, implies custody, authority, and power. (2.) Accountability noted, Gen. 9: 5—derivation noted, Gen. 33: 19. (3.) Example through the land, Gen. 12: 6. (4.) Ex. Through ignorance, Lev. 4: 2, 22, 27. (5.) Ex. Through famine, Gen. 41: 36—counsel, Num. 31: 16—a mighty hand, Deut. 5: 15. (6.) Ex. By myself have I sworn, Gen. 22: 16. (7.) Ex. By their names, Gen. 25: 13—the river—41: 32—the way, 42: 38,

day by day, Num. 28: 3. (8.) *בִּי יָמֵי*. By the hand of Moses, Exod. 9: 35, rendered in the translation "by Moses." (9.) The instances are, 1st, Gen. 9: 6, sense in; 2d and 3d, Num. 12: 2, sense in or with 4th, Num. 21: 18, sense according to and with, Martin's French bible has the latter, avoiding our supplied words; 5th, Num. 36: 2, occurring in the passage "my lord was commanded by the Lord," sense of, agreeably to Martin; 6th, Deut. 33: 29, sense in or of.

ALEPH.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

The following letter you may consider, if you choose, not to have come from the place whence it professes to have emanated. The moral is just as good whether it represents the case of a single individual, pining in the slave-prison at Baltimore, or the thousands constantly groaning in the greater prison-house of Southern bondage—suffering wrong and degradation by the infidelity of the friends of the slave to the great principles on which they demand his deliverance of others. And yet I think that William Lloyd Garrison would rest feverish on his pillow, did he realize that a single individual was incarcerated in prison on no higher plea of his being the occasion of it, than is contained in this letter, however much he may now rest content with his proportionate contribution to the wrong done to thousands. Of this, will you please let him and your readers be the judges?

Yours for the bondman,

WOOLMAN.

To William Lloyd Garrison.

SLATTER'S PRISON, BALT., JULY 4.

Sir,—I write you from this wretched receptacle for the slave, on this boasted day of liberty to the white—but not to the coloured—American. It was within the power of your fidelity to principle to have made me a happy freeman: your disobedience to it has kept me what I am, a hapless slave,—awaiting here the bid of some dealer in human thaws, or, that failing to be offered, a shipment by the next packet as an "adventure to New Orleans." Wherever I go, bonds await me! The price demanded for my bones and sinews is their productive value in pounds-weight and money-worth of sugar, rice and cotton!—Users of these goods, what do you bid for me?

I was my master's favoured slave, and thus came to know that he contemplated the liberation of myself and his other slaves. Your paper—will you believe it?—was often in his hands, and I have many times heard him commend you to his friends as a man of noble bearing in behalf of suffering humanity, and above the influence of all feelings of personal conveni-

ence or selfishness—a very example for others. They were more sceptical of your moral position, and when he announced to them his intended purpose of giving us our instant liberation, they were prepared to shew him, upon satisfactory evidence, that to the extent that slavery was convenient to you, you used it,—that you asked of others to do, what you did not exemplify in your own conduct, and that though you cried lustily STOP THIEF, it was but the better to disguise the fact, perhaps to your own conscience, certainly to the perception of others, that at the end of the thief's race, you kept a house for the reception and use of his stolen goods. The information and proof was decisive of our fate. No longer sustained by the beau-ideal he had cherished of your exalted virtue, his own fell to a corresponding point of deep depression, in which a cold, calculating, selfish expediency became his rule of action. We remained his hope-departed slaves. The golden opportunity was passed forever; for, in a few months an unexpected decree in chancery subjected us to seizure and sale; and husbands and wives, and parents and children, were forever severed. I was the purchase of a speculator. On my certainly kind master bidding me a last farewell, his voice choked as he uttered these words: "If I did you wrong, William, in not giving you the freedom to which the feelings of my heart prompted me, your friend did you the greater wrong in not setting me the example of that self-denial which I expected of him—inferior in degree to the self-sacrifice I contemplated, but which was necessary to my confirmation in a virtuous purpose."

Sir,—I am your prisoner!

WILLIAM SMITH.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

Being a few years ago, at the table of a valued minister, (for whose recent removal the church yet deeply mourns,) some one present spoke sneeringly of abstinence from slave produce. I felt tried with the approving smiles which followed, believing that as that abstinence had its origin in conscientious feelings, sneers and ridicule were not the proper weapons with which to meet it, and I asked our noble-minded host,* whether, if the products of slavery were now for the first time to be offered in our markets, any of us would buy them. He seriously replied, after a moment's pause, "No, I think we would not." Other prominent Friends were present, but no one attempted

*He was one to whom a child might come with an honest difference of opinion, and be certain of a candid and respectful hearing.

to gainsay it. I have often since thought of that reply, and believe it may be laid down as a truth;—*We would not buy or use, knowingly, the productions of slavery, were they now for the first time to be introduced for sale.*

How then can the use of them now be right? Custom reconciles it. The practice was handed down to us from our predecessors in religious fellowship, whose memory we love and cherish, and whose faithfulness to their convictions of duty is unquestionable. But we must not receive as certainly correct, all the practices of good men. The first efforts of our society were against importing slaves,—then against trading in them; at length against holding them, and in favour of remunerating those who had been unjustly held in bondage. And yet slaveholding was as essentially sinful,—was as much opposed to truth and justice and holiness, when the discipline of the Society was established, as it was a hundred years afterwards, when the holding of men became a disciplinary offence. I would not try the practices of the men of that time of darkness, in relation to human rights, by the anti-slavery principles of the present day; so I hope to be preserved from improperly judging by the moral standard of a rapidly approaching day, those good men who, battling earnestly against slavery, are now in favour of a commercial union with slaveholders. And yet to my mind, that commercial union, which uses the means of the opponents of slavery to uphold slavery, is scarcely more defensible in a moral point of view, than a similar union with privateers or smugglers. Indeed, of the three offences I should hold the last, the least.

Now do not condemn me, gentle reader, that I have told thee somewhat of my secret thoughts, but with introverted mind, go down to those still depths where human custom, human passion, human prejudice, lose all their power, and with childlike simplicity, listen to the Pure Teacher. If thou art there encouraged to trade unhesitatingly with the dealers in men,—show me thy better reason. Truth is but one. Let us agree.

S. A.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

The system of slaveholding is guarded and sustained by a great variety of means, and various are the degrees by which these means tend to that end; hence there may be a variety of means employed, each tending in its different degree to uproot the abhorrent system.

The surest or readiest method to destroy a tree is to pluck it up by the roots, though He who

prefers cutting off the branches may with untiring perseverance eventually effect the same results. The anti-slavery field is one possessing widely extended labours. It is one inviting all classes, all the different religious denominations, all the different parties of political men, of various degrees of capacity, each to contribute their respective share of labour and influence for the entire overthrow of slavery.

Would it not be irrational to suppose that all these, under every variety of circumstance, and every degree of information upon the subject, (though acting with the same intention,) should employ means of like efficiency? Certainly it would. Then how sparing the friends of abolition ought to be of denunciation and censure one of another, and especially where there is no evidence of impure motives.

Every honest, candid man, will abandon the less efficient mode, on seeing one possessing greater efficiency; then labour is best bestowed in exhibiting the latter to advantage, rather than striving and arguing to render the former valueless. No man wishes to have his house (though a poor one) pulled down while he is yet in it; but erect and offer him a better, and he will readily abandon the first, though years of entreaty and argument would not have otherwise effected its vacation. So with the different modes pursued for the abolishment of slavery. Had the professed friends of abolition for years past been sufficiently engaged in seeking out and practically exhibiting the best mode of action for its advancement, and less engaged in accusation and censure one of another, there is no doubt but at this day thousands, who are honestly labouring in lopping off the branches of the corrupt system, would have been engaged with equal perseverance and integrity in laying the axe to the root of slaveholding, by a refusal to purchase the products of the slave's toil. The free and unreserved purchase and consumption of these products, is a positive, practical acknowledgment of the right of the master in the man, whom, under an arbitrary law, he claims to be his property.

Does any man of reflection doubt, that to stop slave-purchasing would be a certain preventative of slave-selling? Certainly not. Then why is not the purchaser of slaves responsible for the sale of human beings and the evils connected with it? That he is, cannot be denied—if acting in full knowledge of all the facts in the case.

Candid reader, canst thou say in sincerity, in view of these plain truths, that it is less self-evident, that to stop the purchase of slave-labour products would be a certain preventative of the

sale of such products, than ceasing to purchase slaves prevents the sale of slaves? And if no sale can be made of slave-labour products, is not the main inducement for slaveholding removed? Most certainly. Then wherein is the purchaser and consumer of slave-labour products contributing in a less degree to the holding of slaves and its attendant evils, than the purchaser of slaves is contributing to the slave-trade and its attendant evils? I see no difference. Again, if we tell the slaveholder that he has no moral right to his slave, that his claim is unjust and spurious, he with equal truth may tell us, however unjust and immoral we may declare his right to be to the slave, ours to the proceeds of his unrequited toil is precisely the same.

Reader, let us put the question to ourselves. Ought we not as far as practicable to cease from all participancy in this vile system of man's claiming property in his fellow man, if desirous of promoting morality, philanthropy, or Christianity?

Now, if after all these convictions and acknowledgments, we still persist in the free and voluntary use of slave-labour products, do we not fully imitate the man, who "beholdeth himself in a glass and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was?"

20th of 7th mo., 1847.

D. I.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

I take the liberty of offering for insertion the following extract from the Burlington Gazette. Its author is a Presbyterian minister, and it is always pleasant to notice in religious professors a full appreciation of the good which is to be found in other folds. The work referred to is in my estimation one which it would be a pity that any *Friend* should omit to read, and which will be likely to interest the leading minds of the age, irrespective of sects.

W. J. A.

"THE LATE WILLIAM ALLEN, OF LONDON."

"During the first quarter of this century, there were associated together in London, the most remarkable company of philanthropists, perhaps, whom the world has ever witnessed. 'Instant in season, and out of season,' to promote every object of benevolence—animated by the most fervent love for humanity, and pity for human suffering, this devoted band of heroic, humble men, ceased not, day nor night, to prosecute their mission of peace and good will to men. We love even now with grateful affection, to call over their honored names. There,—first and foremost in every good work,—was the benignant

Wilberforce—the man who awed down by his lofty integrity and consistency of purpose, the ribald scoffers who were prone to vent their sneers at "the honourable and religious gentleman," and made even the most profligate to feel "how awful virtue was." And there, too, was the gay and joyous *Granville Sharpe*, now singing one of David's psalms to his harp, and now moving all the powers of his age to abolish the infamous traffic in men on the coast of Africa—and beside him was the stout-hearted *Buxton* and *Zachary Macaulay*—the venerable *Clarkson*, now gone to receive his crown, and the good *Joseph John Gurney*, now gone to be with *Clarkson*—and *Henry Thornton*, too, and *Forster*, and (by no means out of place among so many bearded men) in their midst, we espy the meek face of that angel of mercy, *Elizabeth Fry*. Among all this group of eminent philanthropists there was none more influential and respected than William Allen. "Let me introduce you," said *Wilberforce* to Sir James Macintosh in the presence of our townsman, Dr. *Griscom*. "Let me introduce you to William Allen; he is a plain Quaker, but he is the best man in London." And well did he deserve such an eulogy, if the biography now before us gives,—as we doubt not it does,—a true portraiture of his character. The first volume of his "Life" has just appeared, and we have seen nothing like it since the delightful memoir of *Wilberforce* by his sons. In fact there is a strong resemblance between them. The style is the same, being made up of familiar diaries and correspondence. The characters too are very much the same. We are still in the same delightful company. Like *Wilberforce*, Allen is continually "going about doing good." At one time we find him closeted with a committee of Parliament on the Slave-trade—at another devising with *Clarkson* and *Sharpe* some plan for relieving the starving poor of London—at another time drawing up, with *Gurney* and *Forster*, memorials for peace—and then again, groping through the loathsome prisons with *Elizabeth Fry*. In all his missions of benevolence he found a most efficient co-worker in our venerable townsman, *Stephen Grellet*. The name of Mr. *Grellet* occurs very frequently through the work—often in such pleasant associations as the following:—

"12th month 31st.

"A meeting at six o'clock in the large meeting house, Bishopgate Street, at the request of *Stephen Grellet*, for the poor of Spitalfields. I accompanied our dear friend, not without some serious apprehensions for the consequences of drawing so many together of such a description of persons. The house was soon quite filled, and great numbers, perhaps some hundreds, stood. Dear *Stephen*, though at first interrupted with the noise,

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH 1, 1847.

"ON THE SIDE OF THEIR OPPRESSORS THERE WAS POWER!"—We have recently had a verification of this truth in the following gross violations of right:

A Southerner, visiting at the Falls of Niagara, had with him a woman whom he claimed as a slave, but who, according to the laws of the State, as he knew, was a free woman. She was kept secluded—some say confined—under circumstances to induce the belief that she was illegally restrained of her liberty. On the 10th ultimo, he was proceeding to the cars for the purpose of leaving the place, accompanied by the woman under escort of the landlord and one or two other assistants, when a coloured man asked the woman if she wished to go back to the South. Her reply was that she did not. The enquirer was then knocked down, and a contest ensued in which several coloured men were very much injured. Finally the Southerner succeeded in taking the woman with him. In the evening the house of a coloured man was attacked with stones and other missiles. A gun was fired from the house, when the house and property in it, and one or two other houses occupied by coloured persons were entirely destroyed!

The barque *Lembranca*, Capt. La Coste, arrived at New York having on board a female servant, a cook, and a seaman, all slaves, and belonging to the Captain. On application of some humane friends, Judge Daly, of the Court of Common Pleas, issued a writ of *habeas corpus* requiring the captain to produce them, which he did on the 12th ultimo—his counsel submitting a protest, by the Brazilian consul, to the effect that the slaves belonged to Brazilian subjects, and were property lawfully acquired in Brazil; and that the Brazilian government would hold ours responsible for the loss of property in question, to the extent of its full value.

The return to the writ admitted the facts in regard to the persons being slaves, but rested for defence on the 12th section of the treaty with Brazil, which pledges the contracting parties to give their "especial protection to the persons and property of all classes in the jurisdiction of each residing therein." For the slaves, the counsel, John Hopper, Esq., in reply, admitted the facts set forth in the return, but denied their sufficiency to cause the detention of the slaves, and moved for their discharge under the statute of 1840, which expressly says: "All slaves hereafter

was favored to deliver a very impressive address, and stood about an hour and a half. He was afterwards engaged in supplication, followed by E. J. Fry."

"One of the most attractive portions of the volume to us is the account of the *Emperor Alexander's* visit to the Friend's Meeting, in company with William Allen. The modest Quaker tells us with charming simplicity how he "walked at a respectful distance before the Emperor and showed him and the two Dukes to a seat fronting the meeting—the Duchess preferring the first cross form on the women's side"—and how "the meeting remained in silence about a quarter of an hour, in which time my mind was sweetly calmed and refreshed"—and how "Richard Phillips then stood up, with a short, but respectable address to the meeting, and soon after John Wilkinson was engaged in explaining the effects of vital religion, beautifully applying the text, 'He is their sun and their shield.' After he sat down, John Bell uttered a few sentences, and John Wilkinson sweetly concluded in supplication."

"But we have no time or space to enumerate all the striking portions of this most agreeable biography, which contains every variety of information and reminiscence. For Mr. Allen is not merely a philanthropist, visiting schools, and establishing charity soup houses. He is a man of science, discussing galvanism with Davy, and reading papers before the Royal Agricultural Society. He is a man of letters too,—and a traveler throughout all Europe, giving very lively sketches of his pilgrimage. We are impatient to see the second volume—for in reading the first, we have had what good Mr. Allen himself calls, "a solid, satisfactory time." In laying aside this beautiful record of a good man, we could not but say with James Montgomery—

"Servant of God! well done;
Rest from thy loved employ;
Thy battle fought, thy victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy;
The pains of death are passed,
Labor and sorrow cease;
And, life's long warfare closed at last,
Thy soul is found in peace."

Burlington, July 12.

T. L. C.

[We took an early opportunity to express the high gratification we derived from a perusal of the *Life of William Allen*, on the first appearance of the London copy in this country. The first volume of a handsome American edition has been just issued, and may be had at the book store of the publisher, Henry Longstreth, 347 Market St., or at the Friends' Bible Depository, 50 N. Fourth St., Philadelphia. The second, which will be the concluding volume, will appear in about a month hence. We cannot but commend the publication to the well deserved notice and patronage of our readers and friends.—EDITORS.]

brought into this State shall be free." After a short hearing on the general merits of the case, in which the venerable Isaac T. Hopper took an active part, the further hearing was postponed.

The parties again appeared on the 14th, when, according to the Tribune, the following proceedings ensued:

"On Mr. Purroy making a return the previous day, he wished Messrs. Hopper, who appeared on behalf of the slaves, to demur or plead to it, but they did not consider it necessary to do either. They saw that the captain admitted the parties to be slaves, and supposed that to be sufficient for their purpose; and they admitted the facts set forth in the return to be correct, with the exception of the Treaty, with which they were unacquainted. Mr. Purroy yesterday got them to endorse such admission on the return. Mr. P. then presented his views, in which he referred to several decisions in favor of his point, and also read from portions of the Treaty. He was replied to by Mr. Moffat, a layman, on behalf of the slaves.

"The return of the Captain states, that the two men form part of the crew, were regularly shipped as such in Brazil, and, as a portion of the crew, came emphatically within the terms of the treaty, and the Captain is entitled to retain them. Mr. Moffat contended that the shipping articles should be produced, and proof gone into to show the fact. This, however, Mr. Purroy contended the admission of the return would not permit, as Mr. H., for the slaves, had acknowledged that they were part of the crew.

"Judge D. intimated that there is a case in Wendell where parties of the kind were discharged as slaves, and then committed as deserters, on account of forming part of the crew.

"The court then held the case for advisement and decision."

On the 17th, Judge Daly, denying a motion of John Jay, Esq., in behalf of the slaves, for a rehearing of the argument, decided that the slaves should be given up to the custody of their master—the men on the ground of the admission by their counsel (which he held bound them!) that they formed part of the crew, legally shipped, and the woman because she stated that she had not been deprived of her liberty. The slaves were then returned to the vessel, the men placed in irons, to prevent them from escaping, and two policemen stationed on board to assist the captain, should it be necessary, in securing them!

Some further proceedings have been instituted in the hope of changing this disastrous issue, but we are without particulars. If the decision of Judge Daly is to be accepted as sound law, foreign slaveholders can institute slavery within the precincts of the free States, in defiance of their civil institutions and of natural right, whilst slaveholders of our own country, bringing their slaves within the territorial jurisdiction of those

States, will by such act forfeit all legal right of ownership in them—whatever aid they may else obtain in recovering their forfeited property.

ISAAC BROWN AND HIS JAILOR.—In bold relief to the discouraging circumstances we have just related, we present to the view of our readers the independent course of the Grand Inquest of Philadelphia County, in ignoring a bill presented to them, by order of the Court, against the jailor of the county for aiding the escape of a prisoner, founded on the fact of his having surrendered him to the Sheriff under a writ de homine replegiando issued out of the Supreme Court, without awaiting the direction of the Court which committed him.

The prisoner, Isaac Brown, was probably an absconding slave, and the sinister motive for his arrest, his re-capture. He was committed, however, in pursuance of a warrant from the Governor of the State, on demand of the Governor of Maryland, directing his seizure and return to the judicial authority of that Commonwealth, as a fugitive from its justice.

During the pendency of some proceedings in the court, enquiring into the sufficiency of the warrant for his delivery, the Governor issuing it, upon the recommendation of his legal adviser, the Attorney General, recalled it, so that his committal became null and void, and his longer detainment an injustice. It was at this period that the writ was resorted to in order to effect his enlargement, the court having adjourned without directing it. To have waited any mode of delivering the prisoner less prompt than the one resorted to, would have been to subject him to the hazard of other measures being adopted, known to be in progress, and which probably would have issued in his re-enslavement. The method adopted was, therefore, alike prompted by Justice and Humanity.

The Court, in its charge to the Grand Jury, entered into an elaborate consideration of the case presented by the delivery of the prisoner without the intervention of the authority committing him, as involving "an utter prostration of all legal process"—averring that the jailor should "have told the Sheriff when he came to the prison door, that he held the prisoner on a commitment issued by a judge of this Court on a criminal charge," (?) when "that officer would have gone his way, and so returned upon his writ, which would have been a performance of his duty and a sufficient legal return;"—and earnestly urging upon the jury the duty of finding a bill against the jailor for delivering up the prisoner, and so allowing his

escape. The following article, taken from the Liberty Herald, a new and spirited anti-slavery journal, will show the action of the jury in the case:

JUDGE, JAILOR AND JURY IN A JAM.—It will be recollected that Judge Parsons of the Court of Quarter Sessions for this city and county, ordered the prosecution of the keeper of the prison for delivering Isaac Brown to the Sheriff in obedience to a writ of the Supreme Court, whereby the prisoner effected his escape from an illegal imprisonment. The pretence of an imputed crime upon which he was arrested, was a mere fraud. The real design was to recapture him and carry him again into Hope Slatter's slave-pen in Baltimore. The Judge, however, under his own views of law and order, held the jailor to answer for this offence, and took some pains to procure a finding against him by the grand jury. The judge insisted to the jury that the writ on which Brown was released, by its very terms excluded all persons from its benefits who are held on a criminal charge, but he forgot to mention that Brown was not so held. He was in jail—in legal freedom—in a clear interval between one warrant which the Governor had vacated, and another which Judge Parsons intended to issue, and so he slipped out of the clutches of the man-thieves. The grand jury understood all this perfectly well, and accordingly confined their inquiries to the point of ascertaining the prosecutor, that they might put the costs upon him; but as they could not settle it with certainty that the Judge could be so regarded while acting in his office upon the bench, they contented themselves with ignoring the bill unanimously.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—We published two months since an account of the gross injustice done to this estimable man, in depriving him of his purchased right to a cabin passage in the ship Cambria. This conduct was in strong contrast with the fact that during the nineteen previous months, his distinguished talents, his amiable manners and his high moral worth had given him a ready admission into the best English society. It was only when he came under commercial influences, that his colour was discovered to be a sufficient reason, not for denying to him, in advance, the right to acquire a conveyance in the ship on the advertised terms of passage, but for breaking a solemn contract already entered into, and ratified by the payment and acceptance of his money, and the delivery to him of his berth certificate. This sacrifice of veracity, honour, honesty, was made at the shrine of the American trade! Our readers will be glad to see in the letter we have taken from the British Friend, written since his return to America, the evidence of his Christian bearing and unsubdued moral firmness under the infliction of this outrageous wrong.

FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.—We derive from various sources the information that the duty of disusing the productions of slavery, and of substituting for them the products of free industry, continues to be faithfully urged on the attention of the British people by distinguished abolitionists in Great Britain. Among the labourers in that cause, we are happy to know, is one of our own countrymen, now on a mission of love to that country, whose enlarged mind, and quick perception of what is true and just, have led him to its advocacy, and whose acceptance with the people in other respects has given him a peculiar access to them in this relation. To the enterprise is indeed opposed a vast amount of selfish, and even conservative, feeling; but, faithfully sustained by its heralds, the Truth must be onward.

We are glad to find that at a meeting on the subject of Slavery, held at Friends Meeting House, in Grace Church Street, London, during the week of London Yearly Meeting, the subject of the disuse of the products of slavery, formed a prominent consideration. The amount of slavery, it was shown by the speakers, was contingent on the demand for its products, and so proven by the lamentable fact that the opening of the British ports to the slave sugars of Brazil and Cuba had largely increased the price of slaves, the price of lands, and the African slave-trade. The slave-trade, it was shown, could not be abolished by any naval or military equipments—were they morally allowable—whilst the cupidity which sustained the trade was fed by a commercial demand for the products of the labour of its victims, overpaying the risks of the trade. The duty, thence following, of meeting the system by counteracting operations in favour of free labour, was forcibly, and, we should judge, convincingly urged, and the practicability of making those counteracting movements illustrated by the exhibition of various articles of merchandise, made exclusively of free cotton—the produce of British India, where there was an ample territory for its cultivation, wanting but the moral impulse which should demand it—the number and variety of which articles, it was said, would be shortly increased. The meeting is represented to have listened with deep, and, we doubt not, profitable attention to the statements made to them.

The conviction presses upon us, that the concern which has for its object the substitution of free for slave labour, is not to be limited to a particular community, or locality, but is to be wide spread, among all considerate classes, throughout all parts of the nation, depending

much, it may be, on the fidelity now of a few. The extensiveness of that feeling would undoubtedly be greatly promoted, and its purpose accomplished at an earlier period than the most sanguine now look to, by the discovery of some new facilities within the wide range of the British Empire for the growing of the best cotton with the greatest advantage. We look with much hope at the indication of a feeling likely to be got up in Glasgow on this subject, if the facts set forth in the following extract of a letter, published a few days since in the North American, prove to be accurate.

"Ireland is not the only over-peopled land in these old countries which it is proposed to relieve by colonization—nor Canada the only region whose wilds it is intended to reclaim by the outflowing of a surplus population. A plan is now proposed by Dr. Lang, "Senior, Minister of the Presbyterian Church, and Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales," which promises to relieve Scotland, benefit Australia, and, indirectly, to influence America. Dr. Lang has travelled in cotton-growing countries, the Brazils, the Southern United States, and he lived 25 years in Australia. He finds in North Eastern Australia from 30° south lat. to the tropic of Capricorn, the same range of latitude as Egypt in the Northern Hemisphere, an immense tract equally—or better—capable of producing Cotton as the Carolinas; and inconceivably superior in point of salubrity of climate, while it is unsurpassed in the world for bays, estuaries, rivers, &c., all navigable by steamboats. He proposes that Glasgow—where the cotton from this tract has been pronounced "a very valuable kind, which, if imported in quantity, would readily bring from 11d. to 1s. per lb."—should send out some five or six thousand of the destitute they are now supporting, as a beginning; and he has little doubt but that they would produce a better article than the cotton of the Brazils, and by this free labor, drive your American slave-produce article out of the market. The experiment succeeding, there would be a comfortable settlement for the industrious but destitute of Britain: an ample supply of raw material for British manufactures; and, Dr. Lang is confident, "it would tend more directly and more effectually than all the abolitionist and evangelical agitation to give ultimate freedom to the American slave." To prove all this the doctor has prepared a book which is to be soon published; and meanwhile is to deliver some lectures in Glasgow—to prove that it is the best means of affording remunerating and permanent employment to the destitute of home,—will provide a superior article for our manufactures, much cheaper, being perennial—as it is in India and Egypt—and by underselling America, not only in cotton, but other articles of tropical produce, "slavery will be extinguished as a matter of course, being no longer either profitable or remunerative." In what way the experiment will be made, and if made, with what success, is a problem yet to be solved."

LETTER OF A NEW ORLEANS MERCHANT.—We cannot but contemplate with feelings of burning indignation the cold, business-like complacency with which the following letter was written. We derive the document from a source of unquestioned authenticity, else we should not have dared to have entered on our pages what we consider to be a libel on our common human nature; usual as we believe such papers to be, and necessary as we suppose they are to the existence of that vile system which makes goods and chattels of men. It strikes us as being among the highest evidences of our wretchedly fallen nature, not so much that a man shall commit crime under the impulse of some sudden gust of passion, as, that he shall deliberately set down to contrive and plan it. This is the condemnation of the writer of the letter before us—that he deliberately prostituted the talents and faculties he largely possessed to the base purpose of suggesting ways and means by which a conversion of his fellow men into articles of commerce might be most efficiently and gainfully secured!

And yet what instigated him to this desecration of those talents and faculties? Did it result from the spontaneous impulses of a wicked heart—or was it partly and greatly instigated by the wickedness of the world without him? We believe the latter. Without the connivance of that world there was no motive to action. The electric chain by which motive was conveyed to him, was held at the other end by the users of the products of that labour which this commerce existed to furnish.

Copy of a Letter written by John Clay, Esq., Merchant of New Orleans, to Theodore Mansfield, on the subject of a Negro Trade from Maryland or Virginia to Louisiana.

New Orleans, 10th February, 1809.

MR. THEODORE MANSFIELD.

Dear Sir,—Agreeable to my promise made to you in our several conversations on the subject of a negro speculation in Maryland and Virginia, I now undertake to give you the outlines of advantages and profits which would result from the purchase of negroes in those places, and bringing them to Louisiana for sale. Since this law has expired, which permitted the introduction of negroes into the Carolinas, a negro trade from Virginia and Maryland must be attended with great profit.

I have had several cargoes sent to me for sale within the last four months, which were invoiced at average \$225 in Virginia. The sales which I effected of them here, and which were nearly all

prompt payments, averaged \$450 per head; the freight and other charges inclusive did not exceed more than \$60 per head; so that there was a profit produced of upwards of seventy per cent.

This country would now, although labouring under the disadvantages of a restricted commerce, justify the introduction of several thousand negroes, owing to the valuable exports which are raised for sale, and many of the planters have been laying up their funds for the express purpose of purchasing negroes.

Should commerce open, the advantages resulting from a negro trade are incalculable, and, of course, the prices which might be obtained here would far exceed those I have quoted. If your friend, Mr. T., from this sketch, should be induced to go into the trade, I would recommend him to Norfolk in Virginia, and by laying down one-fourth of the purchase money, he would be enabled to obtain a credit of 6 and 12 months for the residue.

By advancing \$10,000, and in the purchase of young negroes from 9 to 24 years of age, this capital in the course of three voyages would produce to him a profit of \$50,000. If Mr. Turner should not undertake this trade, perhaps you might induce some other merchant of capital to go into the speculation.

If it is undertaken by any of your friends, and you are charged with it, I would recommend you to give me early advice, that I may make contracts and engage purchasers for the slaves.

I give you a list of prices which I have sold negroes at here recently, and which will govern you in the prices which you might offer in Virginia. If negroes bring those prices under the present limitations in commerce, what must they do when it becomes free?

Wishing you a pleasant voyage,

I remain, dear Sir, your friend,

(Signed) JOHN CLAY.

A girl, 7 years old, sold for 300.	Cost in Va. 100
" 9 " " 450.	" 175
A boy, 9 " " 450.	" 200
A man " 550.	" 275
" " 600.	" 300

Two families, viz.:	
2 men,	1900.
2 women and	
5 children,	

14 in all.	Sold for 4250.	Cost 2055
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Some calculations on the profits of a negro trade from Virginia and Maryland to Louisiana, made from the preceding letter, together with some remarks on that trade.

It appears that from actual sales made at New Orleans, that 14 negroes sold there for \$4250

And that those 14 negroes cost \$2055

To which add for freight and other

charges, as stated in said letter, at \$60 per head average, 840

In whole, ——— 2895

Leaving a profit on 14 of ——— \$1355

Or 66 per cent on first cost.

Thus, 100 negroes, say assorted as quoted

herein, would cost in Virginia, \$14,678 57

And would sell, say for 30,357 14

Leaving a balance of \$15,678 57

From which deduct \$60 per head for

freight and other charges, 6,000 00

————— \$9,678 57

But on still following the statement made by

Mr. Clay as to the terms of credit on which they

are to be purchased in Virginia, and the profit on

the cash actually engaged in the voyage would

become immense.

Thus, as before stated, 100 negroes cost

in Virginia \$14,678 57, for three-

fourths of which you are to have

a time of 6 and 12 months, on

paying one-fourth down, makes

your cash actually advanced, 3,669 64

And the profit remains the same as be-

fore stated, viz. : \$9,678 57

Which is a profit of 263 per cent.

Note.—The principal on which this is grounded

would perhaps be incorrect in common trans-

actions, but it is presumed it is not so in this, as

in fact the fourth part advanced in cash is all the

capital actually employed in the business, as, on

a voyage of this nature, the proceeds of the cargo

would be in hand a long time before the expi-

ration of the credit of 6 and 12 months.

Some Observations on a Negro Speculation from

Maryland or Virginia to Louisiana.

From the enormous prices the planters have

obtained the last season for their sugars, viz.,

from 9 to 11 dollars per cwt., when the usual

prices have been about 6 dollars, it may be natu-

rally concluded that much greater quantities of

land will this season be laid down in cane,

which must tend to enhance the price of slaves

very considerably, as a much greater number of

negroes are required for the culture of the cane

than are needed on a plantation of the same num-

ber of acres in cotton.

Whenever the trade of the United States is re-

stored to its accustomed activity, the cotton plantations in that country must have a rapid increase, which will also require more slaves, as the culture of this plant is known to be very profitable; and the tobacco trade, as well as the various other productions of that country, being now on a rapid increase, and the resources almost inexhaustible must always warrant the introduction of a large number of slaves into that country, and must always insure great prices for them. The only way under the present laws of the Union prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the United States by which they get supplied, is from Virginia or Maryland, from both which states they are permitted to be exported, although it is believed the same permission is not granted by the legislative authority of the Carolinas or Georgia.

The introduction of negroes from Africa to Louisiana not being permitted by law, there is little or no chance of smuggling them into the country; in fact, the situation of the land at and about the mouth of the Mississippi, almost renders a plan of that nature chimerical, for about 36 miles from the entrance of the river you find but one settlement, viz., the Balize, where are a few houses devoted solely to the accommodation of the pilots and officers of the custom house stationed there, whose duty it is to board every ship entering the river, and to seize her if she is found infringing the laws of her country. After passing this place, the country is uninhabitable by man or beast, being on each side of the river, nothing but a deep morass, and covered with an almost impenetrable growth of reeds springing up from the mud and water, until you come to the fort at Plaquemine, about 36 miles from the mouth of the river, where the first settlements begin; and at which fort you are obliged to come to and submit to an examination by the commanding officers, where you are again liable to seizure, unless your papers, &c., are perfectly regular. In addition to which you will probably be boarded in the river frequently by gun boats or revenue cutters, so that it is almost impossible to succeed in an attempt of the kind.

The negroes also from the states are usually preferred to those direct from Africa, or as they are called new negroes, because they are more inured to the toils of slavery; they are in some measure habituated to the labours of the field, and they are purchased with more confidence, as their characters are already framed, and usually designated in their certificates from their former masters. Even in prosecuting this trade from Virginia a great deal of care is necessary to avoid

the risque of seizure, and consequently of condemnation, as it is necessary to have each individual slave entered, and the vessel furnished with regular papers from the Collector of the port you may sail from. The last winter several vessels were seized and condemned for want of this necessary precaution, and one in particular belonging to Philadelphia was condemned for having only one slave on board, although she was a servant to a passenger, yet not being regularly cleared at the Custom House, the vessel was actually condemned. From what I have observed on the coast, I believe it may be concluded that the American planters in general prefer the Maryland negroes when they are to be had, but the French planters, which are by far the most numerous, do not make any difference between those of Maryland or Virginia. It would be as well, however, in an undertaking of the kind, to have some from each state.

Although negroes who are imprisoned for some crime may frequently be purchased much lower than others, yet I should not think it an advisable thing to do, as they would undoubtedly command a more ready sale and better prices when furnished with characters from their former masters, which is a thing that ought by all means to be attended to, and the procuring of which it is presumed would not be difficult, as those who wish to sell will generally not be averse to giving a character, and perhaps sometimes may give them a better one than they deserve.

Was it intended to prosecute a trade of this kind, I should think it would be well to adopt the following mode: let the person charged with the management of it go to Maryland and Virginia, as far as Norfolk, by land, buying as many as he could on the route, or on the eastern shores of those two states, contracting to have them delivered in Norfolk, provided that was the port from which the expedition should sail, and to avoid the expense of having a vessel employed while they were collecting, and before they were ready for embarkation; a vessel might be sent on for the purpose after this agent had commenced his operations, or one might be chartered in Norfolk, as might be deemed most advantageous. It would be well to establish a credit in Norfolk or Baltimore, or perhaps in both, for the purpose of drawing on either one place or the other for those slaves which might be obtained in the country. It might also be calculated, that the freight which might be made out occasionally, independent of the negroes, would nearly or quite defray the expenses of the vessel on the voyage; perhaps a good brigantine of 180 or 200 tons, with two

SELECTIONS.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF ANTHONY BENEZET.

Through the kindness of an esteemed friend, we are put in possession of an original letter of Anthony Benezet, and make no apology for giving our readers a copy of it:

PHILAD^a y^e 14th 6th mo., 1758.

DEAR FRIEND:

The acct. of a number of Indians having past the Delaware, was yesterday confirmed by a letter dated fort Allen, wrote by Charles Thompson; so that we may expect to hear of the Destruction of numbers of our Back Inhabitants which is very afflicting to a sympathizing mind, and naturally leads, with deep concern, to consider the neglect which so much prevails amongst your politicians, with respect to Indian Affairs. Your declaration of war against the Indians is still in force, which joined to the mutinous and wrathful Dispositions of your back Inhabitants, may occasion their being guilty of some rash and cruel Act: Should they endeavour to destroy the people and settlement, now making, at Wioming, of which I am not without fear, the consequences might be dreadful both to your Province and this.

When I was last at Easton I was told by french Margaret that the Minisink Indians had done the most mischief and I understood were the most averse to peace with y^e English, which has since been confirmed to me by y^e chief amongst y^e Moravians, and Indeed, I believe, those people have been greatly abused both by your and our back Inhabitants, in several Respects, more especially in y^e settlement of their lands, for which, I doubt they have received little or no consideration. I cannot find that they had any representative, nor that any inquiry was [made] on your behalf when your Commissioners met the Indians at Crosswicks this spring tho' I apprehend them to be the greatest number and most able to do mischief than any other Indians which y^e Prov^{ce} is concerned with. They have been mistakenly looked upon as a Branch of y^e Delawares, and so have not been particularly considered in y^e sale of Land, and yet I believe received no part of y^e consideration from y^e Delawares; for I see by y^e treatize that they were looked upon by y^e Delawares as a separate nation under their own king. I understand Charles Read proposes to get your Indian Commissioners to meet next second day at Trentown to consider what is expedient to be done; if some of the Burlington Friends were present, I am apt to think there would be more likelihood of matters being

decks, would be as good a vessel as could be employed in this business, but this might be fixed at any time.

As the constituted authorities of New Orleans permit no Spanish ship to ascend the Mississippi, even to their own settlements on that river, no slaves can be introduced to Louisiana by that channel.

FREE LABOUR PRODUCTS.—At the suggestion of our correspondent, D. I., we may state, that so far no difficulty, other than some extra labour, care and expense, has been encountered by the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in procuring cotton, the product of free labour exclusively, in the newly settled districts, where the planter, though owning the land, has no capital to invest in slaves. The Association has rendered some assistance to such, in furnishing gins to be paid for in cotton. Sugar and coffee are obtained from the British West Indies and from the Northern Republics of South America. It is hoped that increased facilities will ere long be added for obtaining those articles and some others from other places. Molasses can be had from the British West Indies, though not without an advance on the price over a similar article of slave produce. The supply of rice raised by free labour is quite limited, as to any channels yet opened for procuring it. Small quantities are raised by the poorer people in North Carolina. There are ample rice lands in South Eastern Virginia, we are informed by a Friend, who recently visited those parts, from whence a full supply may be obtained for our Free Produce Store, should any free persons be found willing to cultivate it. Of this, however, we entertain some doubts, since corresponding with several Friends residing there. We may say, once for all, to all friends of the Free Produce cause, that they may rely on the goods of whatever kind kept at the Free Produce Store, N. W. corner of 5th and Cherry streets, in this city, as being uncontaminated with slave labour.

THE MEMORY OF THE JUST IS BLESSED.—We revive the memorial of Benjamin Bates of Virginia, in especial reference to the fragment relating to Slavery and War. We believe that it is only as the followers of the Prince of Peace are engaged to let their lights shine before men that they can expect to have any agency in hastening and extending His reign. The memorial briefly relates the life and death of a pious and exemplary man. Some of our readers will possibly add to it the ejaculation—"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!"

effectually looked into. Certainly Time calls for a strict inquiry into y^e situation of your Indians in General, more especially y^e Minisink Indians. The Proclamation of warr being still in force, is also a material point to be considered as well that all possible care be taken to prevent your back Inhabitants from taking any inconsiderate step which may continue and increase y^e enmity between us and the Indians. I remain in haste but with affectionate love to you all, thy Fr^d.

ANTHONY BENEZET.

For John Smith, at Burlington.

TESTIMONY OF THE UPPER QUARTERLY MEETING OF VIRGINIA CONCERNING BENJAMIN BATES, DECEASED.

Our beloved friend Benjamin Bates having terminated a life of active usefulness, both in civil and religious society, we feel our minds engaged to preserve some testimony concerning him, not only as a tribute due to his memory, but as transmitting to posterity a worthy example, and a commemoration of that divine preserving power which influenced the tenour of his life and forsook him not at his death.

He was born at Skimmens, in York county, the 10th day of 12th month, 1769, having a birth-right and education in our religious society. In his minority, he received a very limited school education; but being endued with active mental powers, and having a turn for literary pursuits, he applied himself with success to the study of various branches of science. Being thus furnished with qualifications and the employment suiting his turn of mind, he engaged in the business of tuition, in which he continued many years, discharging the duties of his profession with reputation, and generally securing the affection of those who were placed under his care. But we may here remark, that his mind was not involved in temporal engagements so as to become diverted from the more important business of life,—a preparation for the world to come,—but as he yielded to the impressions of heavenly goodness, extended in the morning of his days, he found a principle of preservation near, and his understanding becoming enlarged in divine things, he was gradually qualified for singular usefulness in religious society, wherein he filled many important stations. With the general approbation of Friends, he served the Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meeting as Clerk, for a number of years, and was frequently employed in writing on behalf of the Society, and in preparing the written communications of the meeting to which he belonged.

Among the records of the Yearly Meeting, which he had been employed in collecting and arranging, a loose paper, in his hand-writing, was found, in which he expresses himself in the following manner.

"On taking a view of the records it will be seen, that although many, and indeed the greater part of Friends in this country were concerned in Slavery, its inconsistency was early acknowledged, and testimonies were borne against the inhuman practice, and however small this branch of our religious testimony was, in its first appearance, and slow in its progress, it continued, through the divine blessing, still to go on, through every difficulty and discouragement, at length obtaining a triumphant prevalence in the Society. We believe the light held up by Friends, in discharging their various duties in relation to this subject, has been extensively felt and acknowledged, and that it affords encouragement to persevere in this and all other branches of their religious testimonies. Should the total eradication of this crying evil be effected, and another of great magnitude, the prevalence of war, should cease (and who can limit the power of the Almighty?)—should the followers of the Prince of peace, be so engaged to let their lights shine before men, that his reign may be hastened and extended in the earth, when the destructive weapons of war shall be beaten into the useful instruments of husbandry, then will generations yet unborn, on reviewing the progress and final prevalence of these testimonies, glorify our Father who is in heaven."

In a private capacity also, both by letters and in conversation, as occasions occurred, he zealously and ably defended the general doctrines of the Gospel, as well as those testimonies which have peculiarly devolved upon us to hold up to the world.

In the various duties of private life he was exemplary; as a son he was assiduously dutiful; as a husband he was affectionate and kind. He exercised authority over his children and family more by the influence of persuasive love than by rigid commands, and the mildness of his manners, and the usefulness his life, engaged the love and esteem of a numerous acquaintance of various ranks and denominations.

In an early stage of his disorder, he desired those who were present with him to leave the room except his wife, and his brother Fleming, to whom in a clear, calm, and impressive manner, he expressed a prospect that he should not survive the present illness. He then proceeded to give instructions relative to his affairs and the care of his children, in the event of his death. On

being requested by his wife and brother to send for a physician, he replied, "I submit to do what you judge best, but think not I am solicitous about the event; my mind is resigned to the Divine will." Soon after this the violence of the fever so affected his head, that his understanding became much weakened, yet he had some clear intervals, and continued much in a state of serenity of mind, and lively tenderness of spirit, wherein he often expressed sentiments of piety and love. In the latter stage of his illness, while the symptoms were assuming an appearance of extreme violence, he appeared to be engaged in solemn prayer. He continued speaking with great earnestness for a considerable time, but his speech was generally unintelligible till the conclusion, when he distinctly uttered the name of the blessed Redeemer, with Amen and Amen. A tremour and strong convulsions coming on, he appeared to sink under them; his breathing ceased, and dissolution seemed to have taken place, but he again revived, though the spasms continued to return at intervals for some hours, when he became calm and his reason returned. He then melted into tenderness, and affectionately embraced his friends. His son Micajah being present, he called him to his bed, took him by the hand, and said, "my dear son, take heed to thy ways and refrain thy feet from evil."

He continued in this tender frame of mind for some time, till his debility greatly increasing, he fell asleep, from which he awaked no more, but quietly passed away the 12th day of the 12th month, 1812, aged about 43 years.

DEACON GILES'S DREAM.

INTRODUCTION.

In an address to the Mayor and Corporation of the town of Galway, in 1584, Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, "among other articles touching reformation in the commonwealth," advised, "That a more straiter order be taken to bar the making of AQUA VITÆ of corn than hitherto hath been used, for that the same is a consumption of all the provision of corn in the commonwealth;" and he said, "That the AQUA VITÆ that is sold in towne ought rather to be called AQUA MORTIS to poyson the people, than comfort them in any good sorte, and in like manner byere and all wherein the officers in reforming the same have neede to be more vigilant and inquisitive than they be."

Ireland, now happily regenerated, was thus cursed with distilleries, converting the staff of life into the waters of death, long before the Pil-

grim fathers set their feet upon the rock of Plymouth. The people were "mad upon their idols." Magistrates viewed with fearful apprehensions the waste of the means of feeding the population and the waste of public morals, public health and human life, by that bewitching beverage called AQUA VITÆ, but which they even then properly denominated "poyson."

By means of the distillery, ardent spirit, or alcohol, described as "a thin, colourless fluid, lighter than water, somewhat volatile, of a pungent smell and taste, readily inflamed by the application of a lighted taper, and burning with a dim blue or purple flame,"—a fluid produced only by the decomposition of animal and vegetable productions in state of fermentation,—is separated from all other substances passed off in the form of vapour, and by a cooling process converted into a liquid poison. It is originally the intoxicating principle of all fermented drinks, as wine, cider, beer, etc.; and, as separated by the distillery, is known as alcohol, or pure spirit. Could it have remained hidden to the end of the world, in the fermented mass, happy would it have been, for the successive generations of men.

Its mildness, as combined with the native juices of the grape and the apple, could have done but comparatively little evil. It is manifest that most of the drunkenness of antiquity proceeded not from purely fermented drinks, but from their combination with drugs, whose poisonous nature soon overthrew the strongest constitutions. When the art of distillation was discovered, then was there brought, as it were from the bottomless pit, a pestilence which, in the language of a European writer, has been "more destructive than any plague that ever reigned in Christendom, more malignant than any other epidemic pestilence that ever desolated our suffering race, whether in the shape of the burning and contagious typhus, the loathsome and mortal small pox, the cholera of the east, or the yellow fever of the West—a disease far more loathsome, infectious, and destructive, than all of them put together, with all their dread array of suffering and death, united in one ghastly assemblage of horrific and appalling misery."

Curiosity has searched the annals of nations to learn the individual or people who first produced this terrible engine of evil. It is evident that the Greeks and Romans were entire strangers to the art. No allusion is made to it either in the works of Pliny, a Roman of great distinction in the first century, or of Galen, an eminent physician, who lived a century later. Among the Chinese there had long been a species of distillation, by which

they were enabled to extract the essence or aroma of flowers; but it never seemed to be used for the purpose of preparing an intoxicating liquor.

The first European writer who mentions the use of ardent spirits was Arnoldus de Villa, a Spanish physician of the thirteenth century; but it is generally believed that its great discoverer was a Mahomedan alchemist of Arabia, who lived in the ninth century, and who was torturing nature in pursuit of an universal solvent by which man might convert all things into gold. The name of Alcohol was first applied to the fluid produced by the distilling process, by Raymond Lully, a disciple of Arnoldus, who believed it to be an emanation of the Divinity, which was at once to effect a physical renovation of the human race.

The new medicine, for such it was esteemed, and not an ordinary beverage, spread by his recommendation through the northern sections of Europe. It was first used for the purposes of common life by the labourers in the Hungarian mines, to preserve them from the cold and damp. Distillation was introduced into Ireland earlier than into England. In 1556, an act of Parliament was passed at Drogheda against it, the distilled liquor being described in the act, "as a drink nothing profitable to be daily drunk or used." In the reign of Henry II., it found its way into England, and from that period it was no longer considered merely as a medical agent, but went into general use as an article of diet; and such has been the passion for ardent spirit among the British population, that 40,000,000 gallons annually have been consumed, besides an immense amount of fermented drinks.

About 1587, the French began the distillation of brandy from wine. Over the North of Europe distilleries have frightfully multiplied. In Sweden alone, with three millions of people, 160,000 distilleries have been run; most of them, however, have been small, and more than 50,000 have been closed by the temperance reformation.

In America, the business of distillation commenced at Boston, about 1700, with some merchants trading at the West Indies, who, perceiving that the molasses at the sugar houses was thrown away, caused it to be purchased by their agents and sent to Boston, where it was entered free of duty, and speedily converted into New England rum. The business so increased that it was extended to the Dutch and Danish Colonies; and molasses was purchased in exchange for horses, mules, lumber, fish, etc. In 1715, the British islands complained of the cutting off their supplies, and the diminution of their trade. Fierce

disputes followed, and in 1733 a duty of six-pence was laid on molasses imported into the colonies from any foreign port or place. But the New Englanders eluded it. A British fleet was sent to enforce it, and violent conflicts continued about the Molasses Act till the war of the Revolution.

The article thus manufactured was soon extensively used by the continental colonies, in carrying on the Indian trade and its fisheries. Anderson, in his "Origin of Commerce," remarks, "The consumption of rum in New England is so great, that an author on the subject asserts, that there have been 20,000 barrels of French molasses manufactured into rum, at Boston, in one year, so vast is the demand for that liquor." And Sir William Douglass, in a work printed at Boston, in 1775, says, "that spirit, (spiritus ardentus) not above a century ago, were used only as officinal cordials, but are now become an epidemical plague, being a pernicious ingredient in most of our beverages."

In 1794, distilleries, chiefly for grain, had become numerous in the States, especially in Pennsylvania, a rich grain-growing region. Congress laid a duty upon spirits distilled in the country; but in the four western counties of Pennsylvania the collection of the duty was violently resisted, in an open rebellion, which was only suppressed by the energy of Washington, and the appearance of an armed force.

In 1815, the number of distilleries had increased to 40,000, consuming in successive years more than 10,000,000 bushels of bread stuffs, and pouring over the land more than 30,000,000 gallons of ardent spirits distilled from grain, and more than 10,000,000 gallons distilled from molasses.

In 1832, Judge Cranch, of Washington city, computed the distilled spirit consumed in the United States, much of which, indeed, was imported, at 72,000,000 gallons, or six gallons to every man, woman, and child; costing the nation, in the purchase of the liquor, loss of the labour of drunkards, support of paupers, criminals, etc., 94,525,000 dollars annually, without taking into account loss from shipwrecks, fires caused by intemperance, costs of litigation, etc., etc.

With the mass of the population, distilleries were long considered a blessing to the country. They furnished, it was said, a ready market for the surplus grain of the country, and encouraged the growing; they gave a new value to the orchard, whose superabundant fruit could at once be converted into brandy; they brought ready employ to the carpenter, the cooper, the carrier; and furnished the nation with an excellent article, which it was importing from Holland and the West Indies

at great cost. Pious men, deacons of churches, owned and laboured in them without any loss of character. Many a neighbourhood was filled with joy that an immense distillery was to be built, and a spring given to business which would bring riches to every family.

But when the community began to see men gathered in and about these establishments, not a little resembling the inmates of almshouses and hospitals; when they found drunkenness spreading in all the country round, and once thriving farmers, who could conveniently take for their wood and grain a barrel of whiskey, becoming idle, frequenters of taverns and dram shops, and with their sons, fast travelling the road to ruin; when they saw how from these great establishments went out over the country hogsheads of liquid fire, to afflict and curse every neighbourhood, fill up jails and poorhouses with wretched victims, and send 30,000 of their fellow-citizens falling year after year, to the drunkard's grave—they then saw their error. They then understood that, but, perhaps, for the mechanic arts, every distillery in the land was a curse, and that it was the duty of every philanthropist and Christian to unite in its condemnation. But how were they to be broken up? Distilleries were generally run by men of wealth and influence in the community. They were powerfully supported by public sentiment. Interest pleaded for their continuance. Sober argument was tried in vain. The distiller, rolling in wealth, was covered with a coat of mail, and laughed at the shaking of our spear.

There was one weapon yet to be tried. But who should draw it from the armory of truth? Who should wield it, and cause it to expose the horrid secrets of this work of death? Where should the stripping be found who, with his sling and stone, should slay this Goliath? GEORGE B. CHEEVER was at that time a young minister in Salem, Mass. He had commenced his ministry with an uncompromising spirit toward whatever hindered the spread of the gospel kingdom. He often passed those murky establishments where, day and night, Sabbath and week days those lurid fires were burning, and that horrid machinery was in motion. From four distilleries there, no less than six hundred thousand gallons of ardent spirits were annually poured forth; through whose instrumentality, it was believed, a thousand individuals were reduced to pauperism, and four hundred were sent to the drunkard's grave. Of three thousand persons admitted to the workhouse within a few minutes' walk of his study, two thousand and nine hundred were there, directly

or indirectly, through intemperance. Over these evils, and an untold corruption of public sentiment, desecration of the Sabbath, and ruin of souls, connected with them, he could not sleep. And if he slept, he dreamed. He dreamed "a dream which was not all a dream!"—

"INQUIRE AT AMOS GILES'S DISTILLERY."

Upon its appearance in the Salem "Landmark," of February, 1835, the public excitement was tremendous. A spear had pierced and extinguished the eye of the horrid Cyclop.

"Clamorem immensam tollit, quo pontus et omnes Intremuere undæ penitusque exterrita tellus Italix, cutvisque immugit Ætna cavernis."*

Every distiller and importer, every vender and moderate drinker, almost the entire community, believing that what was legally right must yet be respected and honored, how horrid soever might be its moral results, cried against it as an outrage upon society. With one accord, they rushed to the halls of justice for protection. Among the four distilleries of the place, one was singled out as answering more directly to the description; and the proprietor himself a deacon of a Christian Church, and a man of unexceptionable character, feeling aggrieved and injured in his person and property, a prosecution was commenced by the Commonwealth, for a libel. Mr. Cheever pleaded not guilty to the charge, solely averring that it was never written or intended as an attack upon any individual; the object of the piece was to portray, in as forcible a light as possible, through the medium of the fiction he had conceived, the real nature and consequences of the manufacture of ardent spirits. Such, however, was the state of the public mind, that he was condemned; and on making his defence, he submitted meekly to the sentence of the court. But the whole procedure gave wings to the production of his genius, and caused it to become one of the great instruments of opening the eyes of a suffering community to the true character of distillation.

The history of this transaction forms a part of the history of the temperance reformation. While it presents to posterity one of those signal incidents by which the mighty enginery of drunkenness has been nearly overthrown, it reflects nothing upon those who then felt themselves injured, both in their good name and worldly prosperity. The

* "he roared aloud; the dreadful cry Shakes earth, and air, and seas; the billows fly Before the bellowing noise, to distant Italy; The neighbouring Ætna trembling all around, The winding caverns echo to the sound; His brother Cyclops hear the yelling roar, And rushing down the mountains, crowd the shore."

darkness that overshadowed them and the community in which they dwelt, is the apology for their faults. Haply it may be, that they are now foremost in the condemnation of the business whose character was exposed. *Tempora mutantur*. The old distillery has since been abandoned, and the building, now converted to useful purposes, was recently the scene of a joyful temperance tea-party.

But other distilleries are still in operation. In the census of 1840, there were returned 10,306, distilling in a single year 41,402,627 gallons, with a reasonable certainty that, for every 1,300 gallons distilled and sold, one human being is destroyed. And now, without the most strenuous efforts by the friends of temperance, giving broadcast through the community whatever exhibits the true character of this business, they will continue to pour over this land, and over heathen lands, what Robert Hall justly termed a flood of "liquid fire and distilled damnation."

Frequent inquiries, after a lapse of nine years, for a true history of the production, with the grounds of prosecution, have led to this publication. In his defence, Mr. Cheever showed that, while it was no part of his object to defame, vilify, or injure the character of any particular distiller whatever, or to bring indignation or disgrace upon any one's family connections, he had a right, and it was his duty, to show, in the most forcible manner in his power, the horrid business of distillation. It is a production demanding the attention of every philanthropist and statesman. The whole is an IMAGINATION, a REALITY, a DEFENCE, which should never die. It is a story which should be familiar to every child, in all coming generations; for while there is a distillery on earth, there will be drunkenness, lamentation and wo.

THE DREAM.

"INQUIRE AT AMOS GILES' DISTILLERY."

Some time ago the writer's notice was arrested by an advertisement in one of the newspapers, which closed with words similar to the following: "*Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery.*" The reader may suppose, if he choose, that the following story was a dream, suggested by that phrase.

Deacon Giles was a man who loved money, and was never troubled with tenderness of conscience. His father and his grandfather before him had been distillers, and the same occupation had come to him as an heir-loom in the family. The still-house was black with age, as well as with the smoke of furnaces that never went out, and the fumes of tortured ingredients, ceaselessly

converted into alcohol. It looked like one of Vulcan's Stithies, translated from the infernal regions into this world. Its stench filled the atmosphere, and it seemed as if drops of poisonous alcoholic perspiration might be made to ooze out from any one of its timbers or clapboards on a slight pressure. Its owner was a treasurer to a Bible Society; and he had a little counting room in one corner of the distillery where he sold Bibles.

He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house.

Any one of those Bibles would have told him this, but he chose to learn it from experience. It was said that the Worm of the Still lay coiled in the bosom of his own family, and certain it is that one of its members had drowned himself in the vat of hot liquor, in the bottom of which a skeleton was sometime after found, with heavy weights tied to the ankle bones. Moreover, Deacon Giles' temper was none of the sweetest, naturally, and the liquor he drank, and the fires and spirituous fumes among which he lived, did nothing to soften it. If his workmen sometimes fell into his vats, he himself oftener fell out with his workmen. This was not to be wondered at, considering the nature of their wages which, according to no unfrequent stipulation, would be as much raw rum as they could drink.

Deacon Giles worked on the Sabbath. He would neither suffer the fires of the distillery to go out, nor to burn while he was idle; so he kept as busy as they. One Saturday afternoon his workmen had quarrelled, and all went off in anger. He was in much perplexity for want of hands to do the work of the devil on the Lord's day. In the dusk of the evening a gang of singular looking fellows entered the door of the distillery. Their dress was wild and uncouth, their eyes glared, and their language had a tone that was awful. They offered to work for the Deacon; and he, on his part, was overjoyed, for he thought within himself that, as they had probably been turned out of employment elsewhere, he could engage them on his own terms.

He made them his accustomed offer; as much rum every day, when work was done, as they could drink; but they would not take it. Some of them broke out and told him that they had enough of hot things where they came from, without drinking damnation in the distillery. And when they said that, it seemed to the Deacon as if their breath burned blue; but he was not certain, and could not tell what to make of it. Then he offered them a pittance of money; but they set up such a laugh that he thought the roof of the building would fall in. They demanded a sum which the Deacon said he could not give, and

would not to the best set of workmen that ever lived, much less to such piratical looking scape-jails as they. Finally, he said, he would give half what they asked, if they would take two-thirds of that in Bibles. When he mentioned the word Bibles, they all looked towards the door, and made a step backwards, and the Deacon thought they trembled; but whether it was with anger or delirium tremens, or something else, he could not tell. However, they winked, and made signs to each other, and then one of them, who seemed to be the head man, agreed with the Deacon, that if he would let them work by night instead of day, they would stay with him awhile, and work on his own terms. To this he agreed, and they immediately went to work.

The Deacon had a fresh cargo of molasses to be worked up, and a great many hogsheads then in from his country customers, to be filled with liquor. When he went home, he locked up the doors, leaving the distillery to his new workmen. As soon as he was gone, you would have thought that one of the chambers of hell had been transported to earth with all its inmates. The distillery glowed with fires that burned hotter than ever before; and the figures of the demons passing to and fro, and leaping and yelling in the midst of their work, made it look like the entrance to the bottomless pit.

Some of them set astride the rafters, over the heads of the others, and amused themselves with blowing flames out of their mouths. The work of distilling seemed play to them, and they carried it on with supernatural rapidity. It was hot enough to have boiled the molasses in any part of the distillery; but they did not seem to mind it at all. Some lifted the hogsheads as easily as you would raise a teacup, and turned their contents into the proper receptacles; some scummed the boiling liquids; some, with huge ladles, dipped the smoking fluid from the different vats, and raising it high in the air, seemed to take great delight in watching the fiery stream, as they spouted it back again; some drafted the distilled liquor into empty casks and hogsheads; some stirred up the fires; all were boisterous and horribly profane, and seemed to engage in their work with such familiar and malignant satisfaction, that I concluded the business of distilling was as natural as hell, and must have originated there.

I gathered from their talk that they were going to play a trick upon the Deacon, that should cure him of offering rum and Bibles to his workmen; and I soon found out from their conversation and movements, what it was. They were going to write certain inscriptions on all his rum casks,

that should remain invisible until they were sold by the Deacon, but should flame out in characters of fire as soon as they were broached by his retailers, or exposed for the use of the drunkards.

When they had filled a few casks with liquor, one of them took a great coal of fire, and having quenched it in a mixture of rum and molasses, proceeded to write, apparently by way of experiment, upon the heads of the different vessels. Just as it was dawn, they left off work, and all vanished together.

In the morning the Deacon was puzzled to know how the workmen got out of the distillery, which he found fast locked as he had left it. He was still more amazed to find that they had done more work in one night, than could have been accomplished, in the ordinary way in three weeks. He pondered the thing not a little, and almost concluded that it was the work of supernatural agents. At any rate, they had done so much that he thought he could afford to attend meeting that day, as it was the Sabbath. Accordingly he went to church, and heard his minister say that God could pardon sin without an atonement, that the words hell and devils were mere figures of speech, and that all men would certainly be saved. He was much pleased, and inwardly resolved he would send his minister a half cask of wine; and as it happened to be communion Sabbath, he attended meeting all day.

In the evening the men came again, and again the Deacon locked them in to themselves, and they went to work. They finished all his molasses, and filled all his rum barrels, and kegs, and hogsheads, with liquor, and marked them all as on the preceding night, with invisible inscriptions. Most of the titles ran thus:

"CONSUMPTION SOLD HERE. *Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.*"

"CONVULSIONS AND EPILEPSIES. *Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery.*"

"INSANITY AND MURDER. *Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.*"

"DROPSY AND RHEUMATISM." "PUTRID FEVER, AND CHOLERA IN THE COLLAPSE. *Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery.*"

"DELIRIUM TREMENS. *Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.*"

Many of the casks had on them inscriptions like the following:

"DISTILLED DEATH AND LIQUID DAMNATION." "*The Elixir of Hell for the bodies of those whose souls are coming there.*"

Some of the demons had even taken sentences from the Scriptures, and marked the hogsheads thus:

"WHO HATH WO? Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery."

"WHO HATH REDNESS OF EYES? Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery."

Others had written sentences like the following:

"A POTION FROM THE LAKE OF FIRE AND BRIMSTONE. Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery."

All these inscriptions burned, when visible, a "still and awful red." One of the most terrible in its appearance was as follows:

"WEeping AND WAILING AND GNASHING OF TEETH. Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery."

In the morning the workmen vanished as before, just as it was dawn; but in the dusk of the evening they came again, and told the Deacon it was against their principles to take any wages for work done between Saturday night and Monday morning, and as they could not stay with him any longer, he was welcome to what they had done. The Deacon was very urgent to have them remain, and offered to hire them for the season at any wages, but they would not. So he thanked them and they went away, and he saw them no more.

In the course of the week most of the casks were sent into the country, and duly hoisted on their stoups, in conspicuous situations in the taverns, and groceries, and rum-shops. But no sooner had the first glass been drawn, from any of them, than the invisible inscriptions flamed out on the cask-head to every beholder. "CONSUMPTION SOLD HERE." "DELIRIUM TREMENS, DAMNATION AND HELL-FIRE." The drunkards were terrified from the dram-shops; the bar-rooms were emptied of their customers; but in their place a gaping crowd filled every store that possessed a cask of the Deacon's devil-distilled liquor, to wonder and be affrighted at the spectacle. For no art could efface the inscriptions. And even when the liquor was drawn into new casks, the same deadly letters broke out in blue and red flame all over the surface.

The rum-sellers, and grocers and tavern-keepers were full of fury. They loaded their teams with the accursed liquor, and drove it back to the distillery. All around and before the door of the Deacon's establishment the returned casks were piled one upon another, and it seemed as if the inscriptions burned brighter than ever. Consumption, Damnation, Death and Hell, mingled together in frightful confusion; and in equal prominence, in every case, flamed out the direction, "INQUIRE AT DEACON GILES' DISTILLERY." One would have thought that the bare sight would have been enough to terrify every drunkard from his cups, and every trader from

the dreadful traffic in ardent spirits. Indeed, it had some effect for a time, but it was not lasting, and the demons knew it would not be, when they played the trick; for they knew the Deacon would continue to make rum, and that so long as he continued to make it, there would be people to buy and drink it. And so it proved.

The Deacon had to turn a vast quantity of liquor into the streets, and burn up the hogsheads; and his distillery has smelled of brimstone ever since; but he would not give up the trade. He carries it on still, and every time I see his advertisement, "Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery," I think I see **** and ***** and he the proprietor.

From the Emancipator.

DEATH OF DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The last steamer brings us the tidings of the death of Daniel O'Connell, at Genoa, Italy, on the 15th of May. Though this event was not anticipated, the demise of no man has produced a more profound and general sensation in Europe, since the decease of Napoleon. Mr. O'Connell was one of the most remarkable persons that has figured in European politics during this century, and for the last twenty years no man has exerted a more powerful influence upon British affairs, while his sway over his own immediate countrymen since he entered upon public life has probably never been equalled. His character, like that of all men who leave a deep impress on their age, is variously and differently estimated by those who, on the one hand, have received his powerful support and warm sympathy, or, on the other, have encountered his vigorous opposition and fierce reprobation. But all classes of friends and foes unite in the sentiment, that a most extraordinary man has ceased to influence human affairs. We shall not attempt to give a sketch of his life and character—for this would fill a volume—but shall glance at a few of the prominent events which have marked his career.

Mr. O'Connell was born in the county of Kerry, Ireland, on the 6th of August, 1775. Consequently he was in his 72d year when he died. His family was respectable, but neither very wealthy or powerful. He received a complete literary education in Ireland and in France, and while a boy at the school of St. Omer's, his preceptor, writing to his uncle, said: "With respect to Daniel, I have but one sentence to write about him, and that is, that I never was so much mistaken in my life as I shall be, unless he is destined to make a remarkable figure in society."

He was first intended for the priesthood; but early relinquishing the thoughts of so peaceful a

profession, he studied for the bar, chiefly in London, and was admitted a barrister at Dublin, in May 1798. Though of a joyous, self-indulgent temperament, and always entering with full glee into all innocent sports and pastimes, yet he was a close student, and spared no pains to qualify himself for his arduous profession, so that when he entered upon his duties, he was prepared to grapple with the first minds which then adorned the Irish Courts. While a London student, he attended the trial of Handy, who was prosecuted for High Treason for belonging to a society for Constitutional Reform, and his prejudices were at first strongly enlisted against the prisoner, and in favor of what was denominated "law and social order." But, during the progress of the trial (which lasted two or three weeks,) his generous mind revolted at this governmental persecution, and he was confirmed in his natural detestation of tyranny, and his desire to resist and overthrow it. The impulse thus received never ceased to influence him till the end of his long career.

Mr. O'Connell immediately entered into a large circle of professional business in Dublin. His first political effort was a speech against the then prominent national topic of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland; and it is said not to have been surpassed in brilliancy and power by his speeches in the same cause, made in his maturer years.—It soon became evident that he was not to spend his whole life and energies in the monotonous purlieu of the Courts, looking after the interests of John Doe and Richard Roe, but he was to mingle with the more sober duties of the lawyer, the exciting and less profitable toils of the political agitator. The year which closed the last and opened the present century, was a marked epoch in the history of Ireland. Exciting discussion to vindicate Irish rights, and a bloody revolution to redress Irish wrongs, were the pastime of that oppressed and turbulent people. While young O'Connell participated largely in the civil strife, he repudiated the sanguinary conflict.

It was in 1804 that he commenced his efforts for Catholic Emancipation; a cause which ever had his powerful advocacy till, in 1828, his exertions were crowned with success by the passage of an Act of Parliament which placed the Roman Catholics, in regard to political and social rights, in the same position with the other dissenting bodies of religionists. And, indeed, it is very much to the great exertions of Mr. O'Connell during these twenty-four years, that the dissenters of all denominations in Great Britain are indebted for the political and religious rights

they now enjoy. He always regarded this as the great achievement of his life; and it was this which secured him the enviable title of "THE LIBERATOR." His labors, during these years of doubtful struggles for the establishment of a great principle of civil and religious liberty, almost surpass belief: and they endeared him to large masses of Christian men, who differed widely, very widely, from him in religious opinion. It was this which gave him so strong a hold, Catholic though he was, upon the Baptists, Independents, and Quakers of Great Britain—men who repudiated his religious faith, but cherished the principles of toleration for which he contended.

During this controversy, of the bitterness of which Americans cannot conceive, Mr. O'Connell for once departed from the line of a pacific opposition. The Dublin Municipal Corporation was a High Church and Tory Municipality of the most bigotted and vindictive class. Its members were ever the objects of Mr. O'Connell's attacks. At last a number of them agreed to challenge him successively in duels till they had killed him. This was in 1815. A Mr. D'Esterre was the man designated to call him to the field. They met near Dublin. At the first fire Mr. O'Connell shot his antagonist dead. This broke up the sanguinary league; and the awful event left an abhorrence of blood on the sensitive mind of Mr. O'Connell, which ever after made him a man of peace, and caused him to inscribe on his Repeal banner, the memorable sentiment, "No political change is worth the shedding of human blood!" Never shall we forget the expression which glowed from the countenance of the great orator when, in Exeter Hall, in 1840, he alluded in terms of deep contrition, to "his first and last duel."

The passage of the Catholic Emancipation bill in 1828—which was accomplished by the repeal of "the test act," thus emancipating all the dissenters—opened the way for Mr. O'Connell to enter Parliament. Up to this time, his practice at the bar was probably equal to that of any other barrister in Dublin. Now, a field was open before him. And, with intrepid step, and firm heart did he enter upon its labors. Always on the side of freedom, while out of office, he did not desert his principles when he reached a place where he could best advance them. Giving his powerful aid to the passage of the Reform Bill, and thus extending the right of suffrage to the laboring classes of the kingdom, and equalizing parliamentary representation, he became identified in interest as he was in feeling with the Liberal party in politics known by the name of

"Whigs." Grattan once said of Flood, "An oak of the forest is too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty." But, though O'Connell was forty-four when he entered the Commons, his parliamentary career, extending through nearly twenty years, was of the most sturdy and luxuriant growth. His speeches on the Reform Bill took rank with those of the most able and brilliant displays which that great controversy called forth. Though he watched with so vigilant and exclusive an eye the interests of his native country as to be styled "the member for all Ireland," yet he took part in all the chief questions which agitated the House; and at the earliest moment, and with his characteristic energy, threw his whole soul into the cause of Negro Emancipation, battling side by side, in Parliament and out of Parliament, with Clarkson, Buxton, Brougham, Sturge, Lushington and their compeers, till the West India slave became a British Freeman. His numerous speeches on that subject, official and popular, are among the most noble specimens of eloquence on record. No less true to principle than effective in argument, he at once embraced the doctrine of immediate and unconditional Emancipation, and was among the few members of the parliament who, in 1834, voted against the delusive scheme of Apprenticeship; having the firmness on that occasion to differ with the overwhelming mass of his Anti-Slavery colleagues. And it was in no small degree owing to his efforts that that ill contrived scheme was, in 1838, abolished, and the slave restored to his full rights as a man. Mr. O'Connell was an active member of "the World's Convention," in 1840, and addressed that body on several occasions with his accustomed power.

His speech at the closing meeting in Exeter Hall, before 6000 persons, when he replied to the scurrilous attack then recently made upon him by Mr. Stevenson, our Minister at St. James, was the most graceful but merciless excoriation we ever saw inflicted on a human being. To the day of his death Mr. O'Connell remained true to his Anti-Slavery faith, mingling with his speeches and writings on Irish Repeal, severe condemnation of slaveholders, and glowing sympathy with the friends of abolition throughout the world. Especially was he the champion of the Anti-Slavery party in this country, and his reply to a Repeal Association in Cincinnati, which had taken exception to his abolition sentiments, will be remembered as a production remarkable for its literary ability and high moral tone.

But, we have space only to allude to the events which marked the closing years of his life. From

1835, to within a year of his death, his chief efforts out of Parliament were devoted to procuring the repeal of the act, passed we think in 1800, abolishing the Irish Parliament, and establishing a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland—generally known as the *Repeal Cause*. The means he employed to secure this end were the same by which he effected Catholic Emancipation—POPULAR AGITATION. The excitement, which was lulled for three or four years by the conciliatory course of the Melbourne Ministry towards Ireland, broke out with increased intensity on the accession of Sir Robert Peel to power, in 1841-2. In the latter year, "repeal" was demanded by every parish from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear. In 1843 came the "Monster Meetings," when the assembled populace which swayed to and fro under the inspiring eloquence of "the Liberator," was counted by acres. The government was alarmed—O'Connell and five others were indicted for a conspiracy to change the laws of the Kingdom by illegal measures—the trial commenced in January, 1844, continuing twenty-five days—most of the defendants were convicted—O'Connell was sentenced to pay a fine of £2000, and be imprisoned one year—he appealed to the House of Lords—in the mean time he was sent to the Richmond Penitentiary—the House of Lords reversed the judgment—and O'Connell, after spending three months in prison, was released, and, surrounded by uncounted thousands of his countrymen, marched in triumphal procession to Dublin.

Clouds now hovered over his hitherto brilliant career. Having, by the pacific tenor of his repeal agitations, thwarted the government, and by his magic influence prevented any overt act of violence by those vast assemblies of his turbulent and wayward countrymen (one of the marked phenomena of the age,) the more violent of the sub-leaders grew bold, were impatient of delay, began to assume a fierce tone, and demanded that the pacific pledges of O'Connell should be repudiated by the National Repeal Association. Then arose the party of "Young Ireland"—then came division, bickering, strife,—one party clinging to, the other frowning upon the man who carried them safely through the imminent crisis of governmental proscription and prosecution. The alienation of large numbers of his friends overtaking him when his bodily powers were impaired by years of exhausting toil, broke the spirit of the old man, undermined his bodily constitution, and compelled him early in the past spring to repair to the Continent to resuscitate his wasted health. But, he left the field of exertion too late.

His energies rapidly waned—death overtook him while on his weary pilgrimage—his eye saw the sun for the last time in a foreign sky, and he sleeps his last sleep far from the land which gave him birth, and from that ocean by whose side his cradle was rocked. But, the remembrance of him will long linger in every country where humanity has a dwelling place. Preeminently was his reputation world-wide; for he plead for the victims of the hellish traffic on the dark shores of Africa; for the swarthy serfs of British cupidity on the banks of the Ganges; for the persecuted Jew of ancient Damascus; for the stricken slaves in the distant States of America; while to the starving millions of his own countrymen, his soothing tones were words of consolation and hope.

Mr. O'Connell had a massive physical frame, capable of enduring great toil, and he was one of the most industrious men that ever lived. His manners were frank and kindly, and he possessed social qualities of the most genial character, and was singularly affectionate as a husband and a father. He early reached the first rank in his profession, and modern times has not produced a more bold and successful political agitator. As a popular orator before mixed assemblies we have never heard his equal. Every cord of the human bosom lay open to his touch, and he played with its passions and emotions with a master's skill. His recital of facts charmed one like a romance—his imagination bore the hearer to a peerless height on its giddy wing—his logic was rapid and vigorous—his wit keen and electric—his humor broad and infectious, enabling him to give his anecdotes with extraordinary effect—his sarcasm and invective terrible, *spitting* his antagonist and then roasting him alive before a consuming fire—his denunciations merciless—his appeals, uttered in a musical voice and with the richest brogue of his native land, were tender and subduing. These qualities, sustained by a mind of uncommon natural strength, which had been trained and polished by a complete education, and matured and stored with a knowledge of men and things varied and ample, and all embodied in a commanding figure, and set off by a gesticulation at once graceful and forcible, might fully justify the assertion of John Randolph, of Roanoke, that he was the first popular orator in Europe.

Like other rare men, who have figured in turbulent times, Mr. O'Connell had faults, great, glaring faults. He was narrow and bigotted in religion—loved his native island too exclusively—was too willing to gain his ends by trick and artifice—and like other political leaders was too lavish

in promising to do what he must have known he could never perform. We think him not entitled to be called either a good statesman or a bad statesman. He was no statesman at all; but simply a political agitator, generally advocating the right side, and indebted for his success in a considerable degree to the rottenness of the institutions which he assailed. Of a hasty, violent temper, his denunciations of bad principles and measures, too often degenerated into mere personal abuse of their propagators and supporters. But, all right minded and liberal-hearted men will ascribe these defects in part to the times in which he lived, while to a large extent they will be attributed to a generous nature impatient of unreasonable abuse and opposition. Impartial history will record, that his fury was usually poured out on the heads of meanness, fraud, corruption, injustice and oppression; that he was the friend, the champion, the brother of outraged man, irrespective of clime, color, creed or condition; and wherever humanity writhed under the heel of tyranny, there were found the fiery heart and trumpet voice of DANIEL O'CONNELL, sympathising with the victim and rebuking the tyrant.

From the British Friend.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

The Letter from which the following are extracts, was received from Frederick Douglass on the 15th ult., and they will, it is believed, be perused with interest by his numerous and attached friends in this country.

Lynn, Mass., 20th April.

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I am at home—in the warm bosom of my family, caressed and administered to by the beloved ones of my heart. It is good to be here. Thanks be to God, the giver of every good and perfect gift, whose tender mercies are over all, and without the notice of whose eye, even a sparrow may not fall to the ground, I have been preserved. After more than sixteen days of fierce conflict with head winds, adverse waves, and the innumerable hardships and perils of a spring voyage across the Atlantic, I am surrounded by the calm, soothing, and tranquilizing influence of home. You will be glad to know that I found my family all well. . . . You have heard, ere this, that an attempt was made to degrade me, by proscribing and placing me beyond the circle of my fellow passengers, during the voyage. This was done to conciliate the *democratic Slaveholders* on board, who would have felt degraded by my presence at the table with them; these men would have been glad to

have owned me for their *slave*, but they could not tolerate me as a *free man*. This proscription, though an early and at first a bitter foretaste of what then awaited me in this land, proved a blessing rather than a curse, since by compelling me to go into separate apartments, I was placed beyond the social influence of a set of persons, who proved to be a band of wild, uproarious, gambling tipplers, whose foul-mouthed utterances interposed an impassable gulf between us.

"The first few days of the voyage, I felt the degradation of my position, and a degree of loneliness. I was on a British steamer, a British flag waving over me; on her deck were a hundred and twenty passengers, not one of all of them had paid more for their passage than I had, yet while I was confined like a criminal to a certain part of the ship because of my colour, they enjoyed the privilege of going at large, and in the spacious saloon from which I was excluded. These superior privileges naturally enough induced in some a feeling of superiority over me, and made it somewhat improper to be seen near me; so while among men, children of one common Father, I was without society, I stood isolated and alone, with none to extend to me the hand of civility or pass a friendly smile in common, on the frowning waves of the deep; thus solitary and alone, my heart could dwell on the many beloved friends whose homes and hearts were ever open to me when I sojourned among you. * * *

"After the first few days of our voyage, my proscription and the cause of it became generally known, and was at once a topic of common conversation among the passengers. A few persons, either from curiosity or humanity, spoke to me in my loneliness, and extended to me the common civilities of the day; they were of the more respectable part of our number, and this continued during the voyage. Thus was the attempt to degrade me rendered unavailing. I landed at Boston on Tuesday night, the 20th April and a reception meeting was given me in Lynn, on Friday night, the 23d, and the coloured people of Boston intend giving me one on the 3d of May. Invitations are pressing in upon me from all quarters. I cannot attend one-half of the meetings that parties are anxious to get up for me. My old friends receive me gladly, and new ones flock around to encourage me in my work; still I see before me a life of toil and trial. The war with Mexico, undertaken and carried on for the infamously wicked purpose of extending and perpetuating the enslavement of my race, is becoming more and more popular every day, and such is the feeling here, that to denounce this war in the

terms which its atrocious character merits, is at once to be branded as a traitor; but justice must be done, the truth must be told, the wicked must be exposed, freedom and righteousness must be vindicated, and with the help of the God of peace and the oppressed, I will not be silent. I am still strongly determined to devote myself to *printing* as well as *speaking* for my race. * * *

"In kind remembrance to all my friends,—
Yours truly, &c., &c.

"FREDERICK DOUGLASS."

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 1847.

[NO. 9.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BIBLICAL INVESTIGATIONS.—NO. V.

The Precept to Noah—concluded.

The evils into which man, by the lapse of his great progenitor fell, are but inverted types of the good principles into which he was created. Thus Emulation became Envy—the beneficent desire to return good for good, a hateful spirit of retaliation, seeking to inflict evil for evil. Cain was impelled by the one, when he murdered Abel, and dreaded the action on himself of the other, when he feared that every one finding him should slay him. The existence, then, of a general propensity in mankind to take the life of a murderer, is no more evidence of its rightfulness than is its equally universal inclination to take the life of a fellow being, in open or secret warfare, for lesser and other offences.

Man's departure from the law of love to God, was quickly followed by his departure from the law of love to his brother man. The earlier fruits of this declension we are ignorant of, until the act of Cain made an event of too fearful portent not to be recorded. Over much that followed of corruption and violence and wrong, it has pleased Divine Providence to draw an impenetrable veil, until the fact is proclaimed that "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually; and it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. And God said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold I will destroy them with the earth."

In conjecturing the character of those evils which were so great, that, using the language of men, it grieved God at his heart that he had made man, we may well suppose that it embraced most, or all, of the evils which have any existence with mankind now: more, it is difficult to conceive of,

though the extent may have been greater. Among, them, probably, was Idolatry, with the pouring out of human blood to false gods; Cannibalism, with the drinking of the blood of living animals and men; insatiable Revenge, with its demand of "blood for blood"—each victim whetting its appetite, and forming its pretext for the seizure and destruction of a new one. And we may well also conclude that among those evils, Revenge made by far the greatest contribution to the mass of those acts of violence, for the doing of which the inhabitants of the earth, with the exception of those saved within the brief limits of the ark, were cut off by the waters of the flood.

It is reasonable to assume that the purpose of God's address to Noah and his sons on the reorganization of the world was, prominently, to prevent the recurrence of those scenes of desolation which had characterized its antediluvian history. To this end, as no doubt in reference also to the ceremonial use of animal blood, as a typical atonement for sin, a high, mystical sanctity was attached to this element and emblem of life, and its use as food, calculated to stimulate to acts of cruelty, strictly prohibited. To the same end both beasts and men were constituted the responsible guardians of human life, and made directly amenable to the Divine inquest for any violation of it: and in illustration of the heinous offence which the taking of this life involved, the following precept, according to the Jewish Hebrew copies of it, was presented to their regardful notice.

שֶׁכֶּךָ דָם הָאָדָם בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשָּׁף
כִּי בִצְלָם אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אֶת הָאָדָם :

The sixth letter, counting from the right to the left, agreeably to the order in which the Hebrew is written, being the particle *he*, signifying *the*, is not found in the Samaritan text, but its presence or omission is not essential to the sense. The absence of the eleventh letter *s*, *aleph*, from the copies used in the Septuagint translation, is the least supposable difference between them and

other ancient copies of the precept, if we do not admit *badem* to have been regarded by the Greek translators as a mere amplification. With a similar qualification, we are to infer the absence of *badem*, wholly, from the Hebrew copies consulted by Jerome. But, however these disagreements may affect the precept as a rule of punishment by human agency, they have no influence in determining that construction of it, which it is the purpose of this essay to establish.

In the literal rendering of the precept above exhibited, we find no difference among translators, except as they assume *beth* to signify something else than *in*, and differ in the punctuation. There might be another point agitated as to whether the future of the verb *to pour out* was in *Kal* or *Niphal*; the same word in that tense alike representing the active or passive voice. With these exceptions we repeat the translation of the Latin interlinear in Bishop Walton's polyglott, offered in our last number, as being the universally accepted metaphor of the Hebrew precept in its amplest extent. It is undivided by points both here and in the original.

"Pouring out (or shedding) the blood of man in man blood of him [or his blood] will be poured out because in the image of God he has made man."

Before proceeding to the exhibition of any new views of this important sentence, we would offer some brief remarks having reference to former constructions of it.

Independent of the high critical authority of Calvin, Diodati and Le Clerc, for rejecting *by*, as the sense of *beth* in this precept, the table accompanying our last number is conclusive evidence that such a sense is the most remote, and the least probable that could be assigned to it. Did the question of its having that sense, against the higher, previous claims upon it, involve the mere taking of human property, I presume no juror would give it that construction; but were this sense as much the original and most evident one, as it is now the contrary, there would be found in it no real confirmation of Luther's, or our own protestant translation of the text. On the contrary, the strongest evidence of the utter fallaciousness of these versions, in respect to the designation of man as the agent for enforcing the rule, would be afforded by it; for the precept, taking the above literal rendering for our basis, and regarding the rule as one of punishment, would then read: Shedding the blood of man—by man—blood of him will be shed. It will be seen that to make the phrase an intelligible one, the greater pause must follow "by man," making the

latter man the cause of the first effusion, and the subject of the second; but not the executioner of the penalty. The sentence forms a perfect whole; asking no addition to make it thoroughly clear, and rejecting any, as an uncalled for, human intrusion. Thus is superseded the imagined necessity of the assumed pronoun, placed at the commencement of these versions, and thus is left to providential means the enforcement of the decree. The surplusage removed, there would remain substantially what is expressed in the vulgate and other versions, and so more. Man shedding the blood of man, blood of him will be shed.

But I am dissatisfied with all these translations, and think my ground of objection a sufficient one. It is simply this—that when a law is given with a reason annexed, it must be construed in conformity with that reason; and this, I apprehend, is not the case with any of the constructions heretofore given.

The first essay to a translation of the precept which I have to offer, in view of this rule, is founded on the supposition that *beth* means *on*, or *upon*. This meaning is nearest in affinity to its primitive sense *in*, if we except *with*, of any other. According to our table *beth* is translated *on*, *upon*, and *over*, 253 times, to which might generally be added the instances in which it is rendered *against*. The more frequent expression of *upon* and *over*, is unquestionably by the particle *ʔ*, which, in its turn, has the sense of *in*; still its expression by the particle *beth*, is not the less certain. These particles, according to the Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius, are "most nearly related." In the second verse of the address to Noah, they are each used twice, under circumstances of perfect equality, and rendered *upon*.

This near affinity of *in* to *on*, is not peculiar to the Hebrew language. Donnegan's Greek and English Lexicon represents the primitive sense of the Greek *ἐν* to be *in*, *on*, *at*; and, among the examples given, are, "in a city," "on horseback," "at a place." Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary gives to the English preposition *in*, the same Latin expression, and to the Latin *in*, among other definitions, it assigns the English sense of "upon," as "upon a place, upon a thing, upon a time prefixed." Webster's American Dictionary of the English Language derives *in* from the Greek and Latin prepositions above given, and remarks that "*in*, in many cases, is equivalent to *on*," adding—"this use of the word is frequent in the scriptures; as, 'let fowls multiply in the earth.'" In the German, *auf*, *on*, and *auf*, *on*, or *upon*, is often used where we say *in*, as—*on* the sky, *on* the field.

In the scripture examples where the particle *beth* is used to denote the imputation of guilt, or the conference of a benediction, we may suppose either that it has in the original the sense of *on*, or, that falling into our idiom, it takes to itself that form of expression, notwithstanding its Hebrew sense of *in*. We are accustomed in such cases to the phrase *on*, or *upon*, and would therefore feel *in* to be an inelegant, if not an inadequate expression; and yet as the idea is purely metaphysical, *in*, when familiar to us, would just as well convey it. We give a few examples in illustration of these remarks, rendering *beth* as *in*.

"When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement to thy roof, that thou bring not blood in thy house, if any man fall from thence." Deut. 22. 8.

"Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, *בְּלִי*,—and they shall be *in* thee, for a sign, and for a wonder, and *in* thy seed forever." Deut. 28: 45, 46.

"The angel which redeemed me from all evil bless the lads; and let my name be named *in* them." Gen. 48: 16.

In these examples, *beth* in our English version is rendered *upon*; so also in the following instances, where *blood* is said to be *upon* persons to whose wrong-doing the necessity of its effusion is attributed. Leviticus 20: 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 27.

On the supposition, then, that *beth* means *upon* in the precept before us, and in view of the responsibility which the previous verse imposes upon man generally, for the guardianship of the life of man in particular, it were reasonable to suppose that the guardian failing to be his brother's keeper, blood-guiltiness would attach to him. This conclusion would be in harmony with the assigned reason of the precept without indicating any necessity for the further effusion of blood. And as the text would then read—Pouring out blood of the man, upon man his blood will be poured out; because in the image of God he has made the man—so the inference would be clear that blood would be shed upon man as a class, whenever the blood of the individual man was shed.

Whilst this translation far better suits the requirements of the motive for the precept, than does any of the preceding ones, and therefore is entitled to an abundant preference, I am not satisfied of the necessity of any departure from the letter of the rule, to make it a highly instructive admonition against the shedding of human blood.

If a translation of the precept, according to the usual sense of the letter, intelligently conveys such an admonition, I cannot conceive that we

have the right to seek, in more remote senses, other translations of it. It is still more objectionable to effect this end by additions to the text of our own contrivance. To my mind, the precept recognises but two personages—the human being whose blood is being effused, and the Divine Being of whom man is the image. The question then presents itself—whose blood is that, the effusion of which is a consequence of the violence done to man's animal life? We reverently reply—*His*, of whom man is the type; and *His*, in that respect in which God has made man according to His image. We are to feel that the violence is as much done to the prototype as to the representative. Calvin was near, spiritually, to this rendering of the precept, when he remarked, as we noticed in our last number, that the "Divine Being doth here reveal the grounds of his care for the sacredness of human life, and [that] most sedulously should the doctrine of the passage be marked that no person can injure his neighbour but he injures God."

We can hardly suppose that it will be contended that the pronoun must find its antecedent in some previous noun; and that, therefore, "of him," or "his," cannot refer to God. Such a rule would greatly embarrass translations from the Hebrew; which to some extent, like its writing wholly, as compared with ours, is an inverted language. In no language, however, though the noun may generally antecede its substitute, is it absolutely required to do so: of which, especially in poetry, we could cite numerous examples. That the precept is a poetical one, and is thus further distinguished from other parts of God's address to Noah and his sons, there can be little doubt, it having all the required parallelism of Hebrew poetry. I regard it as a stanza of four lines, or of two *bi-membral* ones; and giving it an English dress, in words as nearly literal as would allow it a metrical expression, I ask, would any one hesitate to consider Deity as the proper antecedent of the pronoun "*His*" in the second line of this version? If he does not, why should he hesitate so to consider Him in relation to the same pronoun in the original?

Whene'er is shed man's vital blood,
In man, *His* blood will flow;
For, in His holy image, God
Made man His type below!

This appropriation of the pronoun is strengthened by the consideration that the Hebrew word *אֵל*, *eva*, *he*, from which we derive the suffix *y*, *vau*, of *him*, or *his*, is often used to signify the Divine Being, independently of other designation, or, in the words of Bishop Lowth, "is often equiva-

lent to the true and eternal God," for which he cites Deut. 32: 39; 2 Kings 2: 14; Isaiah 43: 10, 13, and 48: 12; Jeremiah 14: 22, and especially Psalms 102: 27, where the original says *וְהָאֵלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט*, *vate eva*—but thou art He!—

"Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed: But thou art He, and thy years shall have no end!" Ps. 102: 25, 26, 27.

"The nameless He, whose nod is Nature's birth;
And Nature's shield, the shadow of His hand;
Her dissolution, His suspended smile;
The great First—Last!"

YOUNG.

In conclusion of this investigation, I submit to the reader that the only safe construction we can give to the text is contained in the following literal rendering of it;—which offers an all-sufficient motive for the existence of the precept, in the new and important aspect in which it presents the offence of shedding the blood of man;—which avoids all questions touching the manner of punishing the offender, except as it necessarily interdicts to man the use of death as a means;—which reconciles God's holy precept to his beneficent practice and example in the cases we have had before us;—and which makes harmonious the ancient copies of the precept, by rendering no longer important their different readings.

Shedding blood of the man—in man, blood of HIM will be shed—because in the image of GOD—HE made the man.

ALEPH.

NOTE.—The reader will please correct with his pencil the following errors in former numbers.

In No. 2, page 51, column 2, lines 14 and 19, put "time of" in brackets instead of parentheses.

In No. 3, page 110, column 1, line 12, for "truth" read *truths*.

— p. 110, column 2, line 48, for "the" read *a*.

— p. 112, col. 1, l. 11, insert a comma after "blood."

— p. 112, col. 1, l. 54, change the *e* in "badem" to *a*.

— p. 112, col. 2, l. 1, change the *e* in "badem" to *a*.

— p. 112, col. 2, l. 18, change the *e* in "adem" to *a*.

In No. 4, p. 171, col. 1, l. 6, for "shall" read *should*.

— page 171, column 1, line 17, for "an" read *the*.

— page 171, column 2, line 52, make the disarranged figures in the third column signify 12.

ALEPH.

REFLECTIONS ON THE USE OF SLAVE LABOUR PRODUCED; ADDRESSED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

DEAR FRIENDS,—It is, I trust, in a measure of the love of the gospel which teaches, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," that I take up my pen to address you on this subject. I would therefore

entreat you to give my reflections an unprejudiced, candid and prayerful consideration; and I trust we shall be enabled to arrive together at the truth, when through. Our Society once stood foremost in opposition to Slavery, and we still profess to be opposed to it, as will be seen by reference to our 8th query,* viz: "Are friends careful to bear a testimony against Slavery?" which is answered annually in all our Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings. Now let us come plainly to the query. Is our testimony against Slavery standing before the world in the light that it should be? Are we remembering that "so far as we are deficient in using our influence and authority to remedy this and other evils that abound, we become parties thereto in the divine sight?"† Are we exerting all our influence and authority to do away this great sin? Or have we lighted our candle, (or rather our forefathers for us,) and then, as it were, smothered it under a bushel?

When the world was in darkness on this subject, our Society laboured with its members to convince them of the iniquity of the system till it was made a disownable offence to hold slaves or hire them of their masters, and some of our worthy forefathers thought they could discern even in the midst of the gloom, that they were guilty of the sin, unless they endeavored to abstain from the use of the proceeds thereof. Amongst these John Woolman was conspicuous; so much so, that when he travelled amongst slaveholders, (many of whom were members of high standing in our Society,) he went on foot to show them an example of humility, and to avoid using their ungodly gains, and even then paid their house servants for their labour in attending him. What a noble example for Friends now-a-days! But where is this part of our testimony now? Is there not truth and justice in it? Was it all delusion in our ancient worthy friend? Let us see. We, as Friends, do not acknowledge the right of property in man, and we say every man has a right to his liberty—to the proceeds of his own labour—to his earnings: therefore, any person who takes a man's earnings from him without his consent, is a robber, and has no better than a robber's title thereto. And he who has no right to articles in his possession, can confer no right on another; for no one can give that which he has not, and if these articles should be sold and bought again, no one of the purchasers could have a better than a robber's title to confer upon another. Hence it appears that he who enforces the unrequited toil and receives the pro-

* Ohio Discipline. † Shillito's Journal.

ceeds thereof, is robbing man of his liberty and his earnings, and the goods obtained thereby are plundered or prize goods, to which he has no better title than a highway or other robber has to his plunder. And those merchants who purchase them have no right to them, and we who purchase of them, are purchasing plundered goods, to which we can have no better title than a robber has to his booty, viz: superior force. Is this bearing a testimony against slavery? Is it not partaking in and supporting it? Suppose there were no consumers, how long would there be producers? If none would buy such plunder, would not slaveholders free their slaves, and pay them for their labour, and raise something they could sell? Hence, if there were no consumers of slave-labour produce, slavery would not exist. Suppose we were knowingly to purchase goods of a highway robber or nightly thief, would not we be guilty with him, and encourage him to continue his depredations? Just so with the Southern system of robbery. We are hiring the slaveholder to continue his plundering, and thereby forming one important link in the chain that binds down the Southern slave; without which the chain would be broken, and the system fall. We are a peculiar people, and have many peculiar testimonies to "bear." Let us compare this against Slavery, with some of our other Christian testimonies. That against drunkenness is carried so far, that we are required to be clear of importing, vending, distilling, and the unnecessary use of spirituous liquors; and many (I would gladly say all) are unwilling to sell our grain or fruit to be distilled, even if we should be offered a double price for it. Is our testimony against slavery carried thus far? If it were, would it not require us to deny ourselves of the fruits of oppression? In order to bear a faithful testimony against war, we not only forbid ourselves to train, but to give anything in lieu thereof, and by a late decision, we are not allowed to work the highway in lieu thereof, and some of us (I rejoice to say it) have suffered under imprisonment rather than countenance war by paying a master fine. Yea, and I would that there were more of those amongst us that would even suffer our luxuries to be fewer; our purses to become lighter, and our bodies to be less decorated, rather than countenance, support, and compromise with slavery. Now let us examine prize goods. What are prize goods? If I am not in error, they are those goods which are taken from an enemy in war, and our testimony against them is founded on their not belonging to those who are vending them, but to those of whom they were plundered by superior force, which

cannot give right. Also it would be encouraging war and robbery to make use of the spoils thereof. And are not slave labour goods taken by the same unrighteous means—by superior power? Then they are virtually prize goods—the prize or spoil of the Southern despotic power, which is a system of continual war and plunder. The same as prize goods alluded to in our query, is the prize or spoil of a capture at sea. Should we not be as faithful against one kind of prize goods as another? In order to bear a faithful testimony against a hireling ministry, we are forbidden to attend meetings and hear a paid preacher. And why? Because we are thereby giving him countenance. Very true. But are we not giving far more countenance to the slaveholder? Yea, even hiring him to his wickedness by paying him for the proceeds of his cruelty. Is teaching the gospel for filthy lucre's sake worse than trampling the gospel under foot for the same filthy lucre, and also twisting and torturing it, and calling it in to support the vilest system of iniquity, embracing oppression, robbery, adultery, and murder? Further, it is a disownable offence to attend the marriage of a member accomplished contrary to our discipline, because it is countenancing him in his breach of it. True again—but compare this with slavery, and are we not truly "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel?" There are a great many other testimonies I might mention, but it is needless after what has been said. By our present discipline it is a disownable offence to hire slaves of their masters. Which would be the best, for us to go directly to the master and hire of him a slave to work for us and treat him kindly, work him moderately, and apply the proceeds of his labour to ourselves, or leave him with his master, who would treat him cruelly, and work him severely, and then go to the master and pay him for plundering the produce of the slave's labour from him? Is not the former the least inhuman? Yet it is a disownable offence, whilst the latter is scarcely thought of. Oh consistency! consistency! where art thou fled! Further, will slaveholders and others—will the world look upon us as bearing an honest and consistent testimony against slavery while we are using the proceeds? If not, our testimony is of no effect—is no testimony; as a man's precept amounts to nothing when counteracted by his example. Let us make one or two more comparisons, so as, if possible, to dispel the clouds that blind us. Suppose we had a slaveholder in the midst of us, that by hard driving, women whipping, and the numerous other evils of which the system is pregnant—could sell

wheat, corn, and other produce, twenty, twenty-five, or even fifty per cent lower than his honest neighbours who pay their labourers, would we purchase of him rather than of them? Far from it. And is it any better to plunder in Georgia than here? Again, if we must have cotton, sugar, &c. grown by slaves, would it not be better for a company of Friends of Ohio, or perhaps several yearly meetings, to hire or purchase a parcel of slaves and secure a large tract of land in Texas or some other place, and send a superintendent and a number of overseers chosen out of our ministers and elders, or some other Friends of standing, who would treat the slaves humanely and plunder them of their earnings mercifully, than to trust them in the hands of tyrannical masters and brutal overseers who treat them inhumanly, disregard the sacred ties of marriage, and forbid them to read the Bible, &c.—would we not be adding to the cause of benevolence and humanity by so doing, and at the same time be bearing as faithful a testimony against slavery as by paying those brutal masters and overseers for plundering them? I am sorry to have to write thus, but the truth must come, and cannot be suppressed always. Now I trust that we clearly see that it is morally and religiously wrong to use the produce of slavery, and that we cannot say that we bear a consistent or faithful testimony against slavery or prize goods, while we are in the habit of buying up the slaveholder's booty. Perhaps some will say we see it is supporting slavery, but it will do no good for us to quit using such goods, it is therefore not expedient now to quit, until we can see some good it will do. I would answer if it is wrong to make use of such goods, it is right that we should cease immediately. It is *always expedient* to do right. But for the sake of the credulous let us examine the expediency thereof. Suppose all who are opposed to slavery would abstain from the use of the polluted goods, would not a demand immediately be created for paid labour products? and so the slaveholder would see his interest would be to liberate his slaves and raise such produce? If all can do so much we can each of us do something—and if we do not use "our influence," "we are accountable in the divine sight." Besides, by such a cross (for it would be a cross) the subject would be continually in our minds, and our prayers would ascend much more frequently in behalf of the oppressed. In short, we would be bearing an *honest, living, and FEELING* testimony. Some will say they cannot get along without the fruits of oppression. To such I will acknowledge, that we cannot live so cheaply, dress so finely, and make so splendid

a show in the world; but this at least should not be the object of Friends particularly, when it must be done at the expense of conscience, as full purses, rich tables, and fine apparel are poor things at best, and extremely so when at the expense of a doubly guilty conscience. But I presume we will none of us claim that we cannot live without the aid of robbery and oppression, without exposing ourselves to more hardships and suffering than the helpless slave whom we plunder. If there are any such, to them I would say, read "American Slavery as it is," and then at least let not us Friends live by plunder, till we are in a more suffering condition than those of whom we plunder.

It may also be objected that we cannot keep entirely clear thereof. True, but because we have to get the soles of our shoes in the mud, shall we wade clear into the slough and mire? Neither can we keep altogether clear of war while we are paying taxes to the support of our country and voting for officers who take an oath to support the country by the force of arms, (which is, in fact, the support of our civil authority,) but that is no reason why we should pay fines or even work the roads in lieu of training. So with slavery. If we cannot keep entirely clear of the proceeds thereof, let us be careful to avoid at least the luxuries, such as rice, sugar, coffee, &c. And should we not avoid even the comforts, when we remember that the slaves have to suffer far more to produce them, than we would have to in order to do without them. Is it not the force of example and habit, that makes us cling so closely to these sin-stained goods, as the Scribes and Pharisees were wont to cling to their traditions, and thereby make the commandments of God of none effect? Let us individually examine the secret springs of our actions on this subject, and see if filthy lucre is not also more or less concerned therein—that love of money, which the apostle saith is the root of all evil, and which appears to be devouring the vitals of our once highly favored society.

Now dear friends, in conclusion, let me again entreat you to give this subject that candid, prayerful and unprejudiced consideration which its importance demands. With desires that the Lord will deal mercifully, not only with the down-trodden slaves and their cruel oppressors, but also with us who, with more light, are supporting the system—

I remain,

Truly and affectionately,

Your well-wishing friend,

H—

For the Non-Slaveholder.

REMARKS ON SLAVEHOLDING AS PRACTISED BY EARLY FRIENDS.

"If early Friends held slaves, without being apparently conscious of its impropriety, why should modern slaveholders be charged with iniquity in practising it?"

This question, I believe, has embarrassed the minds of many Friends, particularly the younger part of Society, and is entitled to consideration. In relation to it I answer as follows:

First. The concerned and consistent part of Society never held slaves in the sense and manner in which it is now practised in the slaveholding States.

Secondly. A large number of ancient Friends never held slaves.

Thirdly. The remainder, who constituted the only *real* slaveholders among Friends, cannot be adduced in favour of the slavery argument, as they were lamentably degenerate in other respects.

Fourthly. In extenuation of the more consistent part of Society who held slaves, it may be remarked, that the iniquitous manner in which they were abstracted from their native country was carefully concealed, by misrepresentations made to remove scruples from those who otherwise might refuse to purchase them.

In relation to the first proposition it may be remarked, that there were numerous convictions among the slaveholders in the West India Islands at a very early period. It appears they immediately commenced practising upon the great leading principles of our Society. Regarding their slaves as human beings, equally with themselves the objects of Divine regard, they took them to meetings, and also appointed religious meetings among them. It is worthy of remembrance, that the first persecution endured by Friends in Barbadoes, was for this faithful discharge of their duty to the human beings under their care.

No doubt there were many other such Friends in these then colonies, whose names and whose humane deportment have together passed from human record: but this class may be fairly represented by such characters as Warner Mifflin, his father, — Mifflin, Dorcas Lilley, Samuel Nottingham, and other kindred spirits.

When Warner Mifflin, then a young man, called in his slaves to furnish them with evidences of their manumission, one of them affecting expostulated with him thus: "Mr. Mifflin, why do you wish to emancipate me? I now

enjoy all the freedom I ask. I work only when I am able, and when I am sick my kind mistress waits upon me herself."

Dorcas Lilley was a native of one of the West India Islands. Speaking of her two or three female slaves, she says: "I performed for them such services as they were not able to do for themselves; and in return, they performed such more laborious acts as I was incapable of. We lived as one family, and I loved them as my own children."

Samuel Nottingham and wife, of Barbadoes, manumitted a large number of slaves, and also conveyed to them an extensive plantation for their support.

A paragraph in the Autobiography of Warner Mifflin evinces that many ancient Friends held slaves by a very different tenure from that by which they are held at the present day. He says: "About this time I was appointed on a committee to labour with the members of our society who held slaves, in order for the conviction of their understandings, of the inconsistency of the practice with Christianity; which labours were so far blest, that in a little time most of our members liberated their slaves." I am willing to inquire what would be the probable effects of similar labours on the slaveholding members of any other society at the present day?

The subject of human slavery had so earnestly engaged the attention of early Friends, that in the year 1696, only about fifteen years after the settlement of Pennsylvania by Wm. Penn, it became a Yearly Meeting concern, which resulted in advising Friends to guard against the future importation of slaves, and to be particularly attentive to those then in their power. Such advice could not have issued from a pro-slavery Yearly Meeting; and it gives plain evidence that the great fundamental principles, "to do to others as we would have them do to us," was influencing an important portion of the leading members of that Yearly Meeting.

In the year 1715, the same Yearly Meeting renewed and confirmed the advice issued in 1696. In the year 1757 it issued another address, from which the following is an extract:

"And you, dear friends, who, by inheritance, have slaves born in your families, we beseech you to consider them as souls committed to your trust, whom the Lord will require at your hands; and let it be your constant care to watch over them for good, instructing them in the fear of the Lord. * * * * * And so train them up, that if you should come to behold their unhappy

situation in the same light that many worthy men who are at rest have done, and as many of your brethren now do, and should think it your duty to set them free, they may be the more capable of making a right use of their liberty."

In the year 1730, Elihu Coleman, of Nantucket, published a treatise on the injustice and inconsistency of importing and holding slaves. Between the years 1680 and 1700, Thomas Burling was in the practice of introducing the subject annually into the Yearly Meeting on Long Island.

In the year 1688 the Friends of Germantown Meeting, Pennsylvania, addressed a memorial to the Yearly Meeting against the buying and keeping of negroes.

The following is an extract from the Records of Nantucket Monthly Meeting:

26th day of y^e 9th mo., 1716.

"An epistle from the last Quarterly Meeting was read in this; and y^e matter refer'd to this meeting, viz.; whether it is agreeable to truth for Friends to purchase slaves, and keep them term of life, was considered, and the sense and judgement of this meeting is; that it is not agreeable to truth for Friends to purchase slaves and hold them term of life."

From the tenor of this minute it would appear, that the Monthly Meeting was unanimous; and also, that the Quarterly Meeting had previously been exercised on the same account. Additional testimony might be adduced to show the exercise and concern, even at a very early period, of the consistent part of society on account of this unrighteous practice.

A review of the history of slavery, as practised in our society, and also a review of the exercises of Friends, both as individuals and in meeting capacities, are sufficient evidences that there never was a time when many of the concerned part of Society were not exercised on account of this iniquitous practice. And I would affectionately invite the attention of the younger part of Society more especially, to the foregoing exposition of the state of slavery, as practised by Friends, and compare its merciful condition with the following unmerciful enactments found in many of the statute books of the slaveholding States:—Against learning slaves to read,—against manumitting them, unless sent out of the State,—authorizing the maiming or killing a suspected fugitive, if he refuses to surrender himself to his pursuers,—imprisoning a free coloured man on suspicion, and selling him into slavery to pay jail fees,—disallowing the sanctity of the mar-

riage covenant,—disallowing the testimony of any number of coloured persons in a court of justice against the misdemeanor of a white man, however atrocious it may be,—also, the practice of slaveholders selling their own children into slavery, and rearing children for market, as other farmers do the brutes of the field.

I think the foregoing evidences will sustain, to a considerable extent, my first proposition,—that the concerned and consistent part of society never did hold slaves in the sense and manner in which slavery is practised in the present day, nor as it was practised by other people generally.

2d Proposition. In support of this, John Woolman, in a letter to Nantucket Friends, remarks in commendation, that they had few or no slaves. Friends were very numerous there. When Samuel Fothergill visited them in 1757, they numbered fifteen hundred; whether children were included was not stated. J. Woolman's letter was written about twenty years afterwards. J. Woolman, on another occasion, alludes to a large body of Friends in Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, North Carolina who had few or no slaves.

In a review of his travels through the Colonies about the year 1755, S. Fothergill frequently alludes to the state of our society in connection with the subject of slavery. He speaks of its deteriorating influence on Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. And although there is no doubt many slaves were held in Pennsylvania by members, still, from the manner of his speaking of Friends there, I cannot avoid the conclusion that there were many whose hands were clear of the guilt of human slavery. He writes: "I cannot but hope in that province, (Pennsylvania,) particularly in the City of Philadelphia, it may be said, Truth prospers; and there is a prospect that the succeeding generation may excel the last."

As to the probable proportion of non-slaveholding Friends in the Colonies at the time to which we are alluding, history is silent; but the few incidents that have, as it were, accidentally descended to us, are sufficient to warrant the conclusion, that in every Yearly Meeting then established there were living witnesses that were faithful in the support of our testimony against oppression; some few testifying orally or by publications, but the far greater number, no doubt, by the effective influence of private example.

3d Proposition. That class that constituted the real slaveholders among Friends, being imbued with the spirit of oppression, cannot be adduced

in support of the slavery argument, as they were lamentably degenerate in other respects. S. Fothergill, in 1756, says:

"Maryland is poor; the gain of oppression, the price of blood is upon that province; I mean their purchasing and keeping in slavery, negroes—the ruin of true religion the world over, wherever it prevails. Friends there are greatly decreased in numbers. * * * I know not more than two ministers in the province on whom is the heavenly stamp visible, and they are neither negro-keepers nor priest-payers. This very much describes also the state of Virginia; only I think I may add, the visitation of Divine truth seems more effectually renewed in various parts of this province than the former, and a spring of living ministry to edification."

"There are a great many Friends in North Carolina, contiguous to Virginia, some truly valuable Friends, but few;—they have been a lively people, but negro purchasing comes more and more in use among them, and the pure life of religion will for ever proportionably decay."

"Long Island contains a great body of Friends, some truly valuable, but the more aged have not walked as bright examples; the leaders of the people have caused them to err. I visited this Island four times, and left it at last with a pained heart, to which the want of a hopeful prospect of things being better greatly contributed."

The degeneracy of Friends on Long Island, at that time, is not expressly attributed to the influence of slavery. But it may be remarked, that there were few parts of the country where slavery took a firmer hold than on Long Island; and Friends fell into the practice and continued it till a very late period. It was not made a disownable offence till about 1776, only about eight years anterior to the establishment of a similar discipline in North Carolina, and was interdicted mostly by the influence of the younger members.

John Woolman, in alluding to the influence of slavery on the minds of Friends, says that where it has got in among them, a spirit of fierceness appears to prevail.

A valuable ancient Friend, speaking of the low state of Society in those early times, says, within his recollection it was no uncommon thing to see Friends of good standing mounted on their horses at vendues and other public places, and pushing them to their utmost exertion, on trial of their speed as pacers; and other Friends, occupying responsible stations in Society, looking on, and enjoying the sport, without any apparent consciousness of its impropriety. But the fact that such degenerate practices were found among

portions of Society is no evidence of their propriety; and by parity of reasoning, the existence of slavery during the period to which I have alluded, is no evidence that it then was or that it now is under any circumstances justifiable in the Divine sight.

We may, therefore, I think, safely arrive at the conclusion, that the real slaveholders among Friends—those few who held slaves as they are held by religious professors of the present day,—were lamentably degenerate in other respects, and their example, therefore, affords no apology for modern slavery. This class would neither manumit their slaves in accordance with the dictates of truth in their own minds, nor yield to the religious labours of those Friends who were concerned on account of this unrighteous practice, but subjected themselves to disownment, rather than be just to their fellow men and faithful to their God. And though there was a considerable number in the aggregate disowned, still, the fact that the main body of Friends voluntarily emancipated their negroes, even before there was any discipline on the subject, is a strong evidence that oppression and cruelty did not generally prevail among them.

Admitting that a large number of Friends in America did, at one time, hold slaves, the question presents, what was the operating cause that induced or procured their emancipation? I trust it was nothing less than a voluntary obedience to the manifestation of Divine truth upon the mind; for at that time there was no discipline against it. As our society revived from the degeneracy into which it had lapsed, and became faithful in other respects, so it simultaneously cleared itself from this stain upon its holy profession: and as the Divine Being manifested his disapprobation of the unrighteous practice to our early, faithful Friends, we have no reason to doubt the same disapprobation would have been manifested to every slaveholder in America, if they had been equally faithful to previous intimations of duty, and equally solicitous to know the mind of truth, and to obey it.

4th Proposition. As it is admitted that some valuable Friends did hold slaves, what can be said in extenuation of their practice? I answer, that at that time great pains were taken by slave importers to induce the inhabitants to believe that the purchasing of African negroes was part of a pure system of benevolence; that such negroes were war captives, who would have been massacred in conformity to the barbarous custom of their country, were it not that these humane slave-dealers kindly interfered and rescued them from

destruction. These misrepresentations, no doubt, had an influence in reconciling Friends to the purchasing of negroes; but I am induced to believe that the greater part of this class of Friends inherited their slaves, or came into Society by conviction while in possession of them, and did not immediately perceive, that however humane their own treatment might be, still, their example was a countenance and support to others of an opposite character, and constituted a portion of the great system or framework of human oppression: and although such Friends, at least for a time, were deficient in that perspicacious view, for which Friends were subsequently distinguished, still, it must be admitted, that slavery, as practised by them, was divested of its most odious features, and so essentially mitigated as to exist more in name than in reality. These Friends, in the language of the Philadelphia Address, appeared to consider themselves as stewards, for the proper discharge of whose duties they were to give an account. The readiness with which they emancipated their slaves, entirely disallows the imputation that the guilt of oppression and cruelty rested upon them. When we read of Warner Mifflin's father having manumitted one hundred slaves, valued probably at not less than fifteen thousand dollars, and many other similar noble examples, not from compulsion, but because it was sinful in the Divine sight, I think we may rest assured that the good seed in them was approaching towards a state of maturity. We will not, therefore, deny that a few concerned Friends held slaves; but we deny that they ever held them otherwise than in the spirit of kindness; and as far as the light of history discovers, they held them but temporarily. There were extenuating circumstances then, to which I have alluded, and which do not now exist.

I think, therefore, we have substantial evidences to support my first proposition, that the concerned part of Society never held slaves in the manner in which slavery is now practised; but on the other hand, if their example were followed by modern slaveholders, the evils of slavery would not only be essentially mitigated immediately, but the entire practice would be speedily abolished.

GIDEON FROST.

Matinocock, Long Island.

[We cheerfully comply with the request of the writer of the following letter for its publication in this Journal; its insertion in the *Liberator* having been declined by the editor on account of its

length. We should, however, have preferred to have had the opportunity of taking it directly from that paper into this, as shewing the willingness of our friend Garrison to let his readers "hear both sides."—EDITORS.]

For the Non-Slaveholder.

SOUTH DARTMOUTH, 4th mo. 17th, 1847.

To William Lloyd Garrison.

Highly Esteemed Friend:—Though others may strenuously deny the right, justice, utility, and practicability of a thorough reform in our religious, political, and commercial intercourse, yet I am quite sure that thou wilt ever be the firm supporter of any and every reformation, provided thou art convinced that it has for its fundamental and ultimate object, the eventual downfall of tyrants, the best good of the human family, the moral and spiritual elevation of man.

To whatever has a tendency to make man more consistent in his acts as a Christian, a philanthropist and a benefactor, thou, being fully apprised of the same, wilt speedily give thy countenance. Having premised this much, I now shall examine some of the arguments adduced for and against the use of slave-labour products. In the first place, then, permit me to allude to a paragraph which appeared in an article on the "Products of Slave Labour," last month in the *Liberator*.

In speaking of using cotton, sugar and rice, thou informs us that "these are all good—the gifts of a beneficent Creator;" and thou then draws the inference that "they may be innocently used by those who abhor oppression, who are earnestly endeavoring to overthrow it, and who maintain that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and innocently by no other persons." Now I presume that no one in the possession of rationality will pretend to doubt that cotton is cotton, sugar is sugar, and rice is rice, though, in my opinion, every highly intelligent and strictly consistent abolitionist will question his rectitude of conduct, when he knowingly joins hands with the tyrannical slaveholder by voluntarily consenting to purchase the productions of the unpaid toil of the poor degraded slave. It is evident that all the productions which the earth affords being made subservient to his convenience and happiness by proper use, man may innocently partake of, provided they are not "the price of blood;" the products of oppression. If by any act of mine, which I foresee and can obviate, I cause my brother man to be, either directly or indirectly, injured in person or property, most surely I cannot be considered blameless in the sight of my Heavenly Father and of man. This self-evident truth being admitted, let us for a moment examine the rela-

tion which the consumer sustains to the producer. Now whatever has a tendency to cripple the energies of the producer, is felt directly by the consumer, and vice versa. Consequently we cannot destroy the interests of the one class, without usually exterminating those of the other also. The question then assumes this appearance, viz. Shall the interests of the slaveholder, who claims to be the producer, be sustained, or shall the interests of the slave, who is the real producer, be secured? If the interests of the slaveholder be not sustained, will he and the slave starve, and will the non-growing cotton, sugar and rice States be deprived of these simple necessities? As it relates to the slaveholder, I think that he would certainly be reduced to comparatively indigent circumstances, and his present wealth, "in chattels personal," would be of little or no value to him, inasmuch as there would be no way for him to obtain ready money, if the consumer should cease to purchase those staples which have been produced by the extorted and unrequited toil of those whom he now rules with a rod of iron. As it pertains to the condition of the slave, I think it must appear evident, on a moment's reflection, that his condition would be changed for the better; his circumstances would be greatly improved, from the fact that he would be deprived of none of the comforts which he now enjoys; but he would retain all the resources which he now possesses, and also, in a great measure, be freed from that terrible pressure of unremitted toil to which he is now subjected by the mercenary spirit of his cruel task-masters.

Can the non-slaveholding States be supplied with cotton, sugar and rice, independent of slave labour? I answer in the affirmative. There are at present many persons, both in the Society of Friends, and among other denominations, who are supplied with these articles independent of slave labour. Now as abstainers increase in number, the demand for free labour produce will be greater. Consequently there will be a greater effort on the part of the producer to supply the demand; and the direct result would be this, that all the free negroes in the slave states would receive employment, and there would be many plantations conducted wholly by freemen. One slaveholder after another, seeing that there was a decreasing demand for his slave labour productions, would, as a matter of interest and policy, liberate his slaves and hire them to labour on his plantations. At present, owing to the imperfections of existing operations, these articles cost the consumer a trifle more than the slave grown productions, but those convinced of the necessity of

abstaining from slave labour productions, will not hesitate to pay the difference. But would the slaveholder be injured in person on account of the penury to which he might possibly be subjected? Most certainly not, inasmuch as he would have simple justice meted out to him. Would he be injured in property? By no means, as it would appear that he has been a usurper, and actually possessed no property—there being no such recognition in the Divine Will as tenure of man by man. We have already shown that the condition of the slave would be incomparably better. Now what valid argument can he, who purchases of the slave's master, or his agent, the products of the slave's unpaid toil, the proceeds of oppression, "the price of blood," adduce in support of this practice? Will he pretend that he can do it knowingly, and yet "innocently"? Will he make a wardrobe of this "price of blood," and warm and comfort himself with it? Will he satisfy his appetite with those products which bleeding humanity has brought to the shambles? I care not if he is the Presiding Elder of the Sanhedrim; his exalted station and merited position only make him the more responsible for his acts. I repudiate the doctrine that the priests can do those acts, and be blameless, which are morally unlawful for the laity to do. We see no valid reason why the abolitionists may "innocently" partake of slave labour productions, while at the same time those cannot who are not abolitionists. I think that the abolitionists are not quite ready to construe that portion of the scripture, viz.: "the labourer is worthy of his hire," to mean, that the slaves of the South may "innocently" contribute to the support of the abolitionists of the North. I do not wish to be understood to declare that I consider slave labour productions contaminated; but, on the contrary, I am of the opinion that slave labour productions in themselves, abstractly considered, are as free from contamination as free labour productions are. So, in my opinion, money, in itself considered abstractly, cannot be contaminated. The contamination and sin lie in the responsibility which we take upon ourselves, when we knowingly purchase slave labour productions, and, also, know the direct result of such purchase. The money which the Doctors Chalmers, Cunningham and Candlish received from the slaveholders was no more contaminated than the same sum would have been, provided the editor of the *Liberator* should have received it in lieu of his paper; and it is highly probable that these doctors carried to Scotland some of the identical money which William L. Garrison, myself and others have ex-

changed for slave labour productions. But the manner in which these hypocritical doctors received the money, also the fact of whom they received it, knowing, as they well did, that it was "the price of blood," the spoils of woe and misery, together with the fact, that in receiving it, they were well aware that they were joining hands with oppressors, constitute their heinous sin in the sight of high Heaven and of man. If it be conceded that abolitionists can "innocently" purchase and use slave labour productions, which I do not admit, then it must follow, as a necessary sequence, that they may purchase these productions either after they have been transmitted through several hands, or directly purchase them from the slaveholder, as, in either case, the direct result of such purchase is to sustain the slaveholder in his nefarious business. Now if the slaveholder sees meet to give the money which he receives from the abolitionists to Doctors Chalmers, Cunningham and Candlish, for the purpose of enabling them to build a Free Church, I think the abolitionist who declares it to be right, just, and innocent for him to traffic with the slaveholder, to purchase and use his ill-gotten goods, should be the last person to find fault with these doctors for receiving of the slaveholder, as a free gift, the identical money which the abolitionists "innocently," and of course justly, paid him, inasmuch as this traffic is voluntary on the part of the abolitionist, there being no urgent necessity, such as hunger, starvation, or even deprivation of cotton, sugar and rice, to compel the American abolitionist to purchase these slave-produced articles. Perhaps there may be an objection urged against my position, that the money which these Scottish doctors received from the slaveholders, was comparatively of little or no importance; but that the pernicious influence which they exerted in consenting to receive the money was of the most alarming character. Now, if this objection is valid as urged against these *soi-disant* divines, it certainly must be valid as urged against those abolitionists who consent voluntarily to purchase slave labour productions, and even consent, in particular cases, to purchase slaves.

Using the argument of the objector, I would say, that the money which the slaveholders receive of the abolitionists is comparatively of little or no importance; but the truly pernicious influence which these abolitionists exert in consenting voluntarily to traffic with slaveholders, to purchase their fraudulently obtained goods and chattels personal, is, according to the validity of the argument of the objector, of the most alarming character. I am aware that very many of the slave-

produced articles are so inextricably interlocked with free labour manufactures, that it would be quite impossible to detect and separate them. Still there are very many articles which we can for a certainty detect: and we are commanded to do those things which we discover to be plain and imperative, not those things which are mystical and uncertain. There are hundreds of bales of free labour cotton annually produced in the slave States; and with the concentrated and united action of the abolitionists, there might be such inducements offered to the free yeomanry of the South, that thousands of bales of free labour cotton would be produced. We will suppose that in all the states of the Union, there are 100,000 abolitionists; now the cultivation of cotton, sugar and rice which these would annually need, would employ at least 30,000 slaves. I would inquire what philanthropic abolitionist there is, who would not make some exertion and sacrifice, both of time and treasure, to relieve or lighten the burden of these 30,000 of our fellow beings, by "earnestly endeavoring" to obtain free labour cotton, sugar and rice? We are told that it is impossible to receive these articles even divested of slave labour. We answer such an untruthful assertion by saying that it is quite possible to obtain said articles, from the well known fact, that many abstainers do, at the present time, receive them divested of slave labour. But suppose we could receive them only by, and through, the unrequited toil of the slave. Is the editor of the Liberator prepared to declare that he himself, who was first in many particulars, and is now foremost in pleading the wrongs of 3,000,000 of God's degraded children, would purchase these articles of the mercenary merchant, who is but the indirect agent of the man-stealing, woman-whipping, and cradle-robbing Southerner? I have supposed that "no union with slaveholders," most emphatically meant "no union with slaveholders," to which doctrine I fully subscribe. But it appears by thy remarks that abolitionists, at least, may have commercial union with them, and be blameless, or that they may "innocently" purchase and use "the price of blood" *quod scilicet* they "are earnestly endeavoring to overthrow oppression." Now, in my opinion, the advancing of such doctrine as this, is one step in advance of the gross inconsistency of the hypocritical Jews; for, notwithstanding they very willingly consented to give "pieces of silver," to secure the seizure of Jesus, yet, when it was returned to them, they seemed to have some conscience about the use of it. Whereas a sterling abolitionist may consent to give "pieces of money or

silver," in lieu for "the price of blood," and yet can have no compunctions of conscience relative to the act, but may "innocently use" it. God forbid that the abolitionists of America, and Wm. L. Garrison in particular, should subscribe to the doctrine that the products, obtained by the extorted toil of bleeding humanity, can be, knowingly and yet "innocently," purchased and used by them or him. Thou makes the assertion that "it is, perhaps, somewhat singular that this zeal for total abstinence from slave grown productions, is almost exclusively confined to the Society of Friends;" again, thou asserts in thy passing notice to Lea W. Gause, that the "non-abstainers (abstainers, I suppose thou meant,) were chiefly Friends," and adds that "its peculiarity is worthy of interrogation as to how it happens." Thou closes thy first article by saying that thou hast "too many practical measures to carry forward, to be willing to have thy own attention or desirous that the attention of others should be diverted to one of, at least, such doubtful and inferior character."

Now I think that such language as the preceding, at best, is very singular, and I shall put no construction upon it, but shall simply say in passing, that the doctrines which Jesus of Nazareth and the Apostles promulgated, appeared, perhaps, "somewhat singular" to the Jewish doctors and wise men of the East; and they no doubt considered that they were too busily engaged in "carrying forward too many practical measures to suffer their attention to be diverted" to a command "of at least such doubtful and inferior character," as "cease to do evil, and learn to do well," that is, cease to uphold slavery by abstaining from the "use" of slave labour productions, and learn to do well by earnestly endeavoring to persuade others to abstain.

There have been a thousand "singular" things which have transpired in past time, and perhaps no little thing is more "singular" and worthy of notice than that William L. Garrison should consent to seize upon the grammatical errors of one individual, and accuse the Society in general of the same, when he well knows that Friends, as writers and authors, are as grammatically correct as himself. Being a constant reader of the Liberator, and an ardent admirer of the usual clear mindedness of its editor; also, being wholly unaware of possessing a more fastidious mind than most men, I am free to assert, that it would have been much more congenial to my feelings, and, in my opinion, in better consonance with the truly capacious mind of William Lloyd Garrison, if he had either positively refused to reply

to our friend Lea W. Gause, or else had endeavored to show him in a false position in sentiment if possible, rather than to have attacked his grammatical errors, and then, through him, to have irrelevantly made the Society of Friends a target at which to hurl the grammatical errors of some of its members. All of which I most respectfully submit, and desire thee to publish in the Liberator as soon as convenient. Also, I submit an extract from Virgil, which I consider to be a just representation of weeping and wailing humanity in the southern prison house of bondage, which may truly be compared to the Shades of Erebus; and wo unto those who do not do every thing in their power, however trifling it may be, to open the gates and batter down the walls of oppression, to the end that the oppressed may go free.

*"Continuo audite voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantum que animæ flentes in limine primo:
Quos dulcis vitæ exsortes, et ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo."*

Very respectfully and sincerely,
Thy Friend,

WM. HENRY HOBBS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"—Isaiah lviii. 6.

On this passage Adam Clarke, whose commentary is, doubtless, held in high repute among the Methodists in the South, as well as elsewhere, has the following note:

"How can any nation pretend to fast or worship God at all, or dare to profess that they believe in the existence of such a Being, while they carry on what is called the *slave trade*; and traffic in the souls and bodies of men! O ye most flagitious of knaves, and worst of hypocrites, cast off at once the mask of religion; and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ while ye continue in this traffic!"

CONVERSATIONAL REMARK OF DR. JOHNSON, IN 1766.—"To omit for a year, or for a day, the most efficacious method of advancing Christianity, in compliance with any purposes that terminate on this side of the grave, is a crime of which I know not that the world has yet had an example, except in the practice of the planters of America, a race of mortals, whom, I suppose, no other man wishes to resemble."

Dr. Johnson, being asked by Boswell why he left off drinking wine, replied, "Why, Sir, because it is so much better for a man to be sure that he is never to be intoxicated—never to lose the power over himself." It is interesting to

mark this adoption, at so early a date, of a conclusion at which Temperance Societies slowly arrived; by a man, too, who, though possessed of a strong mind, had also strong appetites. On another occasion he remarked, "I now no more think of drinking wine than a horse does. The wine upon the table is no more for me than for the dog that is under the table."

In entire kindness I would commend the sentiment to the readers of the Non-Slaveholder. There is certain safety from drunkenness in total abstinence from all that can intoxicate. All the pleasures of appetite are nothing, when balanced against even the slightest risk of becoming a drunkard. And when we reflect that the drunkard can never reform, or the reformed inebriate remain so, except by keeping out of his mouth that which will renew his appetite, is not a strong incitement presented to the Christian philanthropist, to act out, for the general benefit, the apostle's noble principle, "Wherefore if meat cause my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth, lest I cause my brother to offend"?

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH 1, 1847.

REFLECTIONS ON THE USE OF SLAVE LABOUR PRODUCED.—The communication bearing this title in our present number, was sent by the writer, accompanied by the information that it appeared in a western paper, about three years since, with the exception of some alterations made upon it, which are included in its present form. He suggests that most of the ideas expressed in it have already appeared in the Non-Slaveholder, in some form or other, and he therefore wholly submits the article to our disposal, as to its publication, partially or entire. We are glad to receive it, and cheerfully give it its fullest insertion. The duty of disusing the products of violence ought to be an accepted truism with all the followers of a peaceful Messiah; and yet, as in respect to other Christian truths, equally clear, which have to be pressed upon the often-unwilling attention of those who should be their instant and grateful receivers, so in respect to this—"precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little;"—until "by the foolishness of preaching," men are brought to a heartfelt conviction and reception of the truth.

We think our friend has well illustrated his

subject, and presented it in some new lights—not only inviting the attention of those to whom his reflections are particularly addressed, but of all others who desire to know the truth, and are willing to be obedient to it.

SLAVEHOLDING IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—We think our esteemed friend, to whom we are indebted for the remarks in this month's journal on the subject of slaveholding as practised by early Friends, has given us an accurate, and to the Society of Friends a very honourable, statement of the circumstances which belong to it. The practice of slaveholding was, obviously, not a prevailing one among those who were to be regarded as consistent members of this religious society. On the contrary, there were but few of that character in it who did hold slaves, and they quickly yielded to the concern of their better informed friends, and to the *inspeaking* sense of right, which has never tolerated slaveholding when its character has come to be justly appreciated. The more numerous of its slaveholding members were inconsistent with the principles of the Society in other respects. Those of them who yielded to the entreaties of the body, gave probable evidence in doing so of their improved general condition; and those who suffered disownment, of their general departure from a Christian life and conversation—"they went out from us, but they were not of us."

Considering the pains taken by interested persons to spread the idea that the slave-trade was a means of saving the lives of the subjects of it, by rescuing them from a death which, as prisoners of war, would have otherwise been their fate, it is remarkable that Friends were not betrayed, by this commonly accredited suggestion, into a greater purchase and use of slaves than appears to have been their case. To the extent that such slaves were held by Friends, there is no doubt that their treatment, in general, was kind and moral, and that pains were taken to educate them in Christian truths. But they rightly judged that no kindness to the slave could justify the connection of slave and master, and they, therefore, in respect to their own members, wisely severed it.

During this slaveholding period, Friends generally had but little external connection with slavery. The farmer usually raised all the products necessary to him for food and clothing. A few pounds of West India sugar, where the maple tree or bee-hive did not furnish an equivalent or substitute, and a very few pounds of coffee, when he indulged in that luxury, formed his annual

demand for those products, and all that he usually bought, in which was the hand of the slave. The townsman was undoubtedly a larger debtor to the slave's toil, in sugar, rice, coffee, and—shall we add?—tobacco, but his chief articles of clothing were of silk, wool and flax, which were the products of free toil. The inroads of luxury, first tinging the town, then the country, has since brought coffee and sugar into very general, instead of a merely occasional, and very limited use, and superseded home-spun productions by imported fabrics, of which slave cotton, rendered easy of application to manufactures by the invention of Arkwright, forms an important element. Out of these changes has grown up a vast commerce in the productions of slave labour; and in this commerce, and in the use of these productions, Friends, in good standing in the church, are at this day large participants.

We can now very readily see that if when Friends perceived the evil of slaveholding, and sought to avoid an accountability for any participation in it, they had done so, not by substituting free for slave labour, but by encouraging their neighbours to hold slaves, instead of holding slaves themselves, by buying from these neighbours the products of the labour of their slaves, to the same amount of slave productions they had before used, their moral condition would not have been a whit improved; but in the degree that this buying from their neighbours would have occasioned severer exactions of labour than they would have required themselves from their own slaves, it would have been deteriorated; whilst the sum of human slavery would have been undiminished, and its inflictions of wrong increased! Would we concede to Friends so proceeding a character for piety, humanity, intelligence, or even sincerity?

In this view, the question often presents itself to our minds—which is the better moral position, that of slaveholding Friends contributing in the small degree which these did to the existence of slavery, but holding chiefly under their own parental guardianship the slaves toiling for their comfort, or that of modern Friends, professedly non-slaveholding, who cause slavery to exist by their use of its products to a far greater rateable amount than did the former, and with attending cruelties, beyond their control, occasioning a constant and vast exhaustion of human life?

THE SLAVE POWER IN THE FREE STATES.—We gave in our last number a brief statement of the unlawful removal, as a slave, of a coloured woman from the Falls, or Village of Niagara, made

free by the voluntary act of her claimant in bringing her into the State of New York, and of injuries done to the persons and estates of other coloured individuals, who interfered, or were suspected to have interfered, in her behalf. We gave also a report of the case of the Brazilian slaves, delivered, on a hearing before Judge Daly, under a writ of habeas corpus, to their claimant, Captain da Costa, on the plea that such delivery was demanded by the "obvious meaning and intent" of the provisions of our treaty with Brazil, though by the statute law of New York the individuals were free: this decision, in effect, remanding them into slavery. We adduced these facts, and might have presented many others equally flagrant, as going to show that on the side of the oppressors of this stripped and abused people, there was power;—a power reaching far beyond the territorial limits within which slavery can constitutionally exist as a legal institution.

Much of this power resides in the influence of the pecuniary and commercial interchanges which are constantly taking place between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding divisions of our country, and between foreign slaveholding countries and the free portions of our own, making it the personal interest of the (nominal) non-slaveholder to sustain slavery, either generally, or in some particular relation directly affecting his individual comfort. The interchanges which take place between these divisions of our own country, many of them consisting of very small advantages, but all of them important in the estimation of the persons receiving them, may be termed the commercial bond, in contradistinction to the political union which connects these States. To the extent that this bond would remain, were the parchment torn into a thousand atoms on which the union is inscribed, would its influence and effects remain in unimpaired vigour.

It was in subjection to the vast power of which this influence is creative, that the house of Lewis Tappan, of New York, was rifled some years since, and its contents burned in the streets of that emporium—that the eloquent Thompson was driven from the commercial hotel, at which he first took lodgings on his arrival in our country, and was subsequently hunted through it, and from it, as a beast of prey—that a mob of "gentlemen of property and standing," paraded William Lloyd Garrison through the streets of Boston with a halter round his neck—that a large assemblage of "respectable" Philadelphians, with a competent municipality to have suppressed far greater outbreaks, gave a tacit assent to the act of a few desperadoes by whom that beautiful edifice, the

Pennsylvania Hall, was burned to the ground—and that wrongs without number, or remedy, have been done in the free States, against the friends of freedom, and in favour of slavery. Time would fail to enumerate them.

Of the existence of this power the slaveholder is well aware, when, fully knowing that no slave breathing the air of the free States with consent of his master, can be longer legally held as a slave, he yet brings his slave into our midst. He believes that the gold he scatters in the cars—at the hotels—on his way northward—at the watering places—at other places of fashionable resort—and on his return—will ensure him humble friends and retainers to an amount sufficient to render him all the advice and co-operation necessary to the conveyance of his slave back into bondage, and to his defiance of the law in doing so;—and he is rarely disappointed. The interest which the slaveholder thus establishes does not cease with ensuring to him the delivery of his present victim, but extends to the maintenance for the locality of a non-interfering and anti-abolition character, that his presence may be invited for another year. These views explain the occurrence at Niagara, both as respects the wrong publicly done to the abducted woman, and the subsequent violence perpetrated on her sympathizing friends. Will they explain why no injury was inflicted upon white inhabitants of the place?

The foreign slaveholder confides in the existence of this power, when he makes his slaves a part of the crew which conveys to us the luxuries of his climate, and adds to the wealth of our own, more than to any conception he has of the strength of his legal rights. He knows that a claim of property in man is against the principles of our free institutions, but he trusts to the boon which he brings with him, as a security for our overlooking the condition of the men bearing it to us; and he is not therefore disappointed when, in the sequel of any brief conflict between might and right, he finds that commercial interests over-ride natural, moral, and statute right!

This result we have in the Brazilian slave case, in which the Judge applying the provisions in the Treaty with Brazil relating to deserters, to the case of the two men, da Costa and da Rocha, who were pursuing a legal course for the recovery of their liberty, considered that the fact of their forming a part of the ship's crew, whether with or without their consent, was a sufficient evidence of "the right of the master to detain them," and thus a sufficient reason for remanding them to his custody! Can we believe that, in a community duly appreciating the paramount right of a man

to himself, yet allowing as rigid a construction of the terms of the treaty as would be consistent with that appreciation, no judicial power would be allowed to enquire back of the ship's roll, whether the name of any person entered upon it, found itself there by fraud? If we do, then we admit that there exists in the treaty a provision which would prevent one of our own countrymen from asking to be discharged from the service of a Brazilian vessel on account of having been kidnapped into it; or, he escaping from the service, would make it to "be the duty of the judicial tribunal in such a case, upon the proper application, to deliver him up" without regard to such a plea. Does such a provision exist? Is it constitutional?

Since the decision by Judge Daly, an effort was made to bring up the case of the slaves, with some new points in it, before Judge Edmonds, under a second writ of habeas corpus, but, after some proceedings before him, it was finally tried, on agreement of the parties, by Judge Edwards. The Judge considering the new points as not substantially varying the case, and holding that he had no right to go behind the decision of Judge Daly, even for the correction of irregularities in the proceedings before him, returned the men to the custody of the Captain, where Judge Daly's decree had left them.

The decision of Judge Edwards does not at all meet the following points made in behalf of the slaves by their worthy and intelligent counsel, John Jay:

"The proceeding before Judge Daly was not between the same parties or privies, but a matter *inter alios acta*, between the relator, John Inverness, and the Captain, with which the Africans had nothing to do. It was a proceeding instituted without their privity or consent, and by which they are in no way bound. The relator was to them a stranger, the counsel unknown and unauthorized; ignorant of the language, they had no understanding of the matter."

"A decision is not *res adjudicata*, unless the parties to be affected by it have had an opportunity of being fairly heard, and the decision is made upon due deliberation by the Judge. These Africans, in the former proceeding, were denied a hearing. The order of the Court was based upon an admission on the record made without their authority, knowledge, or assent, and the truth of which they positively deny."

If the points here taken are correct, where is the justice which has been meted out to these men, and what is the boasted right of the writ of habeas corpus, where the men are not allowed to be heard through counsel of their own appointment?

Without meaning to attach the least disrespect

to the honorable judges whose decisions we have referred to, we must be allowed to believe they were not guided by the golden rule they would wish applied to their own cases were they the subjects of the adjudication. They participated, probably, in the general apprehension which existed in the great commercial metropolis, that a new cause of irritation would arise out of the case to increase the difficulties already subsisting between the Brazilian empire and this government, and they may have desired to avoid the doing of any act which would augment the danger of a rupture between the two countries, and, thus, of a suspension of the large commerce now existing between them. We read in the event the lesson with which we commenced, that in the pecuniary and commercial interchanges of the free states with slave holding communities, far transcending in influence all political confederacies, the power of slavery in regulating and controuling the former, chiefly exists. It is the province of a wise philanthropy to seek means for the diminishing of these interchanges.

THE BRAZILIAN SLAVES—THEIR ESCAPE!—One of the suggestions made by the counsel of these men to Judge Edwards, for their discharge from the custody of Captain da Costa, was, that he had "threatened when he got them out of port to flog them until they were fit for nothing but to be thrown overboard, and that they never should see Rio again." The severe character of the Captain, shown in the fact of his having, upon the return of the men to him under Judge Daly's decree, put them in irons, and subjected them otherwise to a rigorous imprisonment, in punishment of their offence of seeking a legal remedy; which was all he could well do in port; made it probable that this threat was to be carried out when they got to sea. As Judge Edwards saw no remedy under the writ of habeas corpus against "any threatened violence," his decision turned the men over to such a catastrophe, should it ensue. We are, therefore, especially glad to learn that the slaves escaped from this menaced and dreaded doom, as well as from slavery itself, by some agency, as yet unexplained, which, on the night of the 8th ultimo, effected their liberation. We are reminded by this mysterious event of the following beautiful lines of Longfellow:—

"Paul and Silas in their prison,
Sang of Christ, the Lord arisen,
And an earthquake's arm of might,
Broke their dungeon gates at night."

"But alas! what holy angel
Brings the slave this glad evangel?"

And what earthquake's arm of might
Breaks his dungeon gates at night?"

To these slaves came the bright messenger of a glorious, though lesser evangel, opening to them their prison doors and bidding them BE FREE!

We take from the National Anti-Slavery Standard of the 12th ultimo, the following particulars relating to Judge Edwards's decision, and the subsequent proceedings in the case, including the escape of the prisoners.

On Thursday last, the decision of Judge Edwards, in this case, was given, by which the slaves were remanded to the custody of the Captain of the *Lembranca*. In his opinion, Judge Edwards declared that the question presented to him under the new writ of *habeas corpus* was already *res adjudicata*, and that he was precluded from going into any investigation of the facts in the case; and that no new facts were set forth which authorized any interference on his part. The Judge relied as a precedent upon the Barry case, in which the Court of Errors decided that the principle of *res adjudicata* was applicable to a proceeding under *habeas corpus*.

Immediately on the decision of Judge Edwards, Messrs. White and Jay asked that the Judge would order the Sheriff to hold the slaves till they had an opportunity of bringing the case before the Supreme Court, for final adjudication. This he declined to do, declaring that he had not the authority. A new writ of *habeas corpus* was therefore procured at once from Judge Oakley, but a hearing could not be had till Monday morning.

The fear now was, that, as the slaves were legally in the custody of the Captain, they would be placed beyond the reach of any writ whatever. Efforts were made to procure a pledge from the Captain or his counsel that the Africans should be permitted to remain in the custody of the jailor, but without success. The Captain, however, was willing to sell them at a reduced price, and in consideration of the state of the market here, generously consented to take \$300 each for them, affirming that they would be worth \$500 each in Brazil. It was thought possible by some of the friends of the slaves, that the requisite sum might be raised. In the meanwhile the men were left in the Eldridge street prison, in the custody of the jailor, though no pledge was given that they should remain there.

On Sunday night, however, they were safe in their cells when the keeper retired to rest. In the morning they were not to be found, though the keys of the keeper remained where he had put them the night before, on his table.

Their disappearance remains still a mystery to the public. The Captain and his party evidently know nothing about it, and are exceedingly angry at their escape. But their friends, on the other hand, have no anxiety as to their safety.

Such was the aspect of affairs when a hearing was to be had on Monday, on the new writ before Judge Oakley. It was postponed to Tuesday, when statements were made by the counsel for both parties, and various affidavits were read. Mr. Jay expressed his gratification at the escape of the

slaves, and considered it perfectly justifiable, as they were held in jail simply on the order of the Captain, and not by any legal warrant; he declared, that so far as he was concerned, there was no private understanding between the parties as to the slaves being permitted to remain in the Eldridge street prison, but that on the contrary, Mr. Purroy refused to give such a pledge. He, however, further declared that the escape was entirely without his connivance. Mr. Purroy acknowledged that Mr. Jay was entirely exculpated, but endeavoured to show that there was an understanding between himself and Elias Smith, who has been active in this case, touching the continuance of the slaves in the Eldridge street prison, till it could be ascertained whether money enough could be raised to effect their purchase. Mr. Smith was not present to make any statement in his own behalf. The Judge remarked that there had been a breach of faith somewhere, and intimated that the matter might come before the Grand Jury. Precisely what the Grand Jury can have to do with the matter we do not see. The most that can be made out of it is, that the men have deserted, and some one has helped them to do so. The last, at least, is no crime. Whatever breach of faith there may have been between private parties, we know not. But that, we take it, whatever judgment the public may pass upon it, is not a question over which the Grand Jury have cognizance.

SELECTIONS.

GLORY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

We are indebted to the "Practical Christian" for the following eloquent extracts, which are from the conclusion of the "Tenth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education" for Massachusetts, Horace Mann.

While we admire the whole extract as the production of an enlightened and gifted mind, our attention was particularly arrested by his severe rebuke of that iniquitous system, by which many of our States, more blessed by far with the riches of nature than Massachusetts, are kept at so great a distance behind her in all that constitutes true greatness. It is not necessary to say that we refer to the paragraph beginning with the words, "Does she live by the toil of a race of serfs and vassals?"

"Massachusetts is *parental* in her government. More and more, as year after year rolls by, she seeks to substitute prevention for remedy, and rewards for penalties. She strives to make industry the antidote to poverty, and to counterwork the progress of vice and crime by the diffusion of knowledge and the culture of virtuous principles. She seeks not only to mitigate those great physical and mental calamities of which mankind are the sad inheritors, but also to avert

those infinitely greater moral calamities which form the disastrous heritage of depraved passions. Hence it has long been her policy to endow or to aid asylums for the cure of disease. She succors and maintains all the poor within her borders, whatever may have been the land of their nativity. She founds and supports hospitals for restoring reason to the insane; and even for those violators of the law whom she is obliged to sequester from society, she provides daily instruction and the ministrations of the gospel, at the public charge. To those who, in the order of nature and providence, have been bereft of the noble faculties of hearing and of speech, she teaches a new language, and opens their imprisoned minds and hearts to conversation with men and to communion with God; and it hardly transcends the literal truth to say, that she gives sight to the blind. For the remnants of those aboriginal tribes who, for so many ages, roamed over this land, without cultivating its soil or elevating themselves in the scale of being, her annual bounty provides good schools; and when the equal, natural and constitutional rights of Africa were thought to be invaded, she armed her courts of judicature with power to punish the aggressors. The public highway is not more open and free for every man in the community, than is the public school-house for every child; and each parent feels that a free education is as secure a part of the birthright of his offspring, as Heaven's bounties of light and air. The State not only commands that the means of education shall be provided for all, but she denounces penalties against all individuals, and all towns and cities, however populous or powerful they may be, that shall presume to stand between her bounty and its recipients. In her righteous code, the interception of knowledge is a crime; and if parents are unable to supply their children with books, she becomes a parent and supplies them.

"The policy of the State promotes not only secular but religious instruction; yet in such a way, as leaves to every individual the right of private judgment and the sacred freedom of conscience.

"Public sentiment exceeds and excels the law. Annually, vast sums are given for eleemosynary and charitable purposes;—to promote the cause of temperance, to send the gospel to the heathen; and to diffuse the doctrines of peace, which are the doctrines of the Prince of Peace.

"Whence come her means to give, with each returning year, more than a million of dollars to

public education; more than another million to religion; and more than a third to ameliorate and succor the afflicted and the ignorant at home, and to bless, in distant lands, those who sit in the region and shadow of death? How does she support her poor, maintain her public ways, and contribute such vast sums for purposes of internal improvement, besides maintaining her immense commercial transactions with every zone in the world?

"Has she a vast domain? Her whole territory would not make a court yard of respectable dimensions to stand in front of many of the states and territories belonging to the Union.

"Does she draw revenues from conquered provinces or subjugated realms? She conquers nothing, she subdues nothing, but the great elemental forces of nature, which God gives freely; whenever and wherever they are asked for in the language of genius and science; and in regard to which no profusion or prodigality to one can diminish the bounty always ready for others.

"Does she live by the toil of a race of serfs and vassals whom she holds in personal and hereditary bondage,—by one comprehensive and sovereign act of violence seizing upon both body and soul at once, and superseding the thousand acts of plunder which make up the life of a common robber? Every man who treads her sacred soil is free; all are free alike; and within her borders, for any purpose connected with human slavery, iron will not be welded into a fetter.

"Has she rich mines of the precious metals? In all her coffers, there is not a drachm of silver or of gold which has not been obtained by the sweat of her brow or the vigor of her brain.

"Has she magazines of mineral wealth imbedded in the earth, or are her soil and climate so spontaneously exuberant that she reaps luxuriant harvests from uncultivated fields? Alas! the orator has barbed his satire, by declaring her only natural productions to be granite and ice? Whence, then, I again ask, comes her wealth?

"One copious, exhaustless fountain, supplies all this abundance. It is education,—the intellectual, moral, and religious education of the people. Having no other mines to work, Massachusetts has mined into the human intellect, and from its limitless resources, she has won more sustaining and enduring prosperity and happiness, than if she had been founded on a stratification of silver and gold, reaching deeper down than geology has yet penetrated. From

her high religious convictions, she has learned that great lesson,—to set a value upon time. Regarding the faculties as the gift of God, she has felt bound both to use and to improve them. Mingling skill and intelligence with the daily occupations of life, she has made labour honourable; and, as a necessary consequence, idleness is disgraceful. Knowledge has been the ambition of her sons, and she has revered and venerated the purity and chastity of her matrons and her daughters. At the hearth-stone, at the family table, and at the family altar,—on all those occasions where the structure of the youthful character is *built up*, these sentiments of love for knowledge and of reverence for maidenly virtue have been *built in*; and there they stand, so wrought and mingled with the fibres of being, that none but God can tell which is nature and which is education; which we owe primarily to the grace of Heaven, and which to the co-operating wisdom of the institutions of men. Verily, verily, not as we ought, have we obeyed the laws of Jehovah, or imitated the divine example of the Saviour; and yet, for such imperfect obedience and distant imitation as we have rendered, God has showered down manna from the heavens, and opened a rock whence flow living waters to gladden every thirsty place. He who studies the present or the historic character of Massachusetts, will see,—and he who studies it most profoundly will see most clearly,—that whatever of abundance, of intelligence, or of integrity, whatever of character at home or of renown abroad, she may possess—all has been evolved from the enlightened, and at least partially Christianized mind, not of a few, but of the great masses of her people. They are not the result of outward riches or art brought around it, or laminated over it, but of an awakened inward force, working energetically outwards, and fashioning the most intractable circumstances to the dominion of its own desires and resolves; and this force has been awakened and its unspent energies replenished, more than from all things else, by her Common Schools.

"From her earliest colonial history, the policy of Massachusetts has been to develop the minds of all her people, and to imbue them with the principles of duty. To do this work most effectually, she has begun it with the young. If she would continue to mount higher and higher towards the summit of prosperity, she must continue the means by which her present elevation has been gained. In doing this, she will not only exercise the noblest prerogative of govern-

ment, but will co-operate with the Almighty in one of his sublimest works.

"The Greek rhetorician, Longinus, quotes from the Mosaic account of the creation what he calls the sublimest passage ever uttered: 'God said, Let there be light, and there was light.' From the centre of black immensity effulgence burst forth. Above, beneath, on every side, its radiance streamed out, silent, yet making each spot in the vast concave brighter than the line which the lightning pencils upon the midnight cloud. Darkness fled, as the swift beams spread onward and outward, in an unending circumfusion of splendour. Onward and outward, still they move to this day, glorifying, through wider and wider space, the infinite Author from whose power and beneficence they sprang. But not only in the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth, did he say, 'Let there be light.' Whenever a human soul is born into the world, its Creator stands over it, and again pronounces the same sublime words, 'Let there be light.'

"Magnificent, indeed, was the material creation, when, suddenly blazing forth, in mid-space, the new-born sun dispelled the darkness of the ancient night. But infinitely more magnificent is it, when the human soul rays forth its subtler and swifter beams;—when the light of the senses irradiates all outward things, revealing the beauty of their colours and the exquisite symmetry of their proportions and forms; when the light of reason penetrates to their invisible properties and laws, and displays all those hidden relations that make up all the sciences; when the light of conscience illumines the moral world, separating truth from error, and virtue from vice. The light of the newly-kindled sun, indeed, was glorious. It struck upon all the planets, and waked into existence their myriad capacities of life and joy. As it rebounded from them, and showed their vast orbs all wheeling, circle beyond circle, in their stupendous courses, the sons of God shouted for joy. That light sped onward, beyond Sirius, beyond the Pole-star, beyond Orion and the Pleiades, and is still speeding onward into the abysses of space. But the light of the human soul flies swifter than the light of the sun, and outshines its meridian blaze. It can not only embrace the sun of our system, but all suns and galaxies of suns; ay! the soul is capable of knowing and of enjoying Him who created the suns themselves; and when these starry lustres that now glorify the firmament shall wax dim, and fade away like a wasted taper, the light of the soul shall still remain; nor

time, nor cloud, nor any power but its own perversity, shall ever quench its brightness. Again I would say, that whenever a human soul is born into the world, God stands over it, and pronounces the same sublime fiat, 'Let there be light;' and may the time soon come when all human governments shall co-operate with the divine government in carrying this benediction and baptism into fulfilment."

From the Pittsburg Christian Advocate.

OLD TEMPERANCE.

We are indebted to a Scottish newspaper for the following extract from a speech of Lord Chesterfield, delivered in the House of Lords in 1763, on the "Gin act."

"Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will—would you lay a tax upon a breach of the ten commandments? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous? because it would imply an indulgence to all those who could pay the tax. Vice, my lords, is not properly to be taxed, but suppressed, and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means by which the suppression can be obtained. Luxury, my lords, or the excess of that which is only pernicious by its excess, may be very properly taxed, that such excess though not strictly unlawful, may be made more difficult. But the use of those things which are simply hurtful in their own nature, and in every degree, is to be prohibited. None, my lords, ever heard in any nation, of a tax upon theft or adultery, because a tax implies a license granted for the use of that which is taxed to all who shall be willing to pay it.

Drunkenness, my lords, is universal, and in all circumstances an evil, and therefore ought not to be taxed but punished.

The noble lord, [he went on to remark,] has been kindly pleased to inform us, that the trade of distilling is very extensive; that it employs great numbers, and that they have arrived at exquisite skill, and therefore—note well the consequence—the trade of distilling is not to be discouraged. Once more, my lords, allow me to wonder at the different conceptions of different understandings. It appears to me, that since the spirits which distillers produce are allowed to enfeeble the limbs, and vitiate the blood, to pervert the heart, and obscure the intellect, that the number of distillers should be no argument in their favour; for I never heard that a law against theft was repealed or delayed because thieves were numerous. It appears to me, my lords, that if so formidable a

body are confederated against the virtue or the lives of their fellow citizens, it is time to put an end to the havoc, and to interpose, while it is yet in our power, to stop destruction. So little, my lords, am I affected with the merits of the wonderful skill which the distillers are said to have attained, that it is, in my opinion, no facility of great use to mankind, to prepare palatable poisons; nor shall I ever contribute my interest for the reprieve of a murderer, because he has by long practice obtained great dexterity in his trade. If their liquors are so delicious that the people are tempted to their own ruin, let us at length, my lords, secure them from this fatal draught, by burning the vials that contain them. Let us crush at once these artists in slaughter, who have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pit-falls of debauchery such habits as cannot be resisted. I am very far, my lords, from thinking that there are this year any peculiar reasons for tolerating murder—nor can I conceive why the manufactory should be held sacred now, if it is to be destroyed hereafter."

From the Literary World.

"THEY HEARD HIS VOICE."

A scene of novel and peculiar interest occurred at the May meeting of the New York Historical Society. A learned paper upon the ancient trails and territorial boundaries of the far-famed Iroquois, had enlisted the attention of the members so deeply, that the usual hour for adjournment was nearly forgotten. When the reader at length closed his dissertation, a member of the society rose and stated that there was a veritable Iroquois of the full blood present; and, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, the society would perhaps be gratified to hear any remarks he might be willing to offer upon the paper just read. The President, the Hon. Luther Bradish, warmly welcomed the suggestion, and an Indian, with all the characteristics of his race strongly printed upon his frontispiece, glided from under the shadow of the bookcases and planted himself upon the floor. The Red-man smiled and bowed with graceful self-possession at the round of applause which greeted him; and then with remarkable address he touched upon point after point of the discourse which had just been read, in language at once choice and forcible, and delivered with just that degree of hesitation which would characterize a speaker who was translating his thoughts. At last he came to a sentence in which his white predecessor upon the floor, had said, "The Iroquois had left no monu-

ments." His response to this was a most animated burst of eloquence; and from that moment, his speech, having a direct purpose, became one of the most touching and dignified appeals we ever listened to; invoking the society to interpose between those who survived of his people, and the influences which were at work to expel them from the remnant of their ancient possessions in this State. He said:—

The honourable gentleman has told you that the Iroquois have no monuments. Did he not previously prove that the land of Gano-no-o, or "the Empire State," as you love to call it, was once laced by our trails from Albany to Buffalo—trails that we had trod for centuries—trails worn so deep by the feet of the Iroquois, that they became your own roads of travel as your possessions gradually eat into those of my people. Your roads still traverse those same lines of communication, and bind one part of "the Long House" to another. The land of Gano-no-o—the Empire State—then, is our monument! and we wish its soil to rest above our bones when we shall be no more. We shall not long occupy much room in living; we shall occupy still less when we are gone; a single tree of the thousands which sheltered our forefathers—one old elm under which the representatives of the tribes were wont to meet—will cover us all; but we would have our bodies twined in death among its roots, on the very soil whence it grew! perhaps it will last the longer from being fertilized with their decay.

The deep and respectful silence with which these words were listened to, was broken the next moment by a peal of laughter from the audience, at some grotesque touches of irony; while mingled with sarcasm and eloquent invective on the next instant called out an involuntary murmur of plaudits, as the Iroquois speaker, proclaiming himself "a native American," commended his white brethren for their alacrity in helping "the Pole, the Greek, and the inhabitants of the British Islands," and recorded his approval of philanthropy generally, provided the original owners of the soil they lived on were not excluded from its wide embrace. He thought it well, too, that the books of white men might occasionally allow, that an Indian had some feeling for his parent or his son, for the wife of his bosom, and for the land of his birth. His gesticulations in this part of his speech were singularly characteristic, and added much to its effect. Turning then to the President, he said:—

"I have been told that the first object of this society is to preserve the history of the State of New York. You, all of you, know, that alike in

its wars and its treaties the Iroquois, long before the Revolution, formed a part of that history; that they were then one in council with you, and were taught to believe themselves one in interest. In your last war with England, your red brother—your elder brother—still came up to help you, as of old, on the Canada frontier! Have we, the first holders of this prosperous region, no longer a share in your history? Glad were your forefathers to sit down upon the threshold of the "Long House;" rich, did they then hold themselves, in getting the mere sweepings from its door. Had our forefathers spurned you from it when the French were thundering at the opposite end, to get a passage through and drive you into the sea, whatever has been the fate of other Indians the Iroquois might still have been a nation; and I—I—instead of pleading here for the privilege of lingering within your borders—I—I might have had—a country!"

As the Iroquois thus spoke, his dark features were compressed from strong internal agitation; a big tear gathered in his eye long before he reached the close of the sentence: but slowly uttering what he said, he held it suspended there with such resolute firmness that it did not fall, while his eye became glazed with the gathering emotion which words alone could not relieve. We never witnessed a stronger sensation in any assemblage: and we rejoice for the honour of the Historical Society, that it instantly took order, as the first step, for preserving the remains of the Iroquois in this State, to raise a sum of money to bring back the remnant of the families expatriated last summer; one-half of whom have already perished in the swamps of Missouri. It would indeed seem like the very mockery of the true interests of humanity, for an institution of learning to give its best energies to "the Old Mortality" business of deciphering inscriptions on the graves of nations, and turn a deaf ear to the last chapter of their living history, now enacting before their very eyes.

The name of this eloquent Iroquois orator is WAO-WA-WANA-ONK, or "They heard his voice!"

UNMERCIFULNESS OF MAN.

It is strange that unmercifulness should be a characteristic sin of man. Among devils who received no mercy it were less out of place. But man is the child and protégé of Mercy. He lives and enjoys his probation amid arrested thunderbolts, and storms of wrath rolled back, and caverns of despair closed, and the hushed curses of the Law. The rain and dew and sunshine of

Heaven are descending upon his fields. The birds are piping their sweet notes as they might have done in Eden, and all nature, not veiled in sackcloth, but clad in multiform glory, waits upon him like a sister. Above all, man lives in the light of glorious and glad revelations, of evangelic and joyful tidings, of living streams of salvation, and of ministering angels, and of voices from the sky, owning him as a younger brother that wandered, but in the far-off land of prodigality found mercy, through the cross, and through that blood that flowed freely as rain drops from the bosom of Jesus—in the midst of these he stands a monument of mercy, himself unmerciful!!! Yes, and too often, with one hand on the New Testament and the other on his brother's throat, no argument nor art avails to persuade him that in that brother's bosom may beat a heart of higher aspirations, of better purposes, of purer affinities than his own.—*Chr. Par. Mag.*

POETRY.

POEMS BY GOODWIN BARNBY.—The following productions of this new and talented writer, if we rightly estimate their poetical character and moral tendencies, cannot fail to be acceptable to our readers. The correspondent who has obligingly furnished us with them, thus writes in relation to their author:

"Of his history I have learned little; so little indeed, as not even to know whether the name he bears be assumed or real. He contributes to the *People's Journal of England*—a paper especially devoted to the elevation of the labouring classes of society—and writes such words as are fitly spoken to the souls of those whose warm hopeful natures in the cause of human progress long for some expression of their faith which they have not themselves attained to.—

He writes such good thoughts natural, as if he always thought them—
And has sympathies so ready, open-free, like bird on branch,
Just as ready to fly east as west, which ever way be-sought them,
In the birchen wood a chirrip, or a cock-crow in the grange.

He is one of those modern men, who, from the rotting down of the rank wild literature of former ages, are growing a sea of fruit and waving verdure, that is well fitted to nurture into vigour the homely yet truthful and exalting virtues. He speaks no word in commendation of the many guises of gold, and broad-cloth, and high bearing, under which pride has ever sought to win to her-

self the plaudits of the few or many. He tells no tale of Grecian beauty or Roman daring. He altogether passes by as of little moment the blood-dashed laurels that still in the great hall of the world nod in a green old age over the effigy of some long-since-departed grim old warrior. He eulogizes no man-contemner for his knightly courtesy and prowess. His hopes are in the future rather than the past. He is no smiling varlet to huzza for that patriotism which, if borne out to its legitimate extent, would make earth—instead of a garden of beauty, well fitted to nurture on its bosom a band of brothers made up of men of all nations, characters and languages—a very wilderness for savages and wild beasts to wander in, and howl out upon the winds their wrath and torture. He loves no man because he is noble, and despises none because he is mean. But in all men he recognizes the elements of good—those germs of God's spirit—which, if duly cultivated, by His blessing will grow up into beauty and nobleness, far surpassing aught that we are wont to realize upon earth. He teaches in his verse the doctrine of overcoming evil by good—of the pulling down of the strong-holds of wickedness by the preaching and doing of the truth—of the mounting up from the heights which our predecessors have won to new excellencies—of the being in the body among men in their utmost distress, loneliness and sin, and yet in spirit high above them, and by pure-hearted love winning them up to the highest glory."

MOVE ON.

All the stars in heaven are moving,
Ever round the bright spheres roving;
Twinkling, beaming, raying, shining,
Blackest night with darkness lining;
Aye revolving through the years,
Playing music of the spheres;
Like the Eastern Star of old,
Moving toward the shepherd's fold,
Where the wise men—grace to them!—
Found the Babe of Bethlehem.
God is in each moving star;
God drives on the pleiad car:
Let his will on earth be done
As in Heaven the stars move on—
Move on! Keep moving!
Progress is the law of loving.

All the waves of the sea are flowing,
As the winds of heaven are blowing;
With a gentle beamlike quiver
Flows the streamlet to the river;
With a stronger waved commotion
Flows the river to the ocean;
While seas' billows evermore
Flow and gain upon the shore—

Wave on wave in bright spray leaping—
Like endeavors never sleeping;
While the pool which moveth never,
Grows a stagnant bog for ever—
White-gilled die its tenant tench,
Green its water, foul its stench,
Wildering marsh-fires o'er it run,
While straight flows the river on—
Move on! Keep moving!
Progress is the law of loving.

Thus within the skies and ocean
Life is married unto motion;
Stars revolve, and rivers flow,
And earth! what said Galileo?
When in dungeon damply lying,
Faint and tortured, hardly dying,
Yet for truth, with honest pride,
Yet, 'it moves! it moves!' he cried.
And the world? its life is motion,
As with stars and as with ocean.
It is moving, it is growing,
All its tides are onward flowing;
The hand is moving to the loaf,
The eye is moving to the roof,
The mind is moving to the book,
The soul lives in a moving look,
The hand is moving from the sword,
The heart is moving toward the Lord:
Move on! Keep moving!
Progress is the law of loving.

GIVE ME THE HAND.

Give me the hand that is warm, kind and ready;
Give me the clasp that is calm, true and steady;
Give me the hand that never will deceive me,—
Give me its grasp that I aye may believe thee.
Soft is the palm of the delicate woman!
Hard is the hand of the rough sturdy yeoman!
Soft palm or hard hand, it matters not—never!
Give me the grasp that is friendly for ever.

Give me the hand that is true as a brother;
Give me the hand that has harm'd not another;
Give me the hand that has never foreswore it;
Give me the grasp that I aye may adore it.
Lovely the palm of that fair blue-vein'd maiden!
Horny the hand of the workman o'erladen!
Lovely or ugly, it matters not—never!
Give me the grasp that is friendly for ever.

Give me the grasp that is honest and hearty,
Free as the breeze and unshackled by party;
Let friendship give me the grasps that become her,
Close as the twine of the vines of the summer.
Give me the hand that is true as a brother;
Give me the hand that has wronged not another.
Soft palm or hard hand, it matters not—never!
Give me the grasp that is friendly for ever.

MINE AND OURS.

Mine is the little hand, puny and weak,
Ours are the thousand arms, mountains to break;
Mine is the atom of clay for the grave,
Ours is the earth, with hill, valley and wave;
Mine will vanish like corpse in the sod,
Ours will arise to the heaven of God!

Mine is the secret prayer, breathed low and lone,
Ours is the anthem of conquering tone;
Mine is the little flower nurtured in dearth,
Ours are the blossoming Edens of earth;
Mine will vanish like corpse in the sod,
Ours will arise to the heaven of God!

Mine is the brain that but gleams like the spark,
Ours are the thoughts like stars lighting the dark;
Mine is the heart that beats fearfully hurl'd,
Ours are the heart-throbs that gladden the world;
Mine will vanish like corpse in the sod,
Ours will arise to the heaven of God!

Mine is the hermit-life, lone in its hours,
Ours are humanity's loves, thoughts, and powers:
Mine, scarcely mine, is this frame, doom'd to fall,
Ours is our God, common Parent of all!
Mine will vanish like corpse in the sod,
Ours will arise to the heaven of God!

UP AND DOWN.

Up! is the merry lark floating to sing
Its matins of joy to the sun of spring;
Down! is the bird of night, winging to peer
For the mice in the barn-hole, dun and drear;
Up! is the beamy sun shining to give
Their verdure and hues to all flowers that live;
Down! is the gaping mine, lone, dark and cold,
Where the children of Mammon starve for gold;
Down! is the coward that shrinketh to die;
Up! is the hero that looketh on high.

Up! is the calm of the clear blue sky,
Far o'er the mountain-tops raising the eye;
Down! is the mist of the cultureless clod,
Stooping the gaze to the sepulchre sod;
Up! is the watchman who tells of the night,
When beam the streaks of morn ruddy and bright;
Down! is the sluggard who keepeth his bed,
When morning's dews are all sprinkled and shed;
Down! is the coward who slumbers a slave;
Up! is the hero—the watchful and brave.

Up! is the patriot who raises mankind;
Up! is the poet—the eye of the blind;
Down! is the tyrant who maketh the slave;
Down! is the traitor—the door of the grave;
Up! is the high heaven of prophets of old—
The home of the saints, the meek and the bold;
Down! is the hell of the bigot and vile—
The place of the bad with the Judas-smile;
Down! are the tyrant, the bigot, and slave!
Up! are the loving, the free, and the brave!

From the National Era.

EPIGRAM.

The following terse and timely epigram appears in the Portsmouth (N. H.) Journal. It is from the pen of James Kennard, jun., a young invalid, who has been confined to his room and bed for nearly ten years, and who for a considerable part of the time has been unable to bear the light of day. He retains, however, all the cheerfulness and vivacity of health, and from time to time dictates or writes the thoughts of a clear, vigorous mind, on prominent topics and passing events. We have never seen a better answer to the attempt to brand as treason the honest and conscientious disapproval of a disgraceful and wicked war.

J. G. W.

WHO IS THE TRAITOR?

Who deserves the burning curses
Heaped upon the traitor's head?

"He who renders aid and comfort
To the enemy," 'tis said.

Who, then, is the greatest traitor
On this vast terrestrial ball?

He who renders aid and comfort
To the *Enemy of All*.

J. K., JUN.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

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GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
N. W. corner Fifth and Cherry Sts.,
Philadelphia, 8th mo. 1st, 1847.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.]

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 1847.

[NO. 10.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE.

The following inquiries, made in behalf of a friend engaged in collecting agricultural statistics, by the late John Edwards, Esquire, a Representative in Congress, from Pennsylvania, addressed to members of that body, and the accompanying answers, are placed at the disposal of the editors of the Non-Slaveholder, should they think their publication would be useful or interesting.

Delaware Co., Pa., 9th mo. 15, 1847.

Questions with respect to Rice, Tobacco, Cotton, Cane
Sugar and Hemp.

1. What number of pounds, avoirdupois, prepared for a market, is regarded as an average crop per acre?

2. How many hands are necessary to the cultivation of a given quantity of land, say one hundred acres, and for putting the production into a merchantable form?

3. Are women and children employed, and in what proportions?

4. Where such full and other hands are not constantly necessary either to the cultivation and preparation of the articles for a market, or to the requisite care of the grounds and buildings assigned to such culture and preparation, to what other available industry, and in what proportion of their time is the recess from the main business applied?

5. To what extent is animal and mechanical power used?

6. How many acres are supposed to be in cultivation applied to the above productions in each State, and what intervention of other crops does the cultivation require.

In connection with the pounds of sugar per acre, please name the quantity, in gallons, of molasses also produced.

Question with respect to maple sugar.

How many persons are ordinarily necessary,

and how much time is occupied in obtaining and converting the fluid of the maple tree into a given quantity of sugar and molasses—stating in pounds the sugar, and in gallons the molasses procured?

Answer of Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio.

HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 18, 1843.

SIR,—I have some experience in the manufacture of maple sugar. Like many other matters, it is difficult to fix upon the amount of labour necessary to manufacture a given quantity. The state of the weather during the winter, the length of time which the trees have been used, the convenience of fuel, the arrangement of the boiling furnaces, and many other considerations enter into the computation.

Taking all matters into consideration, I am of opinion that the average labour with us is about four days of a man and a yoke of oxen for the manufacture of each hundred pounds, or a corresponding quantity of molasses.

With great respect, your obe't serv't,

Hon. John Edwards.

J. R. GIDDINGS.

Answer of Hon. Thomas Butler King, of Georgia.

RICE.

Two and a half barrels per acre are regarded as a good average crop.

Four acres planted and cultivated to the hand, may be about an average. This would give ten barrels per hand per annum.

It is not usual to cultivate other crops in connection with rice. Potatoes are cultivated, but not to any extent. The entire year is occupied in preparing the land, cultivating the crop, and preparing it for market.

Answer of Hon. Mark A. Cooper, of Georgia.

COTTON IN GEORGIA.

1. Average crop prepared for market, per acre, one hundred pounds.

2. Number of hands required to cultivate one hundred acres and preparing the product for

market, who will also cultivate a proportion of corn, wheat, potatoes, &c., ten.

3. Women, boys and girls work at it—a healthy woman, without a child, counts as a hand—two boys or girls twelve years old count as one, if smart and active.

4. The cultivation of cotton, with the associated crops of grain, occupies the whole time.

5. The hands employed: about three horses and a yoke of oxen, constitute the animal power. The cotton gin and running gear, worth one hundred dollars, constitute the machinery. To these, add four common spinning wheels and cards, and one loom, all worth fifteen dollars.

6. It is impossible to say with certainty the number of acres planted in Georgia. An estimate may be formed from these data—The crop is about two hundred and fifty thousand bales, averaging four hundred pounds each, equal to one hundred million pounds, which, at one hundred pounds per acre, would require one million acres.

Answer of Hon. W. O. Goode, of Virginia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
March 2, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to the interrogatories to which you request my attention, I have the honour to state, that I regard six hundred pounds of tobacco a fair average crop per acre; each hand or laborer will cultivate from two to two and a half acres in tobacco, in addition to the lands appropriated to the production of bread stuffs and provisions and supplies for the support of the estate.

The most efficient of the women and children, over twelve years old, usually mingle in the culture of the crop; and in all bad weather, and in all cases of delicate health, they find employment in handling the tobacco in the houses after it has left the field, or in the "domestic manufacture" of coarse fabrics for their own consumption.

Horses or mules are used in proportion of one horse or mule for two or three laborers, varying according to the size of the estate—and there is generally a team of oxen for removing the plant from the field to the houses. Mechanical power is used only for packing the plant into casks for sale.

The number of acres appropriated to the culture of tobacco in the several States, may be ascertained with some degree of accuracy by reference to statistical tables prepared by order of government. Lands recently conquered from the forest are appropriated to the production of this staple;

but, as they would furnish an inadequate supply on account of the limited quantity of acres, other lands are thus applied, receiving heavy coverings of manure. The crop is usually followed by wheat, for which it furnishes the best possible preparation. The wheat is usually followed by clover or other grass; and in the third or fourth year the land is ready for tobacco. Some planters alternate only with tobacco and wheat, in which cases the application of manure is very heavy, unless the soil be uncommonly fertile. Tobacco has been generally regarded as a great exhauster; but this opinion is now drawn into question by some judicious and scientific planters.

These answers are applicable to the region of the Roanoke, where I reside, and where my experience has been acquired, and my observations made.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

W. O. GOODE,
of Virginia.

Hon. J. Edwards, of Pa.

Answer of Hon. Judge Moore, of Louisiana.

Answers to queries relative to cultivation of Sugar:

1. About one thousand pounds.

2. A grown hand will cultivate four to five acres of cane, and from five to six of corn and other products for provision and forage.

3. Women are employed in about an equal number with men. Children are not, except during the rolling season. Those above ten years of age, are on some plantations employed to drive the horses in grinding. The hands cannot be employed in any other available industry except as above stated; and in the care of the horses and oxen necessary to carry on the plantation. There is very little or no recess.

5. For a plantation making one hundred hogsheads of sugar, about twenty-five horses and fifteen or twenty oxen will be required where the mill is worked by horse power. The mills and apparatus for grinding and boiling sugar on a plantation making the like number of hogsheads, will cost about one thousand dollars—exclusive of the buildings, which are made to cost from one to ten thousand dollars.

6. About one hundred thousand acres in cane, and probably about one hundred and fifty thousand acres in corn and other products therewith. Cane is generally planted on fresh or renovated land, and suffered to grow one or two seasons from the roots of the first year. The land must then be rested one or two years. It is usually

planted in corn and peas, the latter acting as a manure and renovator of the land.

Supplemental to answer 5:

Steam power is employed to a very considerable extent in the manufacture of sugar, for grinding and for corn mills. I suppose that one half the sugar made in Louisiana is by steam power.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

When an evil becomes general, it attracts far less attention than though it was not so much so, and is often by many deemed for that reason alone as a thing of necessity. How otherwise, than from this fact, can we account for the great lapse of years that slavery has been practised in the United States, with no more examination into its character and tendencies commensurate to the atrocity of the system.

Had slaveholding at the time of the framing and adopting of the Constitution of the United States been of ten times less extent than it then was, do we suppose that instrument, (professedly based upon the principles of liberty, justice, equal rights, and self-government,) would have been tortured into one by which a certain class of its subjects might legally retain and claim property in the persons of a certain other class? No! But was this provision a less violation of the principle of justice, because of the multitude of its victims, or the large numbers that might deem themselves accommodated thereby? Surely not—and had the subject of slavery claimed at that time the consideration which its importance demanded, it must have been seen that its entertainment would be hostile to every principle of morality and Christianity, and would diffuse its deadly poison into all the civil and religious institutions embraced in the compact.

The evil proved too general. The appropriate consideration was not given to the subject—hence the claim and protection of property in man by a fellow-man, became the law of the land.

Did a succeeding generation take warning by these gross transactions? No. True, since that time some have come forth and nobly advocated the cause of the oppressed like men and Christians, here and there in different parts of the country, while slavery has been sowing its evils broadcast—but the small number of those thus engaged shews how little attention the public has bestowed upon the subject of slavery in learning its true character and influences.

Now could it be possible that an evil of this

character and magnitude, should have existed in a professedly Christian, free, civilized country like this, and elicited so little attention, had it not become of so general a character, as that many of those who should have been conspicuous in labour for the abolishment of slavery, have fallen victims to its foggy, paralyzing influences, by which an unwillingness has been wrought, even to investigate the subject, as though slaveholding was an incurable evil? And this same cause operates powerfully to prevent abstinence from slave labour products, though it ought to stimulate to greater labour and faithfulness the more widely extended the evil.

Now suppose these slave labour products, entered into a very few articles of merchandize that are offered for sale in the free States—and but a small number of inhabitants of these States had any inducement for dealing in or using such products, would there be that reluctance that now so much prevails against a candid and impartial examination, how far the consumer of slave labour products is accessory to the holding of slaves? I presume not, though the principle is the same, whether our markets be supplied in a greater or less degree by this kind of products. The use of such products by those professedly opposed to slavery, is not the less inconsistent and unjust because of general practice. If the attention is once turned to the subject, it requires but a small amount of discernment to see that he who purchases slave labour products, though by the hand of a second or third person, makes a practical acknowledgment of the slaveholder's right to sell, and the right of property in his slave; as much so as he who purchases a slave of the kidnapper endorses the right of the kidnapper to sell and to kidnap slaves; and it would be clearly seen that the purchase of such products confers no moral right to these products, any more than the purchase of a slave confers right of property in the slave.

These are self-evident truths. Why is it so? Few men are bad enough to steal and rob according to law; but how many, who are professedly opposed to slavery, will, without necessity, purchase directly or indirectly of him who has no right to sell, any more than the highway robber has to sell his stolen goods.

Now he who knowingly should purchase such stolen goods would be justly deemed a party with the thief. In view of these facts, I would ask the consumer of slave labour products, (who has only paid the master for them,) what better title he has to them in justice than if he had stolen them from the slaves? Common sense dictates that where no moral right exists to sell, none can

be had to purchase; hence all such purchases must be spurious in point of moral justice.

Is it not surprising, that in this enlightened age these transactions should exist to the extent they do; and still more surprising, the little attention that is given to the subject of being consistently practical in bearing a testimony against slavery, as though furnishing the inducement to the holding of slaves was no sin?

How shall we answer for these things to our Divine Master, who by a manifestation of his own good spirit is requiring of us, "to do to others as we would that others should do to us?" Will it be of any avail before the tribunal bar of divine justice, to say that others have done the same, that our practice has been sanctioned by the law of the land, and by long and general custom? None of these things could satisfy the consciences of our early Friends that they might settle down at ease, because the evils they were given to see were general, legal, or of long standing. Once convinced by the light of truth shining upon their own hearts that men ought not, and that Christians could not fight, they boldly and valiantly, at the peril of liberty and life, withdrew from all participation in warlike preparations, regardless of consequences, and thus bore an uncompromising testimony against war and its attendant evils, before a king and people that ruled with the bloody sword. Here we see what sacrifices had to be made, what hardness endured by these Friends in their testimony against the scourge of war and other popular evils—which compared with those sacrifices required to be made for bearing a faithful testimony against slavery, sink these to a mere nothing. But how admirably these early reformers succeeded; the work prospered in their hands by the power of the Highest, and they became as a light in the world, powerful instruments in turning men from "darkness to light, from error to truth, and from the power of sin and Satan to the power of God."

These things ought to stimulate the votaries of virtue every where, never to shrink from labour, because of the magnitude of the reform desired, or the amount of sacrifice required for its accomplishment, if it be what morality and Christianity demands; for He that could preserve Daniel in the lion's den, and soften the heart of Pharaoh by which he was willing to let Israel go, can soften the Pharaoh-hearts of this day by the instrumentality of few or many, by which they also will consent to let the bondman go free. But if there was just occasion to a people formerly not to "partake of the sins of Babylon, lest they should partake of her plagues"—then who can expect to

share in the sins of slavery and not also share in its plagues?

Is it a time to close our eyes lest we should see?—nay verily. If we intend to be truly honest and just, and desire to be approved in the divine sight, can we do less than to look into our own practice, and see whether it is in favour or against the poor down trodden bondman "whose blood cries from the ground." D. I.

QUAKER HILL, 28th of 8th mo., 1847.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

EXERCISE OF THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

As we approach the period in which officers are to be elected to fill the various stations required by our system of civil government, our attention is brought to a consideration of the views which should influence a voter, anxious to promote the cause of truth and righteousness, in exercising his elective franchise. I hold that the men we vote for, if they are elected, are our especial delegates, and that the acts which they do, are not only ours, legally, but that so far as we are capable of knowing what they will be, when they involve questions of right or wrong, they are done at our moral accountability. Matters merely financial or expedient, we may refer to the wisdom of our representatives, relying on their superior intelligence, and better means of ascertaining what is proper, for a right decision of them, and not caring to anticipate what that decision may be; but not so with subjects involving moral principles which we hold to be fundamental. In reference to these, we are bound to know what are the sentiments of those we vote for—so far especially as those principles would be involved in some decision which they would probably be called upon to make in the office for which they have our suffrage. It is clear to my mind, that if we cannot on principle vote directly for war measures, we cannot in principle vote for men who will vote for such measures on a contingency likely to arise. Not less clear is it that we cannot vote for a slaveholder, or the advocate of slavery, to any office where his vote may probably be given against the destruction of that system of wrong and outrage—his vote in that event being ours, and involving us in the culpability of sustaining the iniquitous system.

I am aware that these views are condemnatory of much of the political activity which many of the friends of peace and human rights have heretofore displayed in behalf of the better, or rather the less injurious party; but as their ac-

tivity has usually resulted, even when successful, in the defeat of its purpose—witness the election of Harrison and Tyler, the latter of whom laid the firm basis for the Texas annexation—I cannot but hope that the lesson they have read in the past, will be instructive for the future. What an absurdity to vote into office men whose predilections are in favor of war and slavery, and then to expect them to carry out our views in relation to these evils!

In the present party divisions of the country, I do not see how persons opposed to war or slavery can allow their sympathies to go so far forth in favour of either of the two great parties, as to vote generally with either; each of these parties, in its Southern connection, being in alliance with slavery, and each ardently aiding in the work of destruction going on against Mexico—the one holding their work of devastation to be originally and constantly wrong, but seeking by vigorous additions to the horrible amount of it to bring it to a speedy issue; the other professing to believe it right, and, more logically, seeking, by as ardent means, to bring it to as early a conclusion; each seeing in that conclusion a probable concession of territory to the slave power, and each striving to make of the brilliant events of the war, and possibly of its final issue, political capital for the next presidential campaign. We have already in one of the successful Generals, a southerner, and large slaveholder, a nominee for the presidency, in whose favor the votes of the friends of peace and human rights will probably be solicited. In suggesting the possibility that such a request will be accorded, we knew that we hazard the response—"Is thy servant a dog that he shall do this great thing?"

But it may be said, in answer to my theory of voting, that if we vote at all, we must vote with one of the great parties to make our vote effective, and that if we are to suffer evils, whichever party is successful, we may at least choose the lesser, and so vote for the party which is doing the lesser evil. In the sense in which *effective* is here used, we can only vote effectively when we vote with the majority—which overlooks the moral influence which a vote, rightly given, carries with it, even in a small minority. In respect to the lesser evil, we may possibly, in some cases, have the right of choice which is suggested, when it affects ourselves only, but not when it affects others. If the lesser evil be to do an act of wrongful violence to a single person, not himself choosing it, and the greater evil be to do the same act to fifty persons, not themselves

choosing it, that choice is not allowed us. We have no more moral right to do the wrong to one than we have to one hundred, and therefore cannot select an agent to do it for us. Such an agent we emphatically appoint when we choose him for that end.

We can then only vote for men to do right actions. If we cannot find such as will do so according to our views of right, among the candidates of the parties, we must seek for them from without the parties, amongst those of like sentiments with ourselves, or, wholly abstain from voting, according to our views, as to which will be the better course for holding up the light of our principles to the observation of the world.

PENN.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

EXPANSION OF SLAVE TERRITORY.

Is it not strange that a people who are perpetually boasting of their Anglo-Saxon origin, and consequent superiority over other races of men, of their greater proficiency in the arts which minister to the wants of the human family, of their advancement in civilization above others, should yet labour with so much assiduity to plant, propagate and extend the boundaries of another people, whom they affect to despise as so far inferior to them, as to be fit only for a state of servitude? For who does not know that the time will certainly come, when it will be impossible for the white man to continue his iron rule over the rapidly increasing numbers of the descendants of Africa? When that time shall arrive, and the African shall assert his right to rule, where he constitutes the majority, the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race shall no longer prevail, to the extent of the territory thus occupied by the African. The further, then, the race of the latter shall be planted and extended in his servile condition, the greater will be his territorial limits when he shall become master of the soil. If, then, as he so proudly asserts, the Anglo-Saxon is to be the reformer of the world, and especially destined to occupy and rule the Western continent, why should he calmly fold his arms and see another people pre-occupy the field—nay, assist with all his energies to put as much as possible this antagonistic race (as he esteems it) in possession of the promise of future generations? And who are the men that act thus inconsistently, traitorous to their race, digging the graves of their posterity, throughout the whole Southern region of North America?—A few

thousand slaveholders! An inconsiderable minority of the people of the United States. Persuaded, as many of them are, that slavery is opposed to the growth and prosperity of the Union, they yet seek not only to sustain the system within its present territorial limits, but to spread its baleful, blasting shade over every inch of ground where they can possibly plant its root. Blinded by their imagined present pecuniary interests, they quite overlook or disregard the far greater and infinitely more important interests of posterity.

Is it not fair, therefore—is it not just—that the great majority of the free and liberty loving people of the United States, who do not despise labour, but esteem it as a blessing to themselves and their offspring, should interpose their arm of power, yet potent to act, and forbid the further extension of the area of slavery? T.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH 1, 1847.

FRIENDS' PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.—A half year's meeting of this body was held at Clarkson Hall on the evening of Sixth day, the 13th ult. The meeting was unusually small, owing, as was believed, to a very partial notice of it, but to the attendants it was one of progress and encouragement. The reading of the minutes of the managers was commenced—exhibiting an interesting view of its correspondence and other labours, from their beginning in the spring of 1845, during the greater part of that year, when the further reading was postponed to the next meeting. To examine the Treasurer's accounts and to produce to that meeting the names of persons suitable for officers, committees were appointed. After which, various subjects were discussed relating to the best means of advancing the purposes of the Society. The Association then adjourned—its members edified and refreshed by the interview. Several who traveled many miles to be there, thought they were well paid for their trouble.

SLAVERY ON THE HIGH SEAS.—It is well known, that a considerable traffic in slaves has long been prosecuted between the northern slaveholding States and those further south, and that no trivial portion of this traffic is effected by sea. A few years only have passed since the people of the United States were called to witness a controversy between the officers of the federal government and

those of Great Britain, on account of sundry American vessels, engaged in the transportation of slaves, having been thrown by various contingencies into some of the insular dominions of the latter power, and the slaves in consequence discharged. In one case it was broadly intimated, by the republican minister, that the practice of giving, by British authority, their liberty to such American slaves as might be thrown on their islands, must greatly endanger the pacific relations of the two governments. These cases, however, were accommodated without requiring the citizens of this free and liberty-loving republic to decide whether they would incur the expense, and hazard the consequences of a contest with the British nation, to secure, not merely the uninterrupted traffic in slaves upon the high seas between the different ports of the United States—for with that trade there was no interference—but the delivery to their claimants of such slaves as might be cast by stress of weather or other means upon any of their islands in the vicinity of our coast.

The government of the United States was the first to stamp upon the African slave trade the stigma of piracy, and to prescribe for those who should be found on board of American vessels engaged in that traffic, the punishment of death. Yet if we inquire what is the essence of the crime for which this last punitive provision is made, we shall probably find very little in the African commerce which is not necessarily attendant, though possibly in a lower degree, upon the traffic in question between the States. It is an assertion which was frequently repeated by the advocates of the African slave trade, that the negroes imported were slaves in their own country, and that their transportation to the Western World was merely an exchange of one slavery for another. That they were generally held as slaves in Africa before they were sold to the importers is unquestionably true; for whether they are kidnappers, taken prisoners in war, or condemned for real or imputed crimes, by the tribunals of the country, or held in hereditary slavery, they are certainly deprived of their liberty before they are placed in the hold of the slave ship. The traders in African slaves may therefore assert, with as much truth as the conductors of the internal traffic, that they merely transfer their living cargoes from one slavery to another. But as it is fully understood that a large majority of the slaves, imported from Africa, are reduced into slavery by violence or fraud, for the purpose of supplying the slavers with victims, the latter are justly considered as participants in the crime of reducing free persons into slavery;

and this is, indeed, the real offence of which they are guilty.

Now let us inquire whether the traders in slaves between the different States, when they prosecute the traffic by sea, are not guilty of this identical offence.

Slavery, as far as its legal condition is concerned, is a mere municipal regulation founded upon and limited to the range of the territorial laws. This is directly asserted in the judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of *Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. (See *Peters' Reports*.) Of course a slave passing out of the jurisdiction of the State where he is held, ceases to be a slave unless there is some law in force in the State or place to which he has removed, by which his slavery is supported. It is not necessary that a law should exist declaring him free; the absence of a law declaring him a slave is sufficient. Slavery, said Judge Mansfield in the case of *Somerset*, (*Loff's Reports*), is so odious, that nothing can be allowed to support it but positive law. And this declaration was made before the revolution. The Judges of the Supreme Court admit, at least by implication, that if the Article of the Constitution, (Art. 4, Sec. 2,) respecting fugitives from labour, had not been inserted in that instrument, the right of masters to reclaim their fugitive slaves would not have existed. That provision, says Justice Wayne, *confers* upon the owner of a fugitive slave the right.

From the principles laid down it evidently follows, that a slave removing by the knowledge and consent of his master out of the jurisdiction of a slaveholding State, into a place where no law existed to make him a slave, becomes immediately free; and if restrained of his freedom is held merely by force and not by law. When a cargo of slaves is carried from one of the ports in a slave State, to the high seas, the slavery which is founded upon and limited to the range of the territorial laws, ceases as a matter of course. The quondam slaves are subject to no law but that of nations, or those of the United States. Now we apprehend the laws of the Union may be searched in vain for any provision to perpetuate the slavery of negroes or persons of colour, who are removed by the act of their owners beyond the jurisdiction of the particular States.

The Article of the Constitution which authorizes the recovery of fugitives from labour, does not recognise slavery as existing under the laws of the Union; it treats it as existing under the local laws; and in case of escape, not of removal by compulsion of their masters, they may be reclaimed. In other words, the slavery which, if

this article had not been adopted, must have been limited to the range of the territorial laws, is extended, under particular and defined circumstances, to all parts of the Union. The law of congress, which was intended to give efficiency to this constitutional provision, is limited, as the constitutional article is, to the case of persons escaping from the jurisdiction of the local law.

When the negroes on board of the *Creole*, rose upon those by whom they were held, they were simply repelling force by force, not violating the law. If in the effort to repress this attempt to recover their freedom, any of the slaves had been killed, a slaveholding jury would hardly have pronounced the homicide wilful murder. Could any jury, with greater regard to justice or law, decide that the negroes were guilty of murder, if they destroyed a life in their conflict for the recovery of their natural rights? It would be a question which would not occupy our courts very long in deciding, whether, in case the captives on board an American slaver on the high seas should make a successful insurrection, and in the conflict cause the death of part of the crew, those captives could be indicted and punished for murder. And what essential difference is there between such a case and that of the *Creole*? If our voice could be heard, we should certainly advise the victims of this cruel traffic, whether African or American, to submit to their lot, however cruel and unjust, rather than recover their freedom at the expense of human life; but we would also admonish our white compatriots to avoid placing themselves in a situation wherein their lives were out of the protection of law. If, on the high seas, the only law by which the victims of this commerce are restrained, is the law of the strongest, it is not easily seen upon what principle those who engage in it can object to the operation of this law, even though its decision should not be in their favour. In any State of the Union, or on board of an American vessel on the high seas, an attempt to reduce a freeman to slavery by violence, if accompanied by the slaughter of the intended victim, would undoubtedly be construed as murder. By what appellation shall we then designate a homicide occasioned by an effort to suppress an insurrection for the recovery of freedom unlawfully withheld on the ocean? And would it be possible to prosecute a trade in slaves from one American port to another, without manifesting a determination to destroy the life of any victim of the traffic, who could not otherwise be restrained from regaining his freedom? It may be asserted in general, that the moral turpitude of an act, is in the inten-

tion rather than in the action itself. The man who deliberately determines and prepares for the commission of murder, is certainly, in a moral point of view, little less criminal than the man who actually perpetrates it. We may then seriously inquire, whether those who engage in the traffic in slaves, and go armed with pistols and dirks to repress all attempts for the recovery of freedom, do, or do not place themselves on the same moral platform with the actual unlawful homicide? And if on the ocean, beyond the jurisdiction of a slave State, any reputed slave attempts the recovery of his freedom, and receives a mortal wound from one who is forcibly restraining him, in what light would the law, properly construed, regard the action?

WAR IN MEXICO—THE WILMOT PROVISIO.—The progress of the war in Mexico, attended by successive victories on the part of the United States over a people contending for their homes and firesides, but less skilled in military tactics, and less supplied with means of warfare than their northern invaders, has at length brought the capital of that empire into substantial, if not formal, occupation of this Republic. In the battle decisive of this long looked for event, five thousand Mexicans under the command of Generals Valencia and Santa Anna, and twelve hundred of our own countrymen, under command of Gen. Scott, are said to have fallen, victims to the wretched spirit of aggrandizement which instigated the war, and to the false ambition and patriotism which has prosecuted it to this result. This battle, which took place on the 20th of the 8th month last, was followed by a suspension of arms, at the prayer of the Mexicans, who desired a further opportunity of considering the terms of peace which the United States had proffered them, and which called for a large concession of Mexican territory to the latter. That Mexico, prostrated to the dust by her successive catastrophes, will agree to this dismemberment of her empire, there can now be but little doubt. That the territory acquired, on which no slave can now lawfully breathe, will be desecrated to the dominion of the Slave power, there can be as little doubt, unless, indeed, the freemen of the North shall demand, in terms not to be misunderstood by their representatives in Congress, that the Wilmot proviso SHALL BE ENACTED.

* Touching the consummation of this desirable measure, we feel no reliance on either of the great parties which now, on issues which have no relation to Slavery, nearly divide our country.

They are each in alliance with the South, and would each prefer any measure, hostile as it might be to freedom, to the destruction of their party integrity. We already see this in the drawing off of many of the papers, of both the parties, from the support of the Wilmot proviso, each fearing the effect, which such support may induce, of driving their Southern adherents to the opposite side. Such a provision, says one, will be a proper enough measure when the territory is acquired, but why distract our party with it before the appropriate time?—"The Wilmot proviso," says another, "was offered by a Pennsylvania Loco Foco, and sustained by the vote of the Loco Focos in Congress and our Legislature."—"The mass of the Whigs have never recognized the Wilmot proviso as *unconditionally*, or *primarily*, the issue—the first great issue to be met by the Whigs is that in relation to the *needless* acquisition of territory. No MEXICAN TERRITORY. Let this be the issue. Let this be the motto inscribed on the Whig banner, and victory is certain!"

That Mexican territory, if acquired by treaty, will come into the Union by Whig votes, as well as Democratic ones, is just as certain as that Texas so came into it. It is idle to believe that the fruits of a war which already has cost the nation a hundred million of dollars, will be rejected as utterly worthless by the northern portion of our country, much less the southern. It is only by the Wilmot proviso, forthwith adopted, that safety to our nation against the encroachments of slavery can be ensured. Let the people demand it, irrespective of party, and our country may yet be saved.

"FRIENDS' REVIEW."—We have before us the first number of a paper bearing this title, edited by Enoch Lewis. It is a large octavo of 16 pages, and is intended to be issued weekly, being designed, as its name would imply, to subserve particularly the interests of the Society of Friends, though its field of operation will embrace subjects interesting also to the general reader. The Editor in his prospectus well remarks:—

"The period in which we live, compared with any that has preceded it, may be emphatically denominated a reading age. Literary productions of every description, from the ponderous volume to the ephemeral sheet, are issuing from the press in rapid succession. If, when the literature of the day, in comparison with that of

*The North American.

ours, must have been as a rivulet, contrasted with the Nile or the Ganges, the wisest of men could declare, that of making many books there was no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh, we may safely conclude that the floating literature of our time is sufficient to overwhelm the strongest intellect, and set at defiance the most indefatigable industry. Yet amidst this inundation of books, there is much to be found which is truly valuable, and, when judiciously selected, well worthy of attention, particularly from those who are in the early and middle periods of life. It is not to be expected or desired that the youth, either in or out of our religious Society, should grow up in ignorance of the events which are transpiring around them, or of the improvements in morals, in science, or the arts, which the ingenuity of our contemporaries are bringing into view. To preserve a tolerable acquaintance with the events of our time, as they arise, recourse must be had to the periodicals of the day. It is therefore an object of rational desire, that these should be purged of everything which is likely to corrupt the principles, or deteriorate the moral sensibilities of their readers."

To make this separation, is prominently an object of the Review; other purposes also are presented:

"It is designed to defend and uphold the great principles, both in theory and practice, which the Society of Friends, from their rise to the present time, have professed and maintained. But in defending the doctrines of the Society, it is intended to avoid, as far as practicable, all controversial discussions, more particularly on questions which lead to no important practical result. Believing, as he [the Editor] assuredly does, that the doctrines promulgated by our primitive Friends, are the doctrines of the Gospel, and that the great truths which they promulgated, are fixed and immutable, no countenance will be given, in this paper, to any thing which might have tendency to unsettle them."

"Though it is not intended that the paper shall be devoted to any single object of discussion or enquiry, yet there are some great moral questions, in the examination of which, Friends have taken a leading and prominent part. To subjects of that character, the columns of this paper will be freely opened. Among the evils which disgrace our age and nation, and retard the progress of civilization, there are none of greater magnitude than the twin progeny of barbarous ages, Slavery and War. The Editor is aware that on the former of these subjects no inconsiderable excitement prevails; that much diversity of opinion appears among the advocates of freedom, as to the mode by which the acknowledged evils of slavery may be most quickly and effectually redressed; and that this diversity has led to discussions in which the zeal of the combatants is sometimes more conspicuous than their charity: yet this does not in his mind furnish a satisfactory reason why the subject should be excluded from his paper."

"As we have various indications of a growing

conviction on the minds of many, who are not of our religious Society, of the folly as well as the wickedness of war, it will be one object with the editor to bring into the view of his readers such facts illustrative of this subject as may fall under his notice. If any important movement, of a national character, indicating an advance in this righteous cause, should be observed, the readers of this paper will be duly apprised of it.

"The rapid advances in science and art which a few of the past years have exhibited, render it certain that further developments of a similar character will be made. It is intended to bestow sufficient attention upon subjects of that nature, to keep the readers of this paper apprised of the most important discoveries, as far as they would be interesting to the general reader."

To the capacity of the editor for carrying out the purposes he contemplates, our testimony is unnecessary. No man is better or more advantageously known within the Society of Friends, than is Enoch Lewis; and no one knowing him will doubt that the ability he will bring with him to the task, will, when the discussion of principles is involved, be exerted in that spirit of kindness which will leave behind it no sting but the conviction of the truth he demonstrates.

The paper before us contains two articles of especial value; one, a review of the Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, the other, a Testimony of the Two Months Meeting of Congenies, France, concerning Louis Antoine Majolier, and is diversified by other interesting articles, among them Whittier's "Barclay of Ury."

It has been objected to this paper that it is uncalled for by any requirements of the Society of Friends, which are unsupplied by the periodical which has long and very advantageously existed within its limits. To the merits of "The Friend" we accord a cheerful testimony, but we do not presume its respected conductors claim for it the reputation of containing *all* the literary and moral information necessary to the Society. If it furnished the *entire*, with the solitary exception that on the great topic for which we are mouth to the dumb, it was inflexibly silent, that exception would be in itself a sufficient reason for the establishment of another paper. For both journals there is open a wide arena of usefulness, which each can occupy without crossing the path of the other, and which, each occupying to the full extent of its limits, will still leave something to be done by others for the instruction and edification of the Society and the World.

LIFE OF WILLIAM ALLEN.—The correspondent who furnished us, in the 8th month last, with a review of the life of William Allen, taken from

the Burlington Gazette, has done us the kindness to send us the remarks of the same amiable reviewer on the second volume of that work. We have given a ready insertion to each division of this review, not more as a just tribute to the character of the excellent individual it portrays, than as evidencing the brotherly feeling which unites all who call in sincerity on the name of the Lord Jesus. We love to contemplate the workings of this expansive feeling.

BUNYAN'S PILGRIM, AND HAWTHORNE'S RAIL ROAD.—The journeyings of a Christian from the wilderness of this world to the Celestial City, are so admirably described by John Bunyan in his fine allegory of "the Pilgrim's Progress," as to have made it one of the most ingenious, interesting, and popular works in our language. Time has taken nothing from the vividness of its colourings; and in its very quaintness there is a richness which modern art could not well supply. Dr. Johnson highly commends the work as one of great original genius, and reckons it among the very few books which every reader wishes had been longer. Augustus Montague Toplady speaks of it as "the finest allegorical book extant: describing every stage of a believer's experience, from conversion to glorification, in the most artless simplicity of language; yet peculiarly rich with spiritual unction, and glowing with the most vivid, just, and well conducted machinery throughout." "It is, in short," says he, "a master piece of piety and genius; and will, we doubt not, be of standing use to the people of God, so long as the sun and moon endure." "The allegory," says James Grainger, "is admirably carried on, and the characters justly drawn and uniformly supported." Lord Kames remarks of it, "The *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*, great favorites of the vulgar, are composed in a style enlivened, like that of Homer, by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative;" and Dr. Franklin says—"Honest John Bunyan is the first I know of, who has mingled narrative and dialogue together; a mode of writing very engaging to the reader, who, in the most interesting passages, finds himself admitted, as it were, into the company, and present at the conversation."

We present these views of this admirable work that the few of our readers who have not yet had the pleasure of reading it, may be reminded of an enjoyment yet at their command. Its perusal seems almost necessary to the full appreciation of the article, bearing the title of "the Celestial Rail Road," which appears in our present number. The ingenious superstructure which Haw-

thorne describes, is apparently over the same tract, with occasional short cuts for reducing the distance, which poor "Christian" travelled, but with its morasses filled up, and its mountains of difficulties reduced to pleasant, unobstructing plains. Such a Rail Road has been long a desideratum in the world. We feel ourselves indebted to the author for his description of it, as also for his account of *how it ends*. We can readily fancy the self-complacency with which the traveller whirls onward in the easy and rapidly moving car, with no ungracious company within to annoy his taste, and, probably, with no Jim-Crow car without to arrest his speed; and we can well imagine his feelings when he nears the desired city! We think "the Celestial Rail Road" is destined to go down to distant time in company with "the Pilgrim's Progress," amplified, it may be, in its details, to make it commensurate with the other, but with not the less enduring fame to its original projector.

IMPORTANT ABOLITION MOVEMENT.—The Journal of Commerce says:—"Letters received here by the Caledonia, from unquestionable sources, announce that, on the 28th of July last, the King of Denmark issued a decree declaring that all persons who should thereafter be born in his dominions should be BORN FREE, and that all persons in servitude in his dominions on the 28th of July last, and remaining so on the 28th of July, 1859, shall then be absolutely free, without compensation to the owners."

In the negotiation with the colonists which preceded the issuing of this decree, he offered them the alternative of three years with a compensation of \$60 per head for each slave, or twelve years without any compensation, and they chose the latter.

Denmark has three small islands in the West Indies, viz. St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John's. St. Croix contains about 30,000 slaves. St. Thomas and St. John, perhaps 5,000 more.

SELECTIONS.

From the Burlington Gazette.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM ALLEN.

SECOND PART.

A few weeks since we prepared a short notice of the first volume of this remarkable and delightful biography. The second volume of the American edition has not yet appeared, but by the kindness of an esteemed friend we have

been permitted to finish the work in the London edition. The interest which the early part excited, so far from being diminished, only increases as we go forward. The same extraordinary narratives of well-doing and active philanthropy occur on every page—and the same radiant consistency of lofty purpose shines throughout the whole. We are still in the same delightful companionship. The placid face of Wilberforce still beams upon us;—we still hear the cheerful voice of Thomas Charkson, although grown gray in doing good;—we occasionally get a glimpse of the plain coat of Josiah Forster, and the meek face of Elizabeth Fry,—and the venerated form of our townsman, now bending under the weight of years, and "leaning on his staff," still moves before us. Thus beautifully does William Allen announce the arrival of his fellow-laborer in England, in 1831.

"After a short time spent in conversation, my dear wife and some of the family being present, a feeling of solemnity prevailed, and Stephen Grellet knelt down and returned thanks, that the covering of divine love under which we had separated eleven years ago, was mercifully extended over us on our meeting again."

In company with Mr. Grellet, he paid several visits to the continent, with the view of interesting the men of rank and influence in their various enterprises of religion and benevolence. Among other countries they visited Spain, where their plain dress excited a great sensation, but they were everywhere received with the highest respect. An interview with the King was granted to them. They were ushered into an apartment, in the middle of which the King and Queen were standing, the Queen holding the hand of the little Princess, "a nice, lively child, who seemed much diverted at seeing" the strangers. There were no officers in attendance, and the opportunity was improved for a short conversation with the royal pair on religious topics. This was received kindly by the King, and they "took a respectful leave, under a precious feeling of the support of their Divine Master." While in Spain, they also prepared a report to the government of all their researches in the prisons, and the various public institutions, with various practical suggestions for their improvement.

While reading this biography, we have been impressed with nothing more strikingly than with the perfect equanimity and constancy of holy purpose, which seems to pervade the whole current of Allen's thoughts and actions. He is never lifted above it by the allurements of splendid and refined society, nor turned from it by

any "fear of man," or the dread of any obstacle. The palace and the hovel are alike to him. When in Austria, he visits the celebrated prince Esterhazy; he is escorted through magnificent saloons by liveried attendants; he is received with the highest respect; and then sent home in the private carriage of a man who rules over eight hundred thousand peasants. All this never disturbs, or elates him. When he reaches his lodgings he simply records in his diary—"In the night, and this day, my mind has been turned to the Lord with humble mental prayer that He would be with me;" and afterwards he says, "I had a precious quiet time in my own chamber this evening." Such is the perfect peace of a man whose mind, rising above the vanities of earth, is stayed on the arm of Jehovah.

The account of his wife's death, which occurred in 1835, is extremely touching. We could not read it without tears. "Dear E—and L— came to me," he says, "in my study, and we sat together in silence, and sweet unity of spirit. I thought that we might each adopt the language—'My heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord.' About nine o'clock we proceeded to Winchmore Hill, where the remains of my beloved wife were to be deposited. Though under great depression, my mind was preserved in calmness. There was a covering of solemnity in the meeting, and at the ground my dear daughter-in-law spoke sweetly. I have nothing more now to desire, but to be enabled to fill up the measure of my duties and sufferings, and that through infinite mercy, and the merits of my dear Redeemer, I also may receive a peaceful dismissal, and rejoin her blessed spirit, to unite in praising and magnifying Him that sitteth on the throne, and the Lamb, forever and ever."

But we have no space for further extracts;—did we copy all that we admire, we should have to transcribe well nigh the whole book. It must be read for itself—for every page is teeming with the record of noble deeds, told with exceeding dignity and simplicity. There is no ostentatious parade of Pharisaical humility; and no fulsome eulogy expended on what is, after all, its own best eulogy. The biographers have discharged their duty well, leaving the man as far as possible to describe himself. The record of his death struck us with peculiar beauty and impressiveness. They describe it in a few simple words, with no interjections or ejaculations of their own, to disturb the solemn effect which the narrative, itself produces.

They tell us that on the 16th of October, 1843, he was seized with a violent illness. For two

months he lingered, yet in full possession of his mental powers. The book of God was daily read to him, and he received great comfort from the letters of Stephen Grellet and Joseph John Gurney. No murmur escaped his lips. He sank into a deep sleep "on the 30th of Twelfth month," and this deepened, and deepened, until his redeemed spirit was gently released, and passed, without a groan, to the presence of his God.

Noble William Allen! We bid thee a sad, and mournful farewell! Under thy plain Quaker garb, did beat a heart, quick with the loftiest instincts of humanity—tender and gentle as a lamb, but inflexible in its fealty to truth, to freedom, and to holiness. Thou didst wear no shield or sword—but yet didst war against wrong and oppression with a heroism as earnest as ever throbbed beneath a corslet. Thou wert brave with a courage that "feared no evil tidings," and honest with an integrity that knew no stain. Right faithful wert thou to the true interests of suffering humanity! When the ear of the victim of oppression heard thee, then it blessed thee; and when the eye saw thee, it beamed with grateful gladness. The blessing of many who were ready to perish came upon thee, and thou didst cause the mourner's heart to sing for joy. There was no need, to thee, of stars and coronets, and titles of nobility, for thou didst belong to the most ancient of orders—the high order of MANHOOD!

Thy sublime pilgrimage of benevolence is ended—

—"and thou henceforth shalt have a good man's rest,
A saint's felicity; Thy warm heart doth find
Repose at length, great Friend of human kind!"

Burlington, Sept. 7. T. L. C.

THE CELESTIAL RAILROAD.

BY NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

Not a great while ago, passing through the gate of dreams, I visited that region of the earth in which lies the famous city of Destruction. It interested me much to learn, that, by the public spirit of some of the inhabitants, a railroad has recently been established between this populous and flourishing town, and the Celestial City. Having a little time upon my hands, I resolved to gratify a liberal curiosity by making a trip thither. Accordingly, one fine morning, after paying my bill at the hotel, and directing the porter to stow my luggage behind a coach, I took my seat in the vehicle, and set out for the Station-house. It was

my good fortune to enjoy the company of a gentleman—one Mr. Smooth-it-away—who, though he had never actually visited the Celestial City, yet seemed as well acquainted with its laws, customs, policy, and statistics, as with those of the city of Destruction, of which he was a native townsman. Being, moreover, a director of the railroad corporation, and one of its largest stockholders, he had it in his power to give me all desirable information respecting that praiseworthy enterprise.

Our coach rattled out of the city, and, at a short distance from its outskirts, passed over a bridge of elegant construction, but somewhat too slight, as I imagined, to sustain any considerable weight. On both sides lay an extensive quagmire, which could not have been more disagreeable to sight or smell, had all the kennels of the earth emptied their pollution there.

"This," remarked Mr. Smooth-it-away, "is the famous Slough of Despond—a disgrace to all the neighborhood; and the greater, that it might so easily be converted into firm ground."

"I have understood," said I, "that efforts have been made for that purpose, from time immemorial. Bunyan mentions that about twenty thousand cartloads of wholesome instructions had been thrown in here, without effect."

"Very probably!—and what effect could be anticipated from such unsubstantial stuff?" cried Mr. Smooth-it-away. "You observe this convenient bridge. We obtained a sufficient foundation for it, by throwing into the Slough some editions of books of morality, volumes of French philosophy and German rationalism, tracts, sermons, and essays of modern clergymen, extracts from Plato, Confucius, and various Hindoo sages, together with a few ingenious commentaries upon texts of Scripture—all of which, by some scientific process, have been converted into a mass like granite. The whole bog might be filled up with similar matter."

It really seemed to me, however, that the bridge vibrated and heaved up and down, in a very formidable manner; and, spite of Mr. Smooth-it-away's testimony to the solidity of its foundation, I should be loth to cross it in a crowded omnibus; especially, if each passenger were encumbered with as heavy luggage as that gentleman and myself. Nevertheless we got over without accident, and soon found ourselves at the Station-house. This very neat and spacious edifice is erected on the site of the little Wicket-Gate, which formerly, as all old pilgrims will recollect, stood directly across the highway, and by its inconvenient narrowness, was a great ob-

struction to the traveller of liberal mind and expansive stomach. The reader of John Bunyan will be glad to know, that Christian's old friend Evangelist, who was accustomed to supply each pilgrim with a mystic roll, now presides at the ticket-office. Some malicious persons, it is true, deny the identity of this reputable character with the Evangelist of old times, and even pretend to bring competent evidence of an imposture. Without involving myself in the dispute, I shall merely observe, that, so far as my experience goes, the square pieces of pasteboard, now delivered to passengers, are much more convenient and useful along the road, than the antique roll of parchment. Whether they will be as readily received at the gate of the Celestial City, I decline giving an opinion.

A large number of passengers were already at the Station-house, awaiting the departure of the cars. By the aspect and demeanor of these persons, it was easy to judge that the feelings of the community had undergone a very favorable change, in reference to the celestial pilgrimage. It would have done Bunyan's heart good to see it. Instead of a lonely and ragged man, with a huge burthen on his back, plodding along sorrowfully on foot, while the whole city hooted after him, here were parties of the first gentry and most respectable people in the neighborhood, setting forth towards the Celestial City, as cheerfully as if the pilgrimage were merely a summer tour. Among the gentlemen were characters of deserved eminence, magistrates, politicians, and men of wealth, by whose example religion could not but be greatly recommended to their meaner brethren. In the ladies' apartment, too, I rejoiced to distinguish some of those flowers of fashionable society, who are so well fitted to adorn the most elevated circles of the Celestial City. There was much pleasant conversation about the news of the day, topics of business, politics, or the lighter matters of amusement; while religion, though indubitably the main thing at heart, was thrown tastefully into the back-ground. Even an infidel would have heard little or nothing to shock his sensibility.

One great convenience of the new method of going on pilgrimage, I must not forget to mention. Our enormous burthens, instead of being carried on our shoulders, as had been the custom of old, were all snugly deposited in the baggage-car, and, as I was assured, would be delivered to their respective owners at the journey's end. Another thing likewise, the benevolent reader will be delighted to understand. It may be remembered that there was an ancient feud be-

tween Prince Beelzebub and the keeper of the Wicket-Gate, and that the adherents of the former distinguished personage were accustomed to shoot deadly arrows at honest pilgrims, while knocking at the door. This dispute, much to the credit as well of the illustrious potentate above mentioned, as of the worthy and enlightened Directors of the railroad, has been pacifically arranged, on the principle of mutual compromise. The Prince's subjects are now pretty numerous employed about the Station-house, some in taking care of the baggage, others in collecting fuel, feeding the engines, and such congenial occupations; and I can conscientiously affirm, that persons more attentive to their business, more willing to accommodate, or more generally agreeable to the passengers, are not to be found on any railroad; every good heart must surely exult at so satisfactory an arrangement of an immemorial difficulty.

"Where is Mr. Great-heart?" inquired I. "Beyond a doubt, the Directors have engaged that famous old champion to be chief conductor on the railroad?"

"Why, no," said Mr. Smooth-it-away, with a dry cough. "He was offered the situation of brakeman; but, to tell you the truth, our friend Great-heart has grown preposterously stiff and narrow, in his old age. He has so often guided pilgrims over the road, on foot, that he considers it a sin to travel in any other fashion. Besides, the old fellow had entered so heartily into the ancient feud with Prince Beelzebub, that he would have been perpetually at blows or ill language with some of the prince's subjects, and thus have embroiled us anew. So, on the whole, we were not sorry when honest Great-heart went off to the Celestial City in a huff, and left us at liberty to choose a more suitable and accommodating man. Yonder comes the conductor of the train. You will probably recognise him at once."

The engine at this moment took its station in advance of the cars, looking, I must confess, much more like a sort of mechanical demon that would hurry us to the infernal regions, than a laudable contrivance for smoothing our way to the Celestial City. On its top sat a personage almost enveloped in smoke and flame, which—not to startle the reader—appeared to gush from his own mouth and stomach, as well as from the engine's brazen abdomen.

"Do my eyes deceive me?" cried I. "What on earth is this! A living creature?—if so, he is own brother to the engine that he rides upon!"

"Poh, poh, you are obtuse!" said Mr. Smooth-it-away, with a hearty laugh. "Don't you know

Apollyon, Christian's old enemy, with whom he fought so fierce a battle in the valley of Humiliation? He was the very fellow to manage the engine; and so we have reconciled him to the custom of going on pilgrimage, and engaged him as chief conductor."

"Bravo, bravo!" exclaimed I, with irrepressible enthusiasm, "this shows the liberality of the age; this proves, if anything can, that all musty prejudices are in a fair way to be obliterated. And how will Christian rejoice to hear of this happy transformation of his old antagonist! I promise myself great pleasure in informing him of it, when we reach the Celestial City."

The passengers being all comfortably seated, we now rattled away merrily, accomplishing a greater distance in ten minutes than Christian probably trudged over in a day. It was laughable while we glanced along, as it were, at the tail of a thunderbolt, to observe two dusty foot-travellers, in the old pilgrim guise, with cockle-shell and staff, their mystic rolls of parchment in their hands, and their intolerable burthens on their backs. The preposterous obstinacy of these honest people, in persisting to groan and stumble along the difficult pathway, rather than take advantage of modern improvements, excited great mirth among our wiser brotherhood. We greeted the two pilgrims with many pleasant gibes and a roar of laughter; whereupon, they gazed at us with such woeful and absurdly compassionate visages, that our merriment grew ten-fold more obstreperous. Apollyon, also, entered heartily into the fun, and contrived to flirt the smoke and flame of the engine, or of his own breath, into their faces, and envelope them in an atmosphere of scalding steam. These little practical jokes amused us mightily, and doubtless afforded the pilgrims the gratification of considering themselves martyrs.

At some distance from the railroad, Mr. Smooth-it-away pointed to a large, antique edifice, which, he observed, was a tavern of long standing, and had formerly been a noted stopping-place for pilgrims. In Bunyan's road-book it is mentioned as the Interpreter's House.

"I have long had a curiosity to visit that old mansion," remarked I.

"It is not one of our stations, as you perceive," said my companion. "The keeper was violently opposed to the railroad; and well he might be, the track left his house of entertainment on one side, and thus was pretty certain to deprive him of all his reputable customers. But the foot path still passes his door; and the old gentleman now and then receives a call from

some simple traveller, and entertains him with fare as old-fashioned as himself."

Before our talk on this subject came to a conclusion, we were rushing by the place where Christian's burthen fell from his shoulders, at the sight of the Cross. This served as a theme for Mr. Smooth-it-away, Mr. Live-for-the-world, Mr. Hide-sin-in-the-heart, Mr. Scaly-conscience, and a knot of gentlemen from the town of Shun-repentance, to descant upon the inestimable advantages resulting from the safety of our baggage. Myself, and all the passengers, indeed, joined with great unanimity in this view of the matter; for our burthens were rich in many things esteemed precious throughout the world; and, especially, we each of us possessed a great variety of favorite Habits, which we trusted would not be out of fashion, even in the polite circles of the Celestial City. It would have been a sad spectacle to see such an assortment of valuable articles tumbling into the sepulchre. Thus pleasantly conversing on the favorable circumstances of our position, as compared with those of past pilgrims, and of narrow-minded ones at the present day, we soon found ourselves at the foot of the Hill Difficulty. Through the very heart of this rocky mountain a tunnel has been constructed, of most admirable architecture, with a lofty arch and spacious double-track; so that, unless the earth and rocks should chance to crumble down, it will remain an eternal monument of the builder's skill and enterprise. It is a great though incidental advantage, that the materials from the heart of the Hill Difficulty have been employed in filling up the Valley of Humiliation; thus obviating the necessity of descending into that disagreeable and unwholesome hollow.

"This is a wonderful improvement, indeed," said I. "Yet I should have been glad of an opportunity to visit the Palace Beautiful, and be introduced to the charming young ladies—Miss Prudence, Miss Piety, Miss Charity and the rest—who have the kindness to entertain pilgrims there."

"Young ladies!" cried Mr. Smooth-it-away, as soon as he could speak for laughing. "And charming young ladies! Why, my dear fellow, they are old maids, every soul of them—prim, starch, dry, and angular—and not one of them, I will venture to say, has altered so much as the fashion of her gown, since the days of Christian's pilgrimage."

"Ah, well," said I, much comforted, "then I can very readily dispense with their acquaintance."

"The respectable Apollyon was now putting

on the steam at a prodigious rate; anxious, perhaps, to get rid of the unpleasant reminiscences connected with the spot where he had so disastrously encountered Christian. Consulting Mr. Bunyan's road-book, I perceived that we must now be within a few miles of the Valley of the Shadow of Death; into which doleful region, at our present speed, we should plunge much sooner than seemed at all desirable. In truth, I expected nothing better than to find myself in the ditch on one side, or the quag on the other. But, on communicating my apprehensions to Mr. Smooth-it-away, he assured me that the difficulties of this passage, even in its worst condition, had been vastly exaggerated, and that, in its present state of improvement, I might consider myself as safe as on any railroad in Christendom.

Even while we were speaking, the train shot into the entrance of this dreaded Valley. Though I plead guilty to some foolish palpitations of the heart, during our headlong rush over the causeway here constructed, yet it were unjust to withhold the highest encomiums on the boldness of its original conception, and the ingenuity of those who executed it. It was gratifying, likewise, to observe how much care had been taken to dispel the everlasting gloom, and supply the defect of cheerful sunshine; not a ray of which has ever penetrated among these awful shadows. For this purpose, the inflammable gas, which exudes plentifully from the soil, is collected by means of pipes, and thence communicated to a quadruple row of lamps, along the whole extent of the passage. Thus a radiance has been created, even out of the fiery and sulphurous curse that rests for ever upon the Valley; a radiance hurtful, however, to the eyes, and somewhat bewildering, as I discovered by the changes which it wrought in the visages of my companions. In this respect, as compared with natural daylight, there is the same difference as between truth and falsehood; but if the reader have ever travelled through the dark Valley, he will have learned to be thankful for any light that he could get; if not from the sky above, then from the blasted soil beneath. Such was the red brilliancy of these lamps, that they appeared to build walls of fire on both sides of the track, between which we held our course at lightning speed, while a reverberating thunder filled the Valley with its echoes. Had the engine run off the track—a catastrophe, it is whispered, by no means unprecedented—the bottomless pit, if there be any such place, would undoubtedly have received us. Just as some dismal fooleries of this nature had made my heart quake, there came a tremendous shriek

careering along the Valley, as if a thousand devils had burst their lungs to utter it, but which proved to be merely the whistle of the engine, on arriving at a stopping-place.

The spot, where we had now paused, is the same that our friend Bunyan—a truthful man, but infected with many fantastic notions—has designated, in terms plainer than I like to repeat, as the mouth of the infernal region. This, however, must be a mistake; inasmuch as Mr. Smooth-it-away, while we remained in the smoky and lurid cavern, took occasion to prove that Tophet has not even a metaphorical existence. The place, he assured us, is no other than the crater of a half-extinct volcano, in which the Directors had caused forges to be set up, for the manufacture of railroad iron. Hence, also, is obtained a plentiful supply of fuel for the use of the engines. Whoever had gazed into the dismal obscurity of the broad cavern-mouth, whence ever and anon there darted huge tongues of dusky flame,—and had seen the strange, half-shaped monsters, and visions of faces horribly grotesque, into which the smoke seemed to wreath itself,—and had heard the awful murmurs, and shrieks, and deep shuddering whispers of the blast, sometimes forming itself into words almost articulate,—would have seized upon Mr. Smooth-it-away's comfortable explanation as greedily as we did. The inhabitants of the cavern, moreover, were unlovely personages, dark, smoke-begrimed, generally deformed, with mis-shapen feet, and a glow of dusky redness in their eyes; as if their hearts had caught fire, and were blazing out of the upper windows. It struck me as a peculiarity, that the laborers at the forge, and those who brought fuel to the engine, when they began to draw short breath, positively emitted smoke from their mouth and nostrils.

Among the idlers about the train, most of whom were puffing cigars which they had lighted at the flame of the crater, I was perplexed to notice several who, to my certain knowledge, had heretofore set forth by railroad for the Celestial City. They looked dark, wild, and smoky, with a singular resemblance, indeed, to the native inhabitants; like whom, also, they had a disagreeable propensity to ill-natured gibes and sneers, the habit of which had wrought a settled contortion of their visages. Having been on speaking terms with one of these persons—an indolent, good-for-nothing fellow, who went by the name of Take-it-easy—I called to him, and inquired what was his business there.

"Did you not start," said I, "for the Celestial City?"

"That's a fact," said Mr. Take-it-easy, carelessly puffing some smoke in my eyes. "But I heard such bad accounts, that I never took pains to climb the hill, on which the city stands. No business doing—no fun going on—nothing to drink, and no smoking allowed—and a thrumming of church-music from morning till-night! I would not stay in such a place, if they offered me house-room and living free."

"But, my good Mr. Take-it-easy," cried I, "why take up your residence here, of all places in the world?"

"Oh," said the loafer, with a grin, "it is very warm hereabouts, and I meet with plenty of old acquaintances, and altogether the place suits me. I hope to see you back again, some day soon. A pleasant journey to you!"

While he was speaking, the bell of the engine rang, and we dashed away, after dropping a few passengers, but receiving no new ones. Rattling onward through the Valley, we were dazzled with the fiercely gleaming gas-lamps, as before. But sometimes, in the dark, of intense brightness, grim faces, that bore the aspect and expression of individual sins, or evil passions, seemed to thrust themselves through the veil of light, glaring upon us, and stretching forth a great dusky hand, as if to impede our progress. I almost thought, that they were my own sins that appalled me there. These were freaks of imagination—nothing more, certainly,—mere delusions, which I ought to be heartily ashamed of—but, all through the Dark Valley, I was tormented, and pestered, and dolefully bewildered, with the same kind of waking dreams. The mephitic gases of that region intoxicate the brain. As the light of natural day, however, began to struggle with the glow of the lanterns, these vain imaginations lost their vividness, and finally vanished with the first ray of sunshine that greeted our escape from the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Ere we had gone a mile beyond it, I could well nigh have taken my oath, that this whole gloomy passage was a dream.

At the end of the Valley, as John Bunyan mentions, is a cavern, where, in his days, dwelt two cruel giants, Pope and Pagan, who had strewn the ground about their residence with the bones of slaughtered pilgrims. These vile old troglodytes are no longer there; but into their deserted cave another terrible giant has thrust himself, and makes it his business to seize upon honest travellers, and fat them for his table with plentiful meals of smoke, mist, moonshine, raw potatoes, and saw-dust. He is a German by birth, and is called Giant Transcendentalist; but as to

his form, his features, his substance, and his nature generally, it is the chief peculiarity of this huge miscreant, that neither he for himself, nor anybody for him, has ever been able to describe them. As we rushed by the cavern's mouth, we caught a hasty glimpse of him, looking somewhat like an ill-proportioned figure, but considerably more like a heap of fog and duskiness. He shouted after us, but in so strange a phraseology, that we knew not what he meant, nor whether to be encouraged or affrighted.

It was late in the day, when the train thundered into the ancient city of Vanity, where Vanity Fair is still at the height of prosperity, and exhibits an epitome of whatever is brilliant, gay, and fascinating, beneath the sun. As I purposed to make a considerable stay here, it gratified me to learn that there is no longer the want of harmony between the townspeople and pilgrims, which impelled the former to such lamentably mistaken measures as the persecution of Christian, and the fiery martyrdom of Faithful. On the contrary, as the new railroad brings with it great trade and a constant influx of strangers, the lord of Vanity Fair is its chief patron, and the capitalists of the city are among the largest stockholders. Many passengers stop to take their pleasure or make their profit in the Fair, instead of going onward to the Celestial City. Indeed, such are the charms of the place, that people often affirm it to be the true and only heaven; stoutly contending that there is no other, that those who seek further are mere dreamers, and that, if the fabled brightness of the Celestial City lay but a bare mile beyond the gates of Vanity, they would not be fools enough to go thither. Without subscribing to these, perhaps, exaggerated encomiums, I can truly say, that my abode in the city was mainly agreeable, and my intercourse with the inhabitants productive of much amusement and instruction.

Being naturally of a serious turn, my attention was directed to the solid advantages derivable from a residence here, rather than to the effervescent pleasures which are the grand object with too many visitants. The Christian reader, if he have had no accounts of the city later than Bunyan's time, will be surprised to hear that almost every street has its church, and that the reverend clergy are nowhere held in higher respect than at Vanity Fair. And well do they deserve such honorable estimation; for the maxims of wisdom and virtue which fall from their lips, come from as deep a spiritual source, and tend to as lofty a religious aim, as those of the sagest philosophers of old. In justification of

this high praise, I need only mention the names of the Rev. Mr. Shallow-deep; the Rev. Mr. Stumble-at-Truth; that fine old clerical character, the Rev. Mr. This-to-day, who expects shortly to resign his pulpit to the Rev. Mr. That-to-morrow; together with the Rev. Mr. Bewilderment; the Rev. Mr. Clog-the-spirit; and, last and greatest, the Rev. Dr. Wind-of-doctrine. The labours of these eminent divines are aided by those of innumerable lecturers, who diffuse such a various profundity, on all subjects of human or celestial science, that any man may acquire an omnigenous erudition, without the trouble of even learning to read. Thus literature is etherealized by assuming for its medium the human voice; and knowledge, depositing all its heavier particles—except, doubtless, its gold—becomes exhaled into a sound, which forthwith steals into the ever-open ear of the community. These ingenious methods constitute a sort of machinery, by which thought and study are done to every person's hand, without his putting himself to the slightest inconvenience in the matter. There is another species of machine for the wholesale manufacture of individual morality. This excellent result is effected by societies for all manner of virtuous purposes; with which a man has merely to connect himself, throwing, as it were, his quota of virtue into the common stock; and the president and directors will take care that the aggregate amount be well applied. All these, and other wonderful improvements in ethics, religion, and literature, being made plain to my comprehension by the ingenious Mr. Smooth-it-away, inspired me with a vast admiration of Vanity Fair.

It would fill a volume in an age of pamphlets, were I to record all my observations in this great capital of human business and pleasure. There was an unlimited range of society—the powerful, the wise, the witty, and the famous in every walk of life—princes, presidents, poets, generals, artists, actors, and philanthropists, all making their own market at the Fair, and deeming no price too exorbitant for such commodities as hit their fancy. It was well worth one's while, even if he had no idea of buying or selling, to loiter through the bazaars, and observe the various sorts of traffic that were going forward.

Some of the purchasers, I thought, made very foolish bargains. For instance, a young man, having inherited a splendid fortune, laid out a considerable portion of it in the purchase of diseases, and finally spent all the rest for a heavy lot of repentance and a suit of rags. A very pretty girl bartered a heart as clear as crystal, and which seemed her most valuable possession,

for another jewel of the same kind, but so worn and defaced as to be utterly worthless. In one shop, there were a great many crowns of laurel and myrtle, which soldiers, authors, statesmen, and various other people, pressed eagerly to buy; some purchased these paltry wreaths with their lives; others by a toilsome servitude of years; and many sacrificed whatever was most valuable, yet finally slunk away without the crown. There was a sort of stock or scrip, called Conscience, which seemed to be in great demand, and would purchase almost anything. Indeed, few rich commodities were to be obtained without paying a heavy sum in this particular stock, as a man's business was seldom very lucrative, unless he knew precisely when and how to throw his heard of Conscience into the market. Yet as this stock was the only thing of permanent value, whoever parted with it was sure to find himself a loser, in the long run. Several of the speculations were of a questionable character. Occasionally, a member of Congress recruited his pocket by the sale of his constituents; and I was assured that public officers have often sold their country at very moderate prices. Thousands sold their happiness for a whim. Gilded chains were in great demand, and purchased with almost any sacrifice. In truth, those who desired, according to the old adage, to sell anything valuable for a song, might find customers all over the Fair: and there were innumerable messes of pottage, piping hot, for such as chose to buy them with their birth-rights. A few articles, however, could not be found genuine at Vanity Fair. If a customer wished to renew his stock of youth, the dealers offered him a set of false teeth and an auburn wig; if he demanded peace of mind, they recommended opium or a brandy-bottle.

Tracts of land and golden mansions, situate in the Celestial City, were often exchanged, at very disadvantageous rates, for a few years' lease of small, dismal, inconvenient tenements in Vanity Fair. Prince Beelzebub himself took great interest in this sort of traffic, and sometimes condescended to meddle with smaller matters. I once had the pleasure to see him bargaining with a miser for his soul, which, after much ingenious skirmishing on both sides, his Highness succeeded in obtaining at about the value of sixpence. The prince remarked, with a smile, that he was a loser by the bargain.

Day after day, as I walked the streets of Vanity, my manners and deportment became more and more like those of the inhabitants. The place began to seem like home; the idea of pursuing my travels to the Celestial City was almost oblit-

erated from my mind. I was reminded of it, however, by the sight of the same pair of simple pilgrims at whom we had laughed so heartily, when Apollyon puffed smoke and steam into their faces, at the commencement of our journey. There they stood amid the densest bustle of Vanity—the dealers offering them their purple and fine linen, and jewels; the men of wit and humor gibing at them; a pair of buxom ladies ogling them askance; while the benevolent Mr. Smooth-it-away whispered some of his wisdom at their elbows, and pointed to a newly-erected temple; but there were these worthy simpletons, making the scene look wild and monstrous, merely by their sturdy repudiation of all part in its business or pleasures.

One of them—his name was Stick-to-the-right—perceived in my face, I suppose, a species of sympathy and almost admiration, which, to my own great surprise, I could not help feeling for this pragmatic couple. It prompted him to address me.

"Sir," inquired he, with a sad, yet mild and kindly voice, "do you call yourself a pilgrim?"

"Yes," I replied, "my right to that appellation is indubitable. I am merely a sojourner here in Vanity Fair, being bound to the Celestial City by the new railroad."

"Alas, friend," rejoined Mr. Stick-to-the-right, "I do assure you, and beseech you to receive the truth of my words, that that whole concern is a bubble. You may travel on it all your lifetime, were you to live thousands of years, and yet never get beyond the limits of Vanity Fair! Yea; though you should deem yourself entering the gates of the Blessed City, it will be nothing but a miserable delusion."

"The Lord of the Celestial City," began the other pilgrim, whose name was Mr. Go-the-old-way, "has refused, and will ever refuse, to grant an act of incorporation for this railroad; and unless that be obtained, no passenger can ever hope to enter his dominions. Wherefore, every man who buys a ticket, must lay his account with losing the purchase-money—which is the value of his own soul."

"Poh, nonsense!" said Mr. Smooth-it-away, taking my arm and leading me off, "these fellows ought to be indicted for a libel. If the law stood as it once did in Vanity Fair, we should see them grinning through the iron bars of the prison window."

This incident made a considerable impression on my mind, and contributed with other circumstances to indispose me to a permanent residence in the city of Vanity; although, of course, I was

not simple enough to give up my original plan of gliding along easily and commodiously by railroad. Still I grew anxious to be gone. There was one strange thing that troubled me; amid the occupations or amusements of the fair, nothing was more common than for a person—whether at a feast, theatre, or church, or trafficking for wealth and honors, or whatever he might be doing, and however unseasonable the interruption—suddenly to vanish like a soap-bubble, and be never more seen of his fellows; and so accustomed were the latter to such little accidents, that they went on with their business, as quietly as if nothing had happened. But it was otherwise with me.

Finally, after a pretty long residence at the Fair, I resumed my journey towards the Celestial City, still with Mr. Smooth-it-away at my side. At a short distance beyond the suburbs of Vanity, we passed the ancient silver mine, of which Demas was the first discoverer, and which is now wrought to great advantage, supplying nearly all the coined currency of the world. A little further onward was the spot where Lot's wife had stood for ages, under the semblance of a pillar of salt. Curious travellers have carried it away piecemeal. Had all regrets been punished as rigorously as this poor dame's were, my yearning for the relinquished delights of Vanity Fair might have produced a similar change in my own corporeal substance, and left me a warning to future pilgrims.

The next remarkable object was a large edifice, constructed of moss-grown stone, but in a modern and airy style of architecture. The engine came to a pause in its vicinity with the usual tremendous shriek.

"This was formerly the castle of the redoubted giant Despair," observed Mr. Smooth-it-away; "but, since his death, Mr. Flimsy-faith has repaired it, and now keeps an excellent house of entertainment here. It is one of our stopping places."

"It seems but slightly put together," remarked I, looking at the frail, yet ponderous walls. "I do not envy Mr. Flimsy-faith his habitation. Some day it will thunder down upon the heads of the occupants."

"We shall escape, at all events," said Mr. Smooth-it-away; "for Apollyon is putting on the steam again."

The road now plunged into a gorge of the Delectable Mountains, and traversed the field where, in former ages, the blind men wandered and stumbled among the tombs. One of these ancient stones had been thrust across the track, by

some malicious person, and gave the train of cars a terrible jolt. Far up the rugged side of a mountain, I perceived a rusty iron door, half overgrown with bushes and creeping plants, but with smoke issuing from its crevices.

"Is that," inquired I, "the very door in the hillside, which the shepherds assured Christian was a by-way to Hell?"

"That was a joke on the part of the shepherds," said Mr. Smooth-it-away, with a smile. "It is neither more nor less than the door of a cavern, which they use as a smoke-house for the preparation of mutton hams."

My recollections of the journey are now, for a little space, dim and confused, inasmuch as a singular drowsiness here overcame me, owing to the fact that we were passing over the enchanted ground, the air of which encourages a disposition to sleep. I awoke, however, as soon as we crossed the borders of the pleasant land of Beulah. All the passengers were rubbing their eyes, comparing watches, and congratulating one another on the prospect of arriving so seasonably at the journey's end. The sweet breezes of this happy clime came refreshingly to our nostrils; we beheld the glimmering gush of silver fountains, over-hung by trees of beautiful foliage and delicious fruit, which were propagated by grafts from the celestial gardens. Once, as we dashed onward like a hurricane, there was a flutter of wings, and the bright appearance of an angel in the air, speeding forth on some heavenly mission. The engine now announced the close vicinity of the final Station House, by one last and horrible scream, in which there seemed to be distinguishable every kind of wailing and woe, and bitter fierceness of wrath, all mixed up with the wild laughter of a devil or a madman. Throughout our journey, at every stopping place, Apollyon had exercised his ingenuity in screwing the most abominable sounds out of the whistle of the steam engine; but, in this closing effort he outdid himself, and created an infernal uproar, which, besides disturbing the peaceful inhabitants of Beulah, must have sent its discord even through the celestial gates.

While the horrid clamor was still ringing in our ears, we heard an exulting strain, as if a thousand instruments of music, with height, and depth, and sweetness in their tones, at once tender and triumphant, were struck in unison, to greet the approach of some illustrious hero, who had fought the good fight and won a glorious victory, and was come to lay aside his battered arms for ever. Looking to ascertain what might be the occasion of this glad harmony, I perceived,

on alighting from the cars, that a multitude of shining ones had assembled on the other side of the river, to welcome two poor pilgrims, who were just emerging from its depths. They were the same whom Apollyon and ourselves had persecuted with taunts and gibes, and scalding steam, at the commencement of our journey—the same whose unworldly aspect and impressive words had stirred my conscience, amid the wild revellers of Vanity Fair.

"How amazingly well those men have got on!" cried I to Mr. Smooth-it-away. "I wish we were secure of as good a reception."

"Never fear—never fear!" answered my friend. "Come—make haste; the ferry-boat will be off directly; and in three minutes you will be on the other side of the river. No doubt you will find coaches to carry you up to the city gates."

A steam ferry-boat, the last improvement on this important route, lay at the riverside, puffing, snorting, and emitting all those other disagreeable utterances, which betoken the departure to be immediate. I hurried on board with the rest of the passengers, most of whom were in great perturbation; some bawling out for their baggage; some tearing their hair and exclaiming that the boat would explode or sink; some already pale with the heaving of the stream; some gazing affrighted at the ugly aspect of the steersman; and some still dizzy with the slumberous influences of the Enchanted Ground. Looking back to the shore, I was amazed to discern Mr. Smooth-it-away waving his hand in token of farewell!

"Don't you go over to the Celestial City?" exclaimed I.

"Oh, no!" answered he with a queer smile, and that same disagreeable contortion of visage which I had remarked in the inhabitants of the Dark Valley, "Oh, no!" I have come thus far only for the sake of your pleasant company. Good bye! We shall meet again."

And then did my excellent friend, Mr. Smooth-it-away, laugh outright; in the midst of which cachination, a smoke-wreath issued from his mouth and nostrils, while a twinkle of livid flame darted out of either eye, proving indubitably that his heart was all of a red blaze. The impudent fiend! To deny the existence of Tophet, when he felt its fiery tortures raging within his breast! I rushed to the side of the boat, intending to fling myself on shore. But the wheels, as they began their revolutions, threw a dash of spray over me, so cold—so deadly cold, with the chill that will never leave these waters, until

Death be drowned in his own river—that, with a shiver and a heart-quake, I awoke. Thank heaven, it was a Dream!

THE PRODUCING POWER.

The dearness of slave labour is admitted every where.

What we see before us, the experience of the whole South, must convince every reflecting man, that no people can thrive, or be prosperous, who rely upon the produce of this labour. The complaint comes, not from one quarter, but from all, where this is the case, of loss of population, of decreasing wealth, of waning cities and towns, and a diminished power.

It is the *muscles* of man, well and intelligently directed, which build up all human greatness. When this is done, nothing can subdue his power. Poverty of purse is but a stimulus to exertion; poverty of soil only a guaranty of his progress. What was New England but a cold, bleak, sterile region, rude and rock girt, uninviting to the eye, and unhopeful every way to the laborer? Yet the men who planted it, and who made it, had a *motive* to labour and to live,—and the spring thus given, made them defy every obstacle, and overcome every difficulty, as they dug up their barren and rocky soil, and, by hard toil, made it the garden spot, almost, of the world.

There is a chapter yet to be written on the causes which give to human labour its greatest power. Writers talk familiarly and positively about high and low wages, and seem to think, as they rise or fall, so will human industry prosper or languish. This may be true in part; but it is far from being the whole truth. The master-mechanic at Pittsburgh thrives when paying to his employed the highest wages—while the master-mechanic in Sheffield, England, engaged in the same business, has hard work to get along, giving his laborers the very lowest prices. Why this difference? The Englishman, as regards capital and legislation has the advantage, and, is in the instance to which we refer, freer from close competition—whence then, the success of the American? Simply, as we reason, in this—that our countryman, having a place in society, feels the motives which impel men most strongly to action, and, therefore, works harder, and produces more, and realizes happier results, every way, from his toil.

We are apt to think, that we could accomplish what we pleased, if want were knocking at our door, or some strong necessity stared us in

the face. This may be so at particular times, and in particular places. But that which alone can make labour sweet, which clothes it with cheerfulness, and enables it to advance the individual, and swell the wealth of the State, which produces health and happiness, virtue and vigor, as it subdues the wilderness and subjugates the elements,—is, the *consciousness* on the part of every one who toils, that he is free to build up his own fortune, free to live and enjoy life, free to do whatever may add to his stability and growth. Give an individual anywhere this motive, let him *know*, as he sweats over anvil, or work bench, or in the fields under a burning sun, that the home near by is to be happy, and wife and little ones blessed through his efforts, and that therefore he himself is to be recognized as a *MAN*, and he will be one, if difficulties and perils, thick and black as imagination can conceive, were to begirt him round.

How conclusively does the experiment made by Mr. McDonough, a large planter living opposite the City of New Orleans sustain what we say. He bought, some twenty years ago, one hundred and fifty negroes. He selected them in Virginia, not with reference to mental quickness, or their moral training, but simply with regard to their physical strength. Taking them home, he told them "You may gain your freedom in fourteen years if you will, pay for yourselves, leave me enough to supply your places with others, and have a sufficient sum left to establish you in Liberia. This is my plan; (we shall give it in detail hereafter) if you accept it, the contract is made." They accepted. And what followed? McDonough's slaves were the wonder of the New Orleans public. Nobody worked like them. None could compete with them. They were up early and late; labour appeared to them like pastime; it was goodly and glorious employment, and, had it not been for this, for their laughing, hearty, whole souled cheerfulness, (so close and steadily did they work) their master would have been denounced as hard and cruel. But these slaves had a *motive* to toil thus; that motive gave them a spring, and life, and energy, and steadiness, which enabled them to learn anything, to endure every thing, to surpass every labourer near them.

Suppose now, freeing Kentucky from human servitude, and from every active cause which stamps labour with disrepute, we could inspire our people with a like industry, and impart to them the motives which every artizan should feel—what could we not accomplish for the hap-

piness and well-being of the Commonwealth! Think you, under these circumstances, that the coal imbedded in our hills, the iron ore so thickly set in our soil, and the rock which girds our water courses, would lie, as they now do, in heavy unshapen masses, wholly useless to any of us? Think you, with the water power, and the raw material at hand, we should be, under these circumstances, dependent upon a distant people for our supplies! Why, like Connecticut, our State *then* would be a stirring work shop—every man busy, and all turning their business to good account—with schools in every neighborhood, and a web of rail-ways uniting all neighborhoods, the people demanding, and the legislature promptly doing whatever the public good really demanded.

Say not, reader, that all this is fancy work. It may be made sober reality, and, by getting rid of prejudice, and exerting yourself, you may help to make it so. Turn, if you doubt us, to the following table, (we put our estimates *very* low) and, as we go on, make your calculations, and see, if we err in what we have said above, or in the closer reasoning which figures present. We have only to apply the law of increase of Ohio to obtain one result we would prove. Thus:

In 1840, Kentucky had white males over 10 years,	186,000
In 1840, Kentucky had free coloured,	2,300
Of adult slaves, male and female,	111,629
Equal to, say	55,313
	<hr/> 243,613
Producing \$30 each per annum,	\$7,308,390
But if Kentucky had increased with Ohio, she would have had in 1840, of adult males,	890,000
Of adult females,	890,000
	<hr/> 1,780,000
Males, producing each \$30 per annum	\$26,700,000
Females " " \$10 "	8,900,000
	<hr/> \$35,600,000

What a contrast! What a dead annual loss! With Slavery we have only a little over seven millions! under Freedom, we should have had over THIRTY-FIVE MILLIONS, as our yearly income! And then, as we now are, we have all

the withering, crushing influences of human servitude, dishonoring labour, and degrading the laborer, depressing the poor, and puffing up the rich—while, with liberty, we should have started every energy and quickened every impulse, and made strong and buoyant every talent which imparts vigor to industry, power to talent, and influence to character!

We appeal, then, to generous planters who would live for true and noble ends. We beseech non-slaveholders who would do something for themselves, and their posterity, we implore mothers who would rear their offspring under the best influences, we entreat our young men whose bosoms heave with the love of Liberty as a wild impulse, or swell with it as a fresh and living principle, we invoke the clergy who recognize in every bruised nature the image of the Living God—to stand forth in the cause, and in this, our Commonwealth, speak truly, speak earnestly, speak fearlessly, for EMANCIPATION.—We labour in vain, if we labour not for that. Nothing will stamp the State with greatness, give to every citizen in it the opportunity to prosper and grow, or imbed in the heart of the people that fervent, patriotic, religious spirit, which, never content with good gained, would use it bravely to win a yet higher and wider good, nothing, except *freedom*. For our sake, for our children's sake, for the common good now and hereafter, let us have it, let us bless all with it!—*Louisville Examiner*.

THE EMANCIPATED SLAVES OF JAMAICA.

The results of Emancipation, as given by Mr. Renshaw and Mr. Hovey, missionaries among the freed people of Jamaica, are truly encouraging.

The object of their visit to this country is to obtain assistance to enable them to go on in their missionary labors. The following sketch of some remarks of Mr. Renshaw in one of our city churches, as reported in the Traveller, will be found interesting.

The present coloured population of Jamaica is about 400,000—the white residents of the island numbering only about 50,000. The coloured population for the most part consists of the slaves who were emancipated by the British act of August, 1838; the remainder—the browns, as they are called—being the offspring of the concubinage which so universally existed previous to emancipation.

Mr. Renshaw explained satisfactorily, one or

two facts connected with the business of Jamaica, from which inferences have been drawn unfavourable to the change which has taken place in the condition of the working population. There had been a falling off, for instance, of about 25,000 hogsheads of sugar, in the exports from the island. The inference, drawn from this fact, that the negroes had become more indolent under a state of freedom, was not founded in truth. The negroes had now many more wants than when they were in their degraded condition as slaves. They now used sugar themselves largely. Allowing them fifteen pounds a head annually, more than they formerly used, it would more than make good the deficiency in the exports. The decrease in the value of plantation property, too, had been adduced as an argument against the condition of freedom in a pecuniary point of view. This decrease, however, was clearly accounted for by the change in the policy of England in reference to the products of its colonies, from that of protection which amounted to a prohibition, to free trade which gave the sugar of Jamaica no preference in the English market.

Since emancipation, the legislation of the colony had entirely changed, as regards the coloured population. Many of the same gentlemen were still in the government, it was true, but they were now as kind and considerate towards the negroes, as they once were necessarily cruel. An improved system of prison discipline has been adopted; a lunatic asylum had been established, at an expense of \$100,000; abundant provision had been made for enlightened medical attendance upon the laboring people; public schools had been established; a general interest, in fine, was manifested in the welfare of the laboring population, and all public measures looked to the amelioration of their condition.

A great change—and an entirely spontaneous one—had also taken place in the morals and manners of the white population. Prior to emancipation, marriage was virtually prohibited by the customs of society, and concubinage was universal. Intemperance and other vices generally prevailed. Now public sentiment regarded marriage as honorable; concubinage had to a great extent disappeared; and the principles and practice of temperance were commonly cherished. The prejudice against colour had been almost entirely removed. The brown class, once proscribed, now took a position in society. They were found in all public stations, both in the legislative and judicial branches of the government. There was in fact no distinction as to com-

plexion, and no bar on that account to the social reciprocities and amenities of life.

The change in the condition of the negroes had been very great—so much so, that it had operated as a hindrance to their advancement. They had so rapidly progressed from a state of absolute servitude and degradation, to that of a comfortable peasantry, that they had imbibed some of the vices of wealth and were becoming covetous. Although their present condition was only an approximation towards the condition of the free colored people in the United States, yet in regard to diet, clothing, dwellings, all the comforts of civilized life, there had been a vast improvement upon the frightful condition—both moral and physical—in which emancipation found them.

At the time of the emancipation, such was the mental degradation of the negroes, that they seemed almost to have lost the power of thought.

They manifested, however, great enthusiasm of gratitude towards God, and towards the missionaries as instruments of their redemption from slavery. They literally came and laid down their first earnings at the feet of the missionaries, with apostolic simplicity; and a hundred thousand dollars at least were given in this way for the erection of houses of worship and schools. There had, however, been a reaction of feeling, as might have been anticipated. The enthusiasm had passed away, or had ceased to have an operative influence.—*Emancipator.*

EXTRACT FROM C. SUMNER'S LECTURE ON WHITE SLAVERY IN THE BARBARY STATES.

And yet we would not judge with harshness an Algerine slave-owner. He has been reared in a region of slavery—he has learned to regard Christians, "guilty of a skin not colored as his own," as lawful prey,—and has found sanctions for his conduct in the injunctions of the Koran, in the custom of his country, and in the instinctive dictates of an imagined self-interest. It is, then, the "peculiar institution" which we are aroused to execrate, rather than the Algerine slave-masters, who glory in its influence, and

"so perfect is their misery,
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
But boast themselves more comely than before."

But there is reason to believe that the sufferings of the white slave were not often greater than is the natural incident of slavery. There is an important authority which presents this point in an interesting light. It is that of General Eaton, who was for some time consul of the United States at Tunis, and whose name is not without interest

from the bold expedition against Derne. In a letter to his wife, dated at Tunis, April 6th, 1799, and written amidst opportunities of observation such as few have enjoyed, he briefly describes the condition of this unhappy class, illustrating it by a comparison less flattering to our country than to Barbary. "Many of the Christian slaves," he says, "have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas! remorse seizes my whole soul, when I reflect that this is, indeed, a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. And yet we boast of freedom and national justice. How frequently have I seen in the Southern States of our own country weeping mothers leading guiltless infants to the sales with as deep anguish as if they led them to the slaughter, and yet felt my bosom tranquil in the view of these aggressions upon defenceless humanity! But when I see the same enormities practised upon beings whose complexion and blood claim kindred with my own, I curse the perpetrators and weep over the wretched victims of their rapacity. Indeed, truth and justice demand from me the confession, that the Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among the professing Christians of civilized America; and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery."

Such testimony would seem to furnish a standard or measure of comparison, by which to determine the character of White Slavery in the Barbary States. But there are other considerations and authorities. One of these is the influence of the religion of these barbarians. Travellers remark the generally kind treatment bestowed by Mahometans upon slaves. The lash rarely, if ever, lacerates the back of the female; the knife or branding-iron is not employed upon any human being to mark him as the property of his fellow man. Nor is the slave doomed, as in other countries, where the Christian religion is professed, to unconditional and perpetual service, without prospect of redemption. Hope, the last friend of misfortune, may brighten his captivity. He is not walled up by inhuman institutions so as to be inaccessible to freedom. "And unto such of your slaves," says the Koran, in words worthy of adoption in the legislation of Christian countries, "as desire a written instrument, allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum, write one, if ye know good in them, and give them of the riches of God, which he hath given you." Thus from the Koran, which ordains slavery, come lessons of benignity to the slave; and one of the

most touching stories in Mahometanism is of the generosity of Ali, the companion of Mahomet, who, after fasting for three days, gave his whole provision to a captive not more famished than himself.

WAR AND GLORY.

The following excellent satire on war and glory, is said to have been written by Dr. Johnson:

An old vulture was sitting on a naked prominence, with her young about her, whom she was instructing in the arts of a vulture's life, and preparing by her last lecture, for their final dismissal to the mountains and the skies.

"My children," said the old vulture, "you will the less want my instructions because you have had my practice before your eyes; you have seen me snatch from the farm the household fowl, you have seen me seize the leveret in the bush, and the kid in the pasture; you know how to fix your talons, and how to balance your flight when you are laden with your prey. But you remember the taste of more delicious food—I have often regaled you with the flesh of man."

"Tell us," said the young vultures, "where man may be found, and how he may be known. His flesh is surely the natural food of the vulture; why have you never brought a man in your talons to the nest?"

"He is too bulky," said the mother; "when we find a man we can only tear away his flesh, and leave his bones upon the ground."

"Since man is so big," said the young ones, "how do you kill him? You are afraid of the wolf and the bear; by what power are vultures superior to man? Is man more defenceless than a sheep?"

"We have not the strength of man," returned the mother, "and I am sometimes in doubt whether we have the subtilty; and the vulture would seldom feed upon his flesh, had not nature, that devoted him to our uses, infused into him a strange ferocity, which I never observed in any other being that feeds upon the earth. Two herds of men will often meet and shake the earth with noise, and fill the air with fire. When you hear noise, and see fire, with flashes along the ground, hasten to the place with your swiftest wing, for men are surely destroying one another; you will then find the ground smoking with blood and covered with carcasses, of which many are dismembered and mangled, for the convenience of the vulture."

"But when men have killed their prey," said the pupil, "why do they not eat it? When the wolf has killed a sheep, he suffers not the vulture to

touch it till he is satisfied himself. Is not man another kind of wolf?"

"Man," said the mother, "is the only beast who kills that which he does not devour, and this quality makes him so much a benefactor to our species."

"If men kill our prey, and lay it in our way," said the young one, "what need shall we have of labouring for ourselves?"

"Because man will, sometimes," replied the mother, "remain for a long time quiet in his den. The old vultures will tell you when you are to watch his motions. When you see men in great numbers moving close together, like a flock of storks, you may conclude that they are hunting, and that you will soon revel in human blood."

"But still," said the young one, "I would gladly know the reason of this mutual slaughter; I could never kill what I could not eat."

"My child," said the mother, "this is a question which I cannot answer, though I am reckoned the most subtle bird of the mountain. When I was young, I used frequently to visit the ærie of an old vulture, who dwelt upon the Carpathian rocks; he had made many observations; he knew the places that afforded prey, around his habitation, as far in every direction as the strongest wing can fly between the rising and setting of the summer sun; he had fed, year after year, on the entrails of men. His opinion was, that men had only the appearance of animal life, being really vegetables, with a power of motion; and that as the boughs of an oak are dashed together by the storm, that swine may fatten on the falling acorns, so men are, by some unaccountable power, driven one against another till they lose their motion, that vultures may be fed. Others think they have observed something of a contrivance and policy among these mischievous beings: and those that hover more closely around them, pretend that there is in every herd, one that gives directions to the rest, and seems to be more eminently delighted with a wide carnage. What it is that entitles him to such pre-eminence we know not; he is seldom the biggest or the swiftest, but he shows by his eagerness and diligence, that he is more than any of the others—a friend to the vultures."

POETRY.

[The position of the late Silas Wright as a distinguished politician, and a leader in the Democratic party, would have given him no claims to the particular notice of this journal; but the part he took in rallying the democracy of New York to the support of the Wilmot proviso, and the influence he exerted

elsewhere in its behalf, and was going on constantly and fearlessly to exert within the utmost sphere of his extended popularity, presented him to our view in a new aspect—that of the ardent and inflexible friend of human liberty—that of the true lover of his species. It was in this view of him, that words cannot express our grief for the loss of such a man at such a time. The friend of man stood appalled when the tidings of the sudden removal of this noble champion of freedom reached him, but he rallied—weeping for the departed—under the feelings which inspired the following expressive lines.

EDITORS.]

LINES

Written on hearing of the Death of Silas Wright, of New York.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

As they who, tossing midst the storm at night,
While turning shoreward, where a beacon shone,
Meet the wall'd blackness of the heaven alone,
So, on the turbulent waves of party tossed,
In gloom and tempest men have seen thy light
Quenched in the darkness. At thy hour of noon,
While life was pleasant to thy undimmed sight,
And, day by day, within thy spirit grew
A holier hope than young Ambition knew,
As through thy rural quiet, not in vain,
Pierced the sharp thrill of Freedom's cry of pain,
Man of the millions, thou art lost too soon!
Portents from which the bravest stand aghast—
The birth throes of a Future, strange and vast,
Alarm the land; yet thou, so wise and strong,
Suddenly summoned to the burial bed,
Lapped in its slumbers deep and ever long,
Hear'st not the tumult surging overhead.
Who now shall rally Freedom's scattering host?
Who wear the mantle of the leader lost?
Who stay the march of slavery? He, whose voice
Hath called thee from thy task-field, shall not lack
Yet bolder champions, to beat bravely back
The wrong which, through His poor ones, reaches
Him:
Yet firmer hands shall Freedom's torch-lights trim,
And wave them high across the abysmal black,
Till bound, dumb millions there shall see them and
rejoice.

Era.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

APOLOGY

For not furnishing some Poetry requested for this Journal.

When the last day of autumn closes
All vegetative life reposes,
So, now when winter's snows have spread
Their hoary influence o'er my head,
The metric line enervate flows,
And warns me, too, to take repose.

G. S.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.] PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1847. [NO. 11.

COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Editors of the Non-Slaveholder.

I was glad to see in your number for last month the remarks of your correspondent PENN, on the subject of the exercise of the right of suffrage. I have long felt the danger which the conscientious opponents of War and Slavery incur, of baulking their testimony when they cast their votes in favour of the candidates of either of the great parties of the nation without first inquiring what are the sentiments of the particular individuals they vote for, touching these important subjects. Differing, as these parties may do, as to the policy of this or that war at its inception, but not differing as to its vigorous prosecution when commenced, neither is to be regarded as a peace party; and composed as they both are of southern and northern adherents, neither is to be regarded as an anti-slavery party. Looking at the votes of our representatives in Congress on measures connected with the carrying on of the war with Mexico, we cannot well discern which are whig, and which democratic, by the list of ayes and noes, so emulous do the respective voters appear to be, to give, to even a mistrusted executive, all the support in men and money judged necessary to the active and glorious conduction of this wicked and bloody enterprise. Taking into view that the war is one of conquest, having for its end, as contemplated by its projectors, an extension of slavery into dominions now free; and seeing that it has been found impracticable yet to rally either of the great parties to the adoption of the principle of the non-extension of slavery, we must regard each party, whilst composed of its present elements, as being, if not pro-slavery, at least ready to betray the cause of freedom, whenever the preservation of the party shall demand it; which will ever be when the interests of its southern adherents shall so require. In the past we see the future. It is, however, a conceded fact, that among the whig representatives are a few persons

indisposed to afford supplies for the prosecution of this atrocious war, and that among the individuals composing both the parties are large numbers, seriously awakened to the duty of taking decided ground against the further encroachments of the slave power. The heavings of this sentiment are felt and seen in all the recent political gatherings of the people; the leaders in each party seeking their tranquillization by new and feigned issues—those of the whig party by the issue of "no more territory," instead of "no more slavery"—which they well know will be but a rope of sand with which to bind their southern adherents, though it may be dust in the eyes of their northern friends. Are these uprisings of a sound feeling to be thus suppressed? Or, will they result in one of the parties taking the noble ground of "No more slavery," thus severing themselves from the south, as they needs must with that motto, but bringing to their support all the real opponents of slavery in whatever party north? Or, will they end in the breaking up of the old landmarks of party, many of which are scarcely traceable for any present practical purpose, and in the substitution for whig and democrat of a peace-loving, liberty-promoting party? For one of the two last issues we devoutly hope; and for its promotion suggest to each conscientious voter the adoption of the following resolves which, inflexibly observed, will certainly bring it about—if there exists in the nation north, the amount of conscience we suppose.

I will vote for no man to any civil office who will not bring the weight of his influence, and his vote, when that will apply, to the instant, pacific conclusion of the present iniquitous war!

I will vote for no man to any civil office who will not give the weight of his influence, and his vote, too, when he can, conscientiously, constantly and energetically to the rendering impossible any further extension of slavery!

So says and resolves, your friend and brother,
WESLEY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

It has been clearly seen by many that are opposed to slavery, that the kindest masters are giving far greater aid and security to the perpetuity of the slave system than the most tyrannical and cruel. The first, by departing in some degree, in his treatment of the slave, from the original principle and tenure by which he is held, that "might is right," mingles justice with injustice, kindness with unkindness, benevolence with covetousness, humanity with inhumanity, and thus kindles up and brings into action these moral and Christian virtues in the slave; so that between the master and his slave a strong and mutual attachment is sometimes formed. This presents slavery under false colours, as a wolf in sheep's clothing, and tends powerfully to mislead the superficial observer and the public mind, in their conclusions respecting the demerits and barbarity of the system. While the latter, the more inhuman, acting upon the original principle that man may institute a right of property in his fellow-man, ceases in a great degree in his treatment to exercise those offices of regard, of kindness, of sympathy, and respect due to a human being, thus perfecting in the character and disposition of the slave, practically, the demoralization and degradation proposed to be inflicted by the law of the land, that declares him to be a chattel personal to all intents and purposes. Here the principle established by law being carried out, slavery is exhibited in its true light, clothed with its legitimate fruits and natural results. Was this its universal exhibition to public view, would not even the deaf hear its cries, the blind see its deformity, the doubtful be confirmed of its atrocity; and all who were not entirely insensible to the voice of justice and humanity feel themselves compelled to proclaim its cruelty and exceeding sinfulness? Then would be more speedily verified in the nation the declaration of the prophet, proclaimed to a hard hearted people, when he said, "Thine iniquities shall reprove thee, and thy backsliding shall correct thee."

These facts speak volumes. They certainly impart a deep and important lesson of instruction and reproof to many of us, who are dealing in and using the products of the slave's unrequited toil, thus furnishing the inducement for holding slaves; for, as we have observed, many are misled in their estimation of the true character of slavery, through the influence of some of the less arbitrary masters, aided by the power of custom; so it is no less true that as large numbers, who are opposed to slavery, are misled in their

conclusions (I will not say investigations, for they make none,) respecting the injustice and inconsistency of the use of slave labour products through the influence (aided by the power of custom) of such, that are in good repute for their justice, benevolence and piety, who are freely trafficking in and consuming the products of slavery. These are too often looked upon as having such a regard for the principles of morality and Christianity, in other respects, though in the free use of these blood-stained products, that they will not and do not violate these principles. Thus, I verily believe, hundreds and thousands are contenting themselves in the consumption of these products because they see a multitude of others, whom they have many reasons to esteem, doing the like, thus too easily adopting a pernicious practice, (a practice, without which, slavery would not exist,) from its general approval by the wise and good, without investigating such acts upon their own merits, or rather demerits, and certain tendencies in upholding slavery and its consequent evils. Then, if these things be true, how awful the responsibility that attaches to those possessing influence, those endowed with enquiring minds, that have seen, and do see, that this paying the master for the slave's labour is to all intents becoming a party with the slaveholder, and therefore a sacrificing the plainest principle of justice and right to that of interest or convenience.

How serious, I say, is the obligation that such influence be rightly directed; for influence may, and often does, outstrip in importance, in sustaining slavery, the effect produced by the individual amount of produce consumed, or dollars and cents amassed, by such unjustifiable transactions. It is clear to my mind, that should all such who at this day are convinced of the inhumanity of slavery, and who are proclaiming its iniquities, cease as far as practicable from the consumption of its products, it would put forth an influence in behalf of the emancipation of the slave, never yet known in this country; it would awaken inquiry into the nature, character and consequences of the slave system, and who were its chief supporters, that would spread from family to family, from town to town, from city to city, and from sea to sea, which must and would result in the speedy and entire extinction of the abhorrent system.

Who that believes that the Most High is just, and that he weighs the actions of men without partiality with the most skilful hand, can flatter himself that he is not found wanting in the divine sight, if daily by his practice he is (without

necessity) strengthening the arm of the acknowledged oppressor.

Quaker Hill, Ninth mo. 28th, 1847.

D. I.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WAR OFFENSIVE IN THE DIVINE SIGHT.

"And David said to Solomon, My Son, as for me, it was in my mind to build a house unto the name of the Lord my God; but the word of the Lord came to me, saying, *Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars; thou shalt not build a house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight.*"—1 Chronicles xxii. 7 and 8.

On this passage, and on one in 2d Samuel, Adam Clarke has some remarks which are interesting as coming from a person of undoubted talent, erudition and piety, and a minister of a Society which is not, as a body, committed against war.

"Heathens, Jews, and Christians, have all agreed that soldiers of any kind should have nothing to do with divine offices. *Shedding of human blood but ill comports with the benevolence of God or the Spirit of the Gospel.* AENEAS, overpowered by his enemies, while fighting for his parents, his family, and his country, and finding further resistance hopeless, endeavours to carry off his aged father, his wife, young son, and his household gods; but as he was just come from slaughter, he would not even handle these objects of superstition, but confided them to his father, whom he took on his shoulders and carried out of the burning city of Troy.

"Our country's gods, our relics, and the bands,
Hold you, my father, in your guiltless hands:
In me 'tis impious holy things to bear,
Red as I am with slaughter, new from war;
Till, in some living stream, I cleanse the guilt
Of dire debate, and blood in battle spilt."

Dryden.

"It is worthy of remark how seldom God employs a soldier in any spiritual work; just for the same reason as that given to David; and yet there have been several eminently pious men in the army who have laboured for the conversion of sinners. I knew a remarkable instance of this. I was acquainted with Mr. John Haime, a well known preacher among the people called Methodists. He was a soldier in the Queen's eighth regiment of dragoons, in Flanders, in the years 1739-46. He had his horse shot under him at the battle of Fontenoy, May 11th, 1745; and was in the hottest fire of the enemy for above seven hours; he preached among his fellow soldiers frequently, and under the immediate patronage of

his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, commander in chief; and was the means of converting and reforming many hundreds of the soldiers. He was a man of amazing courage and resolution, and of inflexible loyalty. One having expressed wonder 'how he could reconcile killing men with preaching the gospel of the Grace and Peace of Christ,' he answered, 'I never killed a man.' How can you tell that? Were you not in several battles? 'Yes; but I am confident I never killed or wounded a man.' How was this? Did you not do your duty? 'Yes, with all my might; but when in battle, either my horse jumped aside, or was wounded, or was killed; or my carbine missed fire; and I could never draw the blood of an enemy.' And would you have done it if you could? 'Yes, I would have slain the whole French army had it been in my power; I fought in a good cause, for a good king, and for my country; and though I struck in order to cut, and hack, and hew on every side, I could kill no man.' This is the substance of his answers to the above questions; and we see from it a remarkable interfering Providence; God had appointed this man to build a spiritual house in the British army in Flanders; and would not permit him to shed the blood of his fellow creatures."

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1847.

INDIANA YEARLY MEETING.—The letter of an esteemed correspondent, a member of Indiana Yearly Meeting, furnishes us with several valuable particulars relating to the proceedings of that body, at its recent annual assemblage. We derive from it the information that, at this "very large and interesting meeting," the subjects of war and slavery, including the use of the productions of slave labour, and the voting for slaveholders and military men into civil government, were, at various stages of the meeting, feelingly brought into view by several concerned Friends. The clerk entered upon the minutes, in general terms, that the subjects of war and slavery had claimed the consideration of the meeting.

Our correspondent gives it as his "own opinion, that three-fourths of those present would have been willing to pledge themselves never to vote for another slaveholder; and perhaps all, if Henry Clay's name was never heard in connection with the Presidency."

The epistles of several of the other Yearly Meetings, brought the attention of this to the subject of slavery, generally: that from New York,

especially, to the disuse of the products of the system.

The attendance of Lindley Murray Hoag, from New England Yearly Meeting, and his remarks in the concluding sitting of this, "commending Friends for their labours in the cause of the oppressed, and recommending each to seek for the right ability in whatever branch of the subject he may feel himself called to labour," as also the general interest which his religious public services excited, is adverted to in terms of high approval by our informant. The intention of this Friend to embark in a free-labour store in the city of New York, with a capital of three thousand dollars, furnished him for that purpose, was freely spoken of by himself, and, in the opinion of our correspondent, will have a good effect in drawing the fuller attention of Friends to the free labour concern.

We derive encouragement from the circumstances here recited, to a perseverance in our allotted path of duty, whatever that, from time to time, may be found to be. We hope others may be cheered by them to a like continuance in well doing. The progress of Truth is gradual, but ever onward, if those who are its heralds are faithful to its manifestations.

THE SLAVE PRODUCE QUESTION.—We had occasion during the past year to notice, in terms of just and high approval, the work entitled "Christian Non-Resistance," by Adin Ballou of Massachusetts; and have several times since added value to our pages by quotations from it. The indications it affords of the moral and intellectual worth of its author, give importance and influence to any thing else he may have to say on that or other topics. The suggestions of this writer on the abstinence question, though they denote only a state of enquiry, have not failed, therefore, to arrest our attention. In "the Practical Christian," of which he is the editor, is the following notice of a letter from Charles Cadwallader of this vicinity, in which he partially discusses this subject, and to which we append some remarks of our own. Our friend, we believe, has here collected the materials, apparently adverse to, on which he will hereafter base some of the strongest arguments in favour of, avoiding the use of the productions of Slavery.

Abstinence from Slave-grown Produce.—In another column will be found a communication from Charles Cadwallader, calling our attention, and that of the Hopedale Community, to the question of duty in respect to the consumption of slave-grown productions. He refers us to our

Declaration of acknowledged duties, and invites us to consider whether we are not aiding and abetting slavery and the slave-trade by purchasing for our use the various articles of slave production. It is very surprising to our Pennsylvania friends, and those generally who are scrupulously conscientious against the use of slave-grown produce, that so many of the New England Abolitionists remain comparatively indifferent to this matter (1). It seems to them that we are partaking in the sin of slaveholders by purchasing and consuming the articles they unquitously force their slaves to produce, and that we are strangely blind not to see it. On our part we sincerely respect their scruples of conscience, and above all their fidelity to those scruples, and yet have been unable to perceive, with our degree of intellectual and moral light, the forcible reasons, or to feel the moral convictions they do against using the produce in question. This may be owing to obtuseness of judgment, or obliquity of moral sentiment, and therefore we are admonished to examine the subject, and to search ourselves more thoroughly, that we may be sure of our duty in the matter. Nothing is more common than for men, in the main intelligent and conscientious, to overlook or disregard the nicer applications of their acknowledged moral obligations. It is astonishing how blind and mistaken good men sometimes are with respect to particular duties. Considering these things, we welcome friend Cadwallader's communication, and desire with open convictions to state our views of the subject he presents. We think we may venture to say that the members of the Hopedale Community would generally abandon the use of slave-grown produce, if they should be rationally convinced it was their duty. We are now sufficiently convinced that it would be sinful in us to unite with slaveholders religiously, politically or socially; i. e. in church, in state, in community, or in marriage (2). We are also convinced that it would be sinful in us to sell anything to them, or buy anything of them peculiarly belonging to the system or state of slavery as such; i. e. any article which would not be equally proper and useful in a state of freedom as in a state of slavery (3). We are furthermore fully convinced that it would be sinful in us to trade or hold any intercourse, however innocent in itself, with slaveholders, the express condition, or legitimate tendency of which, under the circumstances, should be to render us dumb on the subject of slavery, or to indispose us to testify against it (4). If we could not trade with slaveholders in articles suitable to a state of freedom, or could not preach, or teach school, or practice medicine, or publish books and papers for them without being obliged to be silent concerning the sin of slavery, or to wink at the wickedness of it, we should be bound to keep utterly aloof from all such dealings and intercourse with them. This duty is founded on a principle of universal application—viz: that we are never to compromise with obvious evil doing (5). That there is a vast deal of mercantile and other intercourse with slaveholders which is maintained by a sacrifice of principle, for the

sake of temporal advantage, is lamentably true. Men and women from the North every year seek their fortune at the South, consenting to be gagged for the time on the subject of slavery, or insensibly yielding to the expediency of smoothing down their testimony against it. We can see that this is sinful—that it is even *basely* sinful.

Now if it can be shown that the ordinary use of cotton, rice, molasses, sugar, wheat, flour, Indian corn, &c., by persons who on that account feel under no restraint, or temptation to refrain from a manly testimony against slavery, is *also* sinful, we shall feel bound to abstain therefrom at once and forever (6). These articles are all good in themselves. Nature originated them for the use of man. She shines upon and moistens, expands and matures them even when their planting and growth are attended by the lash-driven slave. Does the wrong inflicted on the slave, who aids their growth and preparation, so vitiate them that whatever consumes them necessarily becomes implicated in the sin of the slaveholder? We do not yet see this to be a rational conclusion. The consumers of whom we are now speaking had no participation in stealing the slave from his native land. They have no participation in holding him a slave—none in justifying the master—none in withholding rebuke for the wrong done by him (7). They use these articles of sustenance and comfort just as they would do, if they had been grown only by freemen—without the least consciousness of any occasion or temptation to favour slaveholding on account of what they thus eat and wear. How then do they sin? Certainly not in their consciousness of wrong, nor in their intentions.—Wherein consists their *wrong*? It is said they are partakers of stolen goods, and are therefore as bad as the thief. Is God a partaker with the man-thief because he gives him cotton-seed, earth, sunshine and rain, without which the slave would be of no use to him (8)? And may not we consume what God helps wicked men produce, when the thing produced is in itself good (9)? No, (say our brethren,) if you do you are joined in guilt with the man-stealer, the slave-trader, the slave-holder, and the slave-driver. You *receive* and *reward* them for stolen goods. But the goods are not *stolen goods*, in the proper sense of terms (10). Is a bushel of wheat to be considered stolen goods because a man raised it by the help of a stolen horse? If so every article produced by instruments unjustly acquired or used becomes contaminated. If I purchase a stolen horse, knowing it to have been stolen, I am guilty with the original thief. But suppose the original thief uses that stolen horse to raise a field of corn, of which I buy five bushels for a laudable use in my family, am I then guilty (11)? Or does the sin lie in trading with the thief at all? Or does it lie in affording him means of sustaining himself and family? If so, the principle carried out would forbid us to trade with a known sinner at all, even in a thing in itself innocent (12). Or is this the point—that knowing a man to be a horse-thief, and to be a justifier of horse-theft in general, and also to be raising produce with stolen horses only, I should certainly

be an abettor of his sin, if, in addition to a faithful rebuke, I did not refuse to make use of the articles raised by such means (13)? It is narrowed down then to this,—that I could not buy and consume the productions of such a man without giving a moral sanction to his deliberate and systematic theft (14). If this be a correct view of the case, it would of course apply to the man-thief with inconceivably greater force. But if we may take this course with the slaveholder, ought we not to take it with all other sinners? Or can we fix such limits to it as to demonstrate that the principle is of just and rational application to easily conceived cases? We invite friend Cadwallader to write again and define the nature and extent of the principle involved in the duty he urges.

REMARKS.

(1.) The comparative indifference of our New England friends to the duty of abstinence is probably owing to the greater commercial influences operating upon them. Within the range of our own observation, the citizens of our trading communities are the last to receive the doctrine calling for the non-use of the products of Slavery, whilst they are the first to be willing to throw upon the mere automaton, called the slaveholder, the whole guilt of a system which lives, and breathes, and has its being in the external demand for its coerced products. We need not say that "all New England," is a vast trading community, seeking gain with an avidity which may possibly lead it to overlook the nicer and unprofitable distinctions of a pure morality. If the suggestion is without foundation we should be glad to know it.

(2.) If it be sinful to unite with slaveholders, religiously, politically, or socially, of which our friend Ballou is sufficiently convinced, it must be because we give to slavery, in doing so, our moral, or physical support, or both. The religious connection is wholly of the first character; the political and social may be of both kinds, or either. Of both kinds, and in the highest degree, is that countenance given to the slaveholder, and that support to his system, which buys of him the products of his wrong-doing, and feeds the motive for its further perpetration. Of what avail will it be that we repel him from our side in the temple of God, when we fellowship him in the temple of Mammon in the very wrong for which we expel him from the other. Will he most regard the anathema against his practice, or the action—denying the anathema—which sustains his practice?

(3.) If it be sinful to sell anything to the slaveholder, or to buy anything of him which *peculiarly* belongs to the system or state of slavery as such,

is it more clearly sinful to sell him shackles for the slave, than it is to give him the motive for purchasing those shackles? This we do when we buy the products of the system. And what can more emphatically belong to the system than the products, the procuring of which is its end and purpose? If, by the explanation, we are to understand that the moral inhibition relates only to articles not proper to a state of freedom, what does it amount to? And, as a moral axiom, how will it apply to the use of goods feloniously obtained, which, without such felony, are proper to be used by honest men? Will the fitness of the article to common use, sanction its use, when obtained by such means?

(4.) If it be sinful to hold any intercourse with slaveholders, the tendency of which is to make us dumb on the subject of slavery, how much less sinful is it to stultify our eloquence, and make our testimony powerless, by showing to the slaveholder that, whilst we theoretically oppose slavery, we are its practical supporters?

(5.) If we are bound to keep ourselves utterly aloof from all dealings and intercourse with slaveholders, which would *oblige* us to be silent concerning the sin of slavery, does not the same rule require us to keep aloof from all intercourse with him which will impair our ability to speak of slavery with the most convincing effect? If it be a rule of universal application that we may never compromise with wrong, what is our tacit agreement with the slaveholder to be considered, that we will buy his goods just as fast as he can whip and torture his slaves into their production?

(6.) The ordinary use of cotton and other products of slavery is certainly sinful, when such use is the procuring cause of slavery. "The articles are good in themselves. Nature originated them for the use of man," subject to those moral restrictions which Nature's God imposed on man in regard to their use. We cannot rightfully use them if they come to us by a violation of His laws. The articles incur no vitiation in their nature by their wrongful cultivation, for, if instead of killing *by inches* the slaves engaged in the sugar plantations, they were to be killed *outright*, in the design of irrigating the soil with their blood, and fertilizing it with their flesh and bones, the physical condition of the plant would probably be improved; but what would be the moral deteriorated state of him that would use it? Who does not perceive he would take upon himself a deep accountability both for the murder of these men and any repetition of the offence.

(7.) Have the consumers no part, indeed, in stealing the slave from his native land?—no par-

ticipation in holding him a slave?—none in justifying the master?—none in withholding rebuke for the wrong done by him, when slavery solely exists to supply the demands of the consumers? Is their support of slavery less, because these are articles of sustenance and comfort, which they should have sought from purer channels? Is it less, because they use them just as freely as if they had been grown by freemen? Is it less, because they have no consciousness of intending to favour slavery, though they know that but for them it would instantly cease?

(8.) God no more gives the man-thief, *as such*, cotton seed, earth, sunshine and rain, than he gives him the slave. His gifts to man are ever in view of their right application; and he who perverts them to wrong ends, robs God in doing so, and must account to him for the perversion. But though the beams of Heaven shine upon the robber without making God a participant, our relation to God, through his law given to us, makes us guilty of the robber's offence, if we hold but a candle to the offender.

(9.) What God, by his natural laws, enables wicked men to produce, we may or may not use, according to the attending circumstances. We may not use them when such use countenances wrong-doing, and gives encouragement to the wrong-doer in his career of evil.

(10.) Self ownership includes the right of a man to the products of his labour. In reducing a man to slavery, the products of his labour are just as much stolen as he himself is stolen. Their wrongful acquirement is the robbery which the slaveholder purposes to achieve when he steals the man; and the taking of the person is merely subsidiary to it. The term "stolen goods," is therefore appropriate to the products of labour thus obtained.

(11.) We would hold the products of the labour of a stolen horse, to be stolen products, inhibited to the use of an honest man, though in a much inferior degree than would be the use of the products of the labour of his stolen master. If the wheat, literally, is not stolen, the products of the labour which are in the wheat are stolen, and you cannot therefore, morally, take to your use the results of the cultivation. Such use cannot be, without an implied confederacy with "the original thief," and therefore cannot be "laudable." But if there is no guilt in buying such products, there can be none in purchasing the stolen horse, as, in principle, they alike countenance and are promotive of horse stealing.

(12.) The sin in buying these products consists in encouraging the thief, and in mixing in with

the theft. You may afford him other means of supporting himself and family than doing that, and so far as you can avoid encouraging him in his wrong-doing, you may trade with him in things not involved in the theft, without reproach.

(13.) If knowing a man to be a horse-thief, and the justifier of horse-theft in general, and also to be raising produce with stolen horses, we should unquestionably be an abettor of his sin, whether with or without the idle formality of a rebuke, did we not refuse to make use of the articles raised by such means. The morality which would consent to use such articles would be, at best, a horse-thief morality. The conscience which, unconscious of wrong, could use such products, must be of the lowest grade of susceptibility.

(14.) We thank our brother for the broad platform he has given us on which to fight the battle of the slave. No man can buy and consume the productions of a systematized cultivation of the earth by stolen horses, without giving a moral sanction to the deliberately organized theft, and being himself a partaker in it, and thus in its guilt. The principle must apply to all really parallel, *conceivable* cases, and among them, chiefest and foremost, and "with inconceivably greater force," to the productions of a systematized cultivation of the earth by stolen men.

RHODE ISLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—In passing recently through the city of Providence, we had the opportunity of sitting a single morning with the Anti-Slavery friends there convened in annual convention. It was cheering to observe the animated countenances of those assembled in behalf of the slave, and to hear the honest denunciations of the speakers against the vile system which makes of man such a degraded being; but we felt that when they brought their denunciations to bear against religious societies supposed to favour the system, they were dealing with edge tools, wounding often their truest friends in those societies, and driving back many others, in degree friendly, who were coming, in early time, to their aid and succour. We have heard of detachments of the same army meeting *in the dark*, and entering into deadly conflict with each other. So it should not be with the friends of the slave, but so, we believe, it often is. There is enough battling to be done with his positive enemies, and there should be a truce, at least, to all waste of ammunition upon persons and things not decidedly opposed to the abolition movement. We

are aware that among the clergy, and among the laity, in various religious societies, are absolute defenders of the slave system, men who throw themselves in the way of the abolition car, and must be rode over; but it is them personally, not the churches of which they are unworthy teachers and members, who are to be so treated. In relation to those church establishments in which may abound much of godly piety, much of holy beneficence, much of ardent love for the slave whilst their opposites may exist also, let us rather cherish the kind feeling which led good old Abraham thus to expostulate with the Lord when he sent his messengers to destroy the cities of the plain—"Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked? Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou also destroy and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that are therein? That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked; and that the righteous should be as the wicked; that be far from thee. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

We as much repudiate the idea that, in the principles which associate these churches, there is any hostility to the slave, as we do that in the motives of the men who thus denounce the churches, is a sinister design to overturn Christianity, of which they are often wrongfully accused. We give each suggestion to the idle wind. Still we would carefully eschew any course of action which might lead the world to believe that the pleader for the slave was infidel to the truths of the Gospel, and a denier of that religious fellowship into which its spirit calls us. If it be necessary to expose the professor, let us be especially regardful not to cast a seeming reproach upon the profession he unworthily represents. In this way we will soonest achieve the slave's redemption—drawing all good men, by cords of love, into the effort for its accomplishment—and at the same time best subserve the moral and religious good of man in that and all other respects. The article we have transferred to our columns from the National Era, on the subject of the Clergy and Reform, we think is written in this spirit.

FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.—We called the attention of our readers, in the 8th month last, to the plan of Dr. Lang for introducing the cotton cultivation into Australia—on the feasibility of which he was about to publish a book and deliver lectures in Glasgow. We derive from the Manchester Guardian the fol-

lowing further and only account, of his movements in the case, which has since reached us:

"*Cotton Cultivation in Australia.*—We lately called attention to an interesting statement made by the Rev. Dr. Lang to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, on the extraordinary capabilities for the growth of cotton of that extensive tract of land in Northeastern Australia, called Cooksland, and which, according to his prediction, is destined to become the future cotton field of Great Britain. The prospectus has now appeared of a company, which Dr. Lang proposes to form, for the encouragement and promotion of the growth of cotton and other tropical produce in that territory, by means of European free labour. The prospect is one which bids fair to be not only highly successful as a mere money speculation, but may be productive of the most important advantages to Lancashire as the great centre of the cotton manufacture. It is only a short period since Australia began to compete with foreign countries in the English wool market, and already she furnishes nearly one-fourth of all the wool imported into Great Britain. In 1835 our imports of sheep and lambs' wool from Germany and Australia were as follows: Germany, 23,798,186 lbs.; Australia, 4,210,301 lbs. So rapid was the progress of our Australian colonies, however, that in 1842 our imports from those two countries had undergone the following alterations: Germany, 15,613,269 lbs.; Australia, 12,959,671 lbs. If we could only succeed in stimulating the production of cotton wool at the same rate, we might look forward with confidence to the period when Manchester would feel as indifferent with regard to the probable amount of the cotton crop of the United States, as we now do, in ordinary years, to the produce of her grain harvest."

We were glad to observe in the Providence Journal of the 15th ultimo, the following notice of the India cultivation, as also of the important movement above referred to. It is well to inform our countrymen of the efforts which a demand for the productions of free labour is inducing in the world:

"The attention of the manufacturing and commercial classes of England has long been directed to some new and independent source of supply for the great staple of English manufacture. The experiments which have been made of cultivating cotton in India have been generally regarded as failures, but the failures have arisen not so much from any intrinsic difficulty as from external causes which are readily explained, and it is believed by those best acquainted with them, readily removed. The great difficulty in India has been that of transportation, which is so slow and imperfect and expensive as to render it almost impossible to get a crop to the seaboard, and when it reaches the port of exportation, it has been subjected, in addition to the delays and the waste, to a deterioration in quality from the dust of the road and the miserable mode of conveyance. It is proposed to remedy these

evils by the construction of railroads, to which the country is well adapted. Should this plan be adopted, the cotton of India would soon be felt as the rival of our own in the English market. All the other difficulties in the matter would disappear, when the principal one, that of transportation, was removed. This is a work of time and of capital, but if the people of England are once convinced of its practicability, they will not long hesitate to undertake it. And in spite of all the present difficulties of cultivation and transportation, the cotton received from India is constantly increasing in quantity and improving in quality, and from the last accounts it appears that the East India Company have taken hold of the matter in earnest. If this be the case, the experiment will not fail for want of a fair trial.

"Latterly a movement has been made towards introducing the cultivation of cotton in Australia, and the English papers contain articles upon the subject, all speaking in terms of encouragement and showing plainly that the project is a favourite one."

WAR IN MEXICO.—The readiness of Mexico to submit to a dismemberment of her empire was over-rated in our last number. We were not, indeed, then aware of the extent of the surrender demanded of her—amounting, as now appears, to six hundred and ninety-six thousand square miles, or nearly half her entire territory, and being a greater extent of country than that embraced by the whole of the free states and organized territory of these United States. The rejection by the Mexicans, of this demand, was done in a manner both temperate and dignified, as the official documents show.

We were premature also in supposing that the battle which preceded the armistice was decisive of the substantial occupation of the Mexican capital by the forces of the United States. That event was only accomplished by another desperate and bloody struggle, following the rejection by the Mexicans of the proffered terms of peace, and the consequent rupture of the armistice. The flag of the Union now floats scornfully over the halls of the Montezumas, but with no cessation of the war, though with a change, probably, by the Mexicans, in the manner of opposing and annoying their invaders.

We take the following statement of the loss of lives already incurred in the present war, compared with that in the war of Independence, from the New York correspondent of the Philadelphia Inquirer.

"Will it be believed that the American loss in killed and wounded in the war with Mexico is one half as great as that in the protracted Revolutionary struggle with Great Britain, which lasted

seven years! Such is the fact, and here is the proof, deduced from authentic sources:

Our loss in Rev'y War.		Our loss in Mexican War.	
Lexington,	84	Palo Alto,	44
Bunker Hill,	453	Resaca de la Palma,	307
Flatbush,	200	Monterey,	476
White Plains,	400	San Pascal,	8
Trenton,	9	Buena Vista,	720
Princeton,	100	Sacramento,	9
Hubbardstown,	800	Vera Cruz,	65
Bennington,	100	Cerro Gordo,	500
Brandywine,	1200	Tobasco,	12
Stillwater,	350	Contreras,	—
Germantown,	1200	Cherubusco,	1000
Red Hook,	32	Mille del Rey,	900
Monmouth,	130	Chepultepec,	450
Rhode Island,	211		
Bride Creek,	400		
Stony Point,	100		
Camden,	610		
King's Mountain,	96		
Cowpens,	72		
Guilford,	400		
Hobkirk's Hill,	400		
Eutaw Springs,	550		

Total, 8697 Total, 4491

This is a tremendous loss, when we take into consideration the short time that has elapsed since the breaking out of hostilities. At a rough estimate we might set down five thousand more, who perished from fatigue, from the fire of guerillas, yellow fever, &c. &c. which, added to the other, would make the loss on our side nearly ten thousand in the course of fifteen months. Such is the result of war."

PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF CUBA.—There are strong indications that a serious attempt is contemplated by the pro-slavery party in this country, to induce the Federal Government to purchase the island of Cuba from Spain. Not content with the annexation of Texas, and the prospect of adding other large portions of Mexico to the slave territory, the rapacity of the slaveholders seems to increase. It is represented that the people of Cuba are anxious for annexation to the United States. One of the New York papers, in an atrocious article, represents that England is on the point of acquiring Cuba—that there is a near probability of a war with England—that such a war, "in a clearly national quarrel, would be welcomed by all the stirring blood of the Republic," and that "any attempt" by England to acquire Cuba "would just furnish the clearly national ground of quarrel, which would unite

the people of the United States in opposition to her project." This trick of exciting a jealousy against England, was played with no little success in promoting the annexation of Texas, and the design of again introducing it is sufficiently obvious. The subject is one of great importance, and demands the vigilant and unflinching opposition of all who desire the restoration and preservation of peace, and the abolition of slavery.

MEETING IN LONDON IN FAVOUR OF FREE PRODUCE.—We have much pleasure in transcribing from the London Friend, of the past month, the subjoined account of a meeting held at the Anti-Slavery office, London, and are none the less gratified at the part taken by our co-editor in its proceedings.

Among the individuals attending the meeting, were Josiah Forster, George Stacey, Joseph Sturge, George W. Alexander, Robert Alsop, Jr., Richard Barrett, Alexander Brockway, Joseph Cooper, Samuel Fox, Charles Gilpin, John H. Hinton, Edward Marsh, George Neighbour, Henry Sterry, and Charles Tylor—names intimately associated with the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and other works of benevolence.

We await daily the return of our editorial associate from his brief foreign visit, in the hope that to his consciousness of having in various ways, during his absence, promoted a testimony near to the best and purest affections of his heart, will be added renovated health and spirits for a career of future usefulness at home.

"Disuse of Slave Produce.—Meeting of Friends in London.—Many of our readers have, we believe, met with Samuel Rhoads of Blockley, near Philadelphia, who has recently paid a visit to this country. He is well known to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, as a strenuous advocate of the oppressed Africans, and especially as a promoter of that simple but powerful means of bringing slavery to an end, the disuse of all its productions. It will be interesting to our friends in the country to hear that whilst S. R. was in London, a special meeting was called on the 17th of last month at the Anti-Slavery Office, Broad street, to discuss the present position of the Anti-Slavery movement, but chiefly in relation to the means just spoken of.

Joseph Sturge having been called to the chair, Samuel Rhoads proceeded to make a statement of what has been done in regard to this subject in the United States, and of the actual and probable results of those efforts. The American Free Produce Association has been in existence about nine years; that which Friends of Philadelphia have

formed amongst themselves is of about two years' standing. These associations, each with a small capital, have been able to manufacture a large quantity of free cotton goods, some descriptions of which they can now sell of equal quality, and at the same price, as other manufacturers. A Friend in Philadelphia has opened a general store in which all kinds of articles grown in the slave states may be purchased, the production of free-labour. The cotton made use of is not imported, but is an article of home production. In the southern states, but especially in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, there are many small cultivators who employ no slave-labour on their farms. Some of these are not in a condition to purchase or hire slaves, but there are others who refuse to do so on principle. When the Philadelphia Association became desirous to purchase cotton, they despatched an agent into Mississippi with instructions to make his purchases only from these free estates. Accordingly, two years ago, he passed through several of the northern counties of Mississippi, and found no difficulty in buying as much cotton, untainted by the touch of slavery, as the Association required. On first going into the state, he was in some fear on account of the well-known hostility of the planters to Anti-Slavery efforts of all kinds. But in this case, there was nothing for them to lay hold of. The agent gave no lectures, held no meetings, disseminated no publications; he did not even seem anxious to converse on the dreaded topic: he came amongst them only in the way of trade; and although a prejudice was attempted to be raised against him in the places he was about to visit, it was of no avail, because, as is generally the custom in the purchase of cotton, he carried money in his hand. A great sensation, nevertheless, was occasioned by this novel way of selecting the goods he was in quest of. The knowledge that the people of the north were beginning to purchase cotton exclusively of those who keep no slaves, because they were no longer easy to clothe themselves with the productions of forced and unrequited labour, was calculated to give a greater blow to the system, than the whole array of tracts, meetings and lectures. At least such is the opinion of Friends in Philadelphia; and it must be borne in mind, that in the present state of feeling in the south, other means of reaching the minds of the slaveholders are almost, if not entirely, excluded. As an illustration of this, it may be mentioned that in many of the states, even an Anti-Slavery newspaper cannot be taken; the postmasters having strict injunctions not to suffer any publication of the kind to be delivered. Last autumn, the fact

that a preference was given in the northern states, by a portion of the inhabitants, to free-grown cotton, having become generally known through several districts in Mississippi and Tennessee, and also that a merchant in Memphis, on the Mississippi, had received and forwarded such goods to Philadelphia, nearly all the cotton of this description was taken by the growers to him for sale. The Association of Friends in Philadelphia is again about to send one or two well-qualified persons into several of the southern states, to ascertain, as far as practicable, the quantity of cotton cultivated by free-labourers exclusively, in each county they may visit, with a view of making arrangements by which manufacturers in this country may obtain a supply of the raw material sufficient for any amount of demand. The business of the Association is rapidly increasing; and in sugar as well as cotton their custom seems likely to be very extensive.

A similar Association has lately been formed at New York, as we have already noticed in giving an account of the last Yearly Meeting. A capital having been subscribed, a general store of free goods is soon to be opened; and it will be not a little interesting to our readers to hear, that Lindley Murray Hoag is likely to occupy the office of store-keeper.

After Samuel Rhoads had concluded his interesting information on this subject, an earnest conversation ensued, which turned upon the relative importance of the disuse of slave-produce as a weapon against slavery, the practicability of such disuse, and the prospect of any effort to bring it about being seconded by the benevolent public in this country. With regard to its practicability, it was admitted that in the articles of sugar, rice and coffee, no sufficient obstacle exists to a consistent preference for the free over the slave-labour production. With cotton the case is rather different, but free calicoes and other manufactured articles in small quantities have found a ready market; and it is only requisite to have a fair demand, and merchants, manufacturers, and shopkeepers will be found ready to supply it. But so long as those who ought to befriend the slave are so indifferent, as not even to make the inquiry from what part of the globe the necessities and luxuries which they use are imported, or so careless as to make no account of being fed, clothed and adorned, by the toil of their oppressed and enslaved fellow-creatures, it cannot be expected that the channel will be opened on behalf of the few, who nobly carry their principles into daily and personal practice.

It is to be feared that the Anti-Slavery feeling

of the country has diminished rather than increased of late years; one cause is perhaps to be found in the absence of a definite object with which to incorporate itself. Great excitement and deep interest have frequently been produced at public meetings on recent occasions, but the excitement has rapidly died away, and has been followed by very little, if any, practical result. But if, as was suggested by our friend Samuel Rhoads, the duty of withholding our personal support from the system of slavery, by refusing to partake of its fruits, were brought home to every man's bosom, both as required for the sake of Christian consistency, and as a powerful direct means of effecting the abolition of slavery; our sympathies would no longer run to waste, but would be perpetually exercised in a wholesome and practical direction.

And this brings us to the remaining branch of the question, the importance of such abstinence in the Anti-Slavery action of the people of England. That it is a means of great importance was allowed by all who were present. The moral force of consistency, and the increasing prominence given by slaveholders to the argument derived from an opposite course of conduct, engaged much of the meeting's attention. Abolitionists are constantly met, whilst conversing with men of the Southern States, with the unanswerable rebuke that they are the actual supporters of the system; that so long as northern merchants, and northern manufacturers and northern consumers continue to uphold them in the employment of slaves, they have no right to ask that they themselves shall do away with slavery. Not long since, John G. Whittier took up to Washington, for presentation, a petition against the incorporation of Texas as a slave state, signed by 70,000 inhabitants of New England; he confessed, however, that he was put to silence by this home argument of the slavery men, the argument of moral inconsistency.

After a pretty full deliberation on the various points which have been mentioned, the meeting agreed to recommend to the Anti-Slavery Committee, as a most important branch of its operations, more earnestly and assiduously to promote the general disuse of slave-produce. It was felt and acknowledged, that this simple course, in which every one is competent to take a part, has been too much overlooked by the friends of the slave in this country; and it appeared to be the earnest desire of those who were present to adopt this means individually and in their families, so far, at least, as circumstances will permit, and to induce others to maintain a similar testimony.

Those who attended the meeting were almost all members of our Society, several of them belonging to the Anti-Slavery Committee. The meeting lasted about three hours."

From an editorial of *The Friend*, relating to the above subject, we select the following further remarks:

"We again invite the attention of our readers to a great practical question—the disuse of the products of slave-labour. We refer them with pleasure to the report of a meeting held in London, during last month, in which the question was discussed with much unanimity and feeling. The meeting was small, but we are not without hope that it may exercise an important influence on the future operations of the Anti-Slavery Society, and especially that its effects, together with the result of our friend Samuel Rhoads' visit to other parts of the country, may be quickly and extensively seen among the members of our own community. We believe that abstinence from slave produce may safely be called a *testimony*, and, looking at the way in which it originated in the mind of that faithful disciple, John Woolman, and the conscientious manner in which he continued all his life long to carry it into his daily conduct, perhaps it may, without bestowing undue honour upon him as an instrument in the Lord's hand, not improperly be designated as *John Woolman's testimony*. The Friends who were present at the meeting, separated with a conviction that they had not done what they might have done towards maintaining this standard, and that to give a distinct and consistent preference to the productions of free labour, in all cases in which it is possible to be done, is a means well adapted, both on the ground of moral consistency, and for the decisive blow which it must inflict on the stronghold of slavery, to effect the great end the friends of the cause have at heart.

That the slaveholders themselves regard such a course in both these characters, may perhaps be deduced from what is related of the deliberations of the meeting; at all events, such are the sentiments of one of their number, a member of Congress, and a man of extensive observation, who has recorded his opinions in one of the American newspapers. In this letter, Isaac E. Morse asks, 'Who does the carrying trade for the south; the millions of bales of cotton; the hundreds of thousands of hogsheads of tobacco, of sugar, of rice; besides the return price of all this produce in English and American manufactures; besides the profits which you make in the manufacture of the cotton of the south? Why

New England derives more profit from supplying the slave-states with the commerce of her soil, than the slave-states do themselves. I have no reliable statistics about me, but I do not hesitate to assert, that the revenues received in New England from the product of slave-grown articles, is greater than the value of the articles themselves.

* * * One word more and I have done. If our northern brethren are so conscientious, and they are willing to invoke all these calamities on our happy country to effect their end; if they are sincere and honest, let me say this to them: There is a very easy way to get rid of Slavery in the United States without interfering with us, without doing one single thing that the nicest caviller could censure, and which I believe in sober seriousness will effect your object as certainly as day succeeds to night, and which, though it may entail ruin and distress upon a large portion of your fellow-citizens, they have no right to object to or complain of—'TOUCH NOT, TASTE NOT, HANDLE NOT,' ONE SINGLE PRODUCT OF SLAVE-LABOUR."

RETURN OF SAMUEL RHOADS.—Since our editorial respecting the London Meeting was prepared, we have had the pleasure to give a hearty welcome to our colleague, who arrived at New York in the ship Prince Albert, from London, on the 23d ultimo—we hope with our best wishes for him realized.

SELECTIONS.

CULTURE OF COTTON IN BRITISH INDIA.

Since the promulgation of a law for the complete abolition of slavery in British India, we have watched with much interest the measures of the government, having for their object the encouragement of the cotton culture in that vast and fertile region, teeming as it does with inhabitants, and possessing a climate so well adapted to the growth of cotton on a large and economical scale. The repeated accounts of the failure of experiments in cotton growing there, has made it an object of interest to inquire into the causes of disappointment. By the kindness of a friend, we are in possession of a number and supplement of "the Economist," published in London, giving a detailed "report of a commission appointed by the Government of Bombay, to inquire into the causes of the decline in the growth and exportation of cotton wool," and also "to suggest such remedial measures as might, in their opinion, be applied to it with advantage." The Economist says:—

"There never was a period when such a report was invested, from a number of causes, with so much interest, or demanded from the British public a more patient attention. High political policy, the interests of humanity, the success of our rapidly extending commercial intercourse with our territories in the East—for whose prosperity and welfare we have rendered ourselves in a great measure responsible—and the employment of our home population—whether we refer to the materials on which their labour is to be used, or the means of disposing of their products—all present irresistible considerations which give an overwhelming interest and importance to the subject of this report.

"When we consider that British dominion in India extends over a territory 'fluctuating between, if it cannot be admitted virtually to comprehend, an expanse of surface varying from 553,000 to 1,280,000 square miles, with a population alternating between the extremes of 83,000,000 and 134,000,000 of human souls,'—and 'reaching from within six degrees of the equinoctial line to the thirty-fifth degree of northern latitude,'—we have before us some data for estimating the political and moral responsibility which we have assumed in acquiring those possessions. We must take it as a principle admitted, that, under whatever circumstances our power and influence in India were first acquired, the improved state of public opinion, and the more enlightened modern political considerations with regard to mere territorial possessions, would not justify our retaining them, unless we could show that the interests of religion and humanity, or the material prosperity and happiness of the human race, were thereby advanced. The mere possession of an extended territory, or of political power, would not justify, in the opinion of modern times, the variety of serious sacrifices that we are called upon to make from day to day, in order to retain our Eastern empire. We must show—and this has, in all modern writings of any reputation, been attempted to be done—that in extending or retaining our influence in India, the social and material interests of the masses of population whom we undertake to govern, are thereby advanced; and that in a way consistent with the true interests of our people at home. There have been no means discovered as yet whereby all these great aims can be so peacefully and so successfully accomplished as by commercial intercourse. By it—when conducted on free and enlightened principle—benefits are reciprocated, and intercourse is induced, which more than any other influences yet tried, tend to destroy those

prejudices and antipathies which present obstacles in the path of civilization.

"In order, however, that commerce should be permanent, and that it should extend its influences over our Indian possessions, it is absolutely needful that it shall be successful—that it shall offer sufficient inducements to both parties to carry it on for the sake of the advantages it affords to each. The whole tendency, moreover, of commercial intercourse, when interrupted by no insuperable barrier, arising either from natural difficulties or fiscal restrictions, is, to extend its influences and advantages. Looking to our Indian empire, we cannot but be struck with the singular facilities which—in climate, soil, and population—it presents to the commerce of Great Britain. At first sight, it seems to offer every thing that could be devised, in order to induce to a commercial intercourse almost without limit. There is scarcely one important article of tropical produce which is consumed in this country, either as the raw material of our manufactures, or as an article of daily use, for the production of which, India is not as well, or better, adapted than any other country; while its dense and industrious population would seem to offer an illimitable demand for our manufactures. Nor are there opposed to these natural and flattering elements of commerce any fiscal restrictions to counteract their beneficial results. Indian produce has long entered into consumption in the home markets on the most favourable terms; while, in the introduction of British manufactures into India a very moderate duty is imposed. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, it is a notorious fact, deducible alike from the tendency which the supply of some of the most important articles of Indian produce show to fall off, and from the stagnant, or rather declining, state of the export of our manufactures to those markets—and, perhaps, still more so, from the extremely unprofitable and unsatisfactory result which has attended both the export and import trade with India for some time past,—that there exist some great and serious impediments to the realization of the just and fair hopes entertained with regard to our Indian trade.

"One of the most important indigenous productions of India is cotton wool; and of which, more than any other, the home market has of late required largely increased supplies, in order to sustain our manufacturing industry. But at the same time, when the demand is greatest the supply is least. The crop in the United States has been deficient in quantity in two succeeding years, and, judging from the accounts which are now received,

is likely to be little better during the coming season. Unfortunately, our supplies from India have, during the same time, fallen off, even in a greater proportion. The official accounts of our imports show that the cotton received from India was, in 1844 88,639,776 lbs. 1845 58,437,426 1846 34,540,143

"That so rapid a decline in one of the chief articles of the trade of India, should excite, in the minds of those engaged in it, the greatest apprehension, and that the special attention of the Government should be directed to so important a subject is only what might have been expected."

But to the report itself. Under the head of statistics, the character of the information is so varied and extensive, that we can find room for but a very small part of it. The period from which the returns take their commencement, is the year 1834, in the early part of which the trading privileges of the East India Company ceased, and from which time the course of the trade in cotton, as in every other commodity, has been left free to the operation of the ordinary considerations by which commerce in general is commonly governed.

From the statements given, it appears,

"As respects Bombay,—That the year of the largest export was, in regard to quantity, 1843-4; and to value, 1841-2.

"That the year of the smallest export was, in regard to quantity as well as value, 1834-35.

"That the years 1844-45 and 1845-46 were in both respects much below the average of the three preceding years.

"That the first eight months of the current year, 1846-47, is proportionately much lower than any year immediately preceding it.

"That the decline in quantity has been accompanied for seven years by a gradually increasing decline in value.

"As respects Calcutta,—That the export of 1845-46 has fallen very short of that of any preceding year throughout the series, as well in quantity as in value.

"As respects Madras,—That the export of 1845-46 was below that of any year, in both particulars, since 1837-38, when the value of the export was nearly as great, though the quantity was less.

"As respects Tuticorin,—(a port of recent resort for shipment,)—That the export of 1845-46 was less in value than that of 1844-45 by nearly 60 per cent., and though somewhat more than that of 1842-43 and 1843-44, was less than that of 1841-42.

"As respects the whole of India.—That the export of 1845-46 was less in quantity than the export of any year since 1840-41 inclusive, and much less in value than the export of any year in the whole series, and about 25 per cent. less than the average value.

"It does not admit of being questioned, therefore, that the export cotton trade of each presidency, as well as of the whole of India, had been declining gradually, when the representation, which led to this inquiry, was addressed to Government, nor that it had then arrived at a lower point, in respect both of quantity and value, than had been known for some years past."

If we take the port of Bombay, which is by far the most important, the export of cotton in 1846 was less by nearly sixteen per cent. than the average of the whole period, and less by 33 per cent. than the average of the last six years; the decline representing 127,036 bales, weighing 420,807 cwt. from the supposed average export of 384,427 bales weighing each 3 cwt. 1 qr. 7 lb., the effect of which decline upon the various interests in the port, connected with, or depending upon the cotton trade, may be stated thus: less had been expended within the year,

In cooly and boat hire, by	\$66,667
In hemp and gunnies and the freight of the latter	40,000
Screwing and packing charges,	80,000
In freight at £3 per ton to England, and 15 rupees per candy to China,	533,333
In insurances,	60,000
Total	\$780,000

And besides the sums of direct expenditure lost to the port in the last year, by the decline in the cotton trade, 2,400,000 dollars less was employed in the trade of the port.

In relation to the "causes of the decline in the cotton trade," the report represents that, "the proximate cause of the very marked decline which has been thus shown to have taken place in this most important branch of the commerce of Bombay, has been the gradual diminution of that fair and reasonable mercantile profit, the expectation of which supplies the inducements to engage in the trade, or rather it has been a daily increasing apprehension founded on experience of continued inability on the part of purchasers at the markets to which our cotton is shipped, to take it off at prices that will leave the shipowner a moderate freight or the merchant a compensating exchange.

From the statements given it is seen that

"Western India has depended almost entirely upon the two distinct and separate quarters of the world, Great Britain and China, for the sale of its cotton, and in nearly equal proportions. In both of these quarters, too, has the decline in the value of the cotton proceeded at a rapid pace, and from the same cause, the inability of the India cotton to compete with the production of the United States.

"As regards the markets in Great Britain, the circumstances under which the two descriptions of cotton, East Indian and American, meet with each other, are those of pure and unfettered competition. All kinds of cotton are imported into the United Kingdom from any part of the world whatsoever, free from the burthens of customs duty or impost of any kind, and the cotton of India has given way to that of America for manufacturing purposes, as well as for continental export, solely in consequence of the gradually increasing ability of the importer from America to undersell the importers from India, and supply the manufacturer, whether in Lancashire or in Germany, with a better article at a cheaper price.

"In the markets of China, on the other hand, competition is again the cause of the decline in value of East India cotton. We meet not, it is true, the production of America, in its natural state, to any great extent, though American cotton has been sold at a profit in the Canton market, but we encounter the competition of yarns and goods manufactured from the very same cotton which has already driven us out of the field in Europe, and at a rate of cost which the Chinese manufacturer of similar yarns and goods from the cotton of India can never expect to emulate.

"As in both quarters, therefore, we have lost the sale of our cotton under the operation of one and the same cause; that free and unrestricted competition which has enabled the American exporter to supplant us with his raw material in the one quarter, and the representative of that same material in the other, and as it is evident that no efforts of the Indian government or Indian public can exercise any direct influence over the course of events in the home or China markets, so it is manifest that we must look for circumstances referable to this country alone, by the proper regulation or modification of which we may entertain the hope of being able to secure our cotton trade from the state of decline into which it has been shown to have been for some time falling.

"When the representations which led to this inquiry were made to Government, the cotton trade had fallen to a lower ebb than had been known for some years past. In the course of a

month or two, however, it began to revive, and it is now in a state of great activity, under the influence of one and the same cause operating upon the markets both in China and the United Kingdom, viz., the two consecutive years of production of the raw material in the United States less than adequate for the consumption of the world. A continuance of this state of things cannot reasonably be depended upon; the high prices of the present time will stimulate production in America; sooner or later, this year, perhaps, or the next, the supply will again equal the consumption, and we shall then witness in this country a recurrence of that same state of inactivity and decline which has caused the present inquiry. In the mean time the remedy is indicated by the course of events through which the trade is now passing.

"Those who are conversant with the cotton trade of Bombay, are aware of the healthy action produced upon our markets by the comparatively small advance in the prices paid at Liverpool in August and September last; an advance which was quite sufficient to leave considerable profit to the exporter, with some benefit to the cotton trader also. We may suppose that advance to have been $\frac{1}{2}$ d per lb. upon a price of $3\frac{1}{2}$ d, or 15 per cent.; or in other words, that the exporter from India found in the advanced price he obtained at Liverpool a compensating difference between what he had paid for, and what he had obtained for his cotton. This difference, at least, it must be our object to attempt to secure, and as it is evident that no influence or efforts exercised in India can affect the prices of Lancashire, so it is apparent, that the only effectual way by which we can attain the same end, namely, add 15 per cent. to the difference between the cost and the sale price, is by reducing the first cost here in a corresponding degree, 'inasmuch as rents and profits depend even more upon the quantity produced, and the cost of production, than upon the price at which the produce is sold.'

"This brings us to the third head of our subject, viz:—

"The suggestion of remedial measures of a reasonable and practical nature for Rescuing the Cotton Trade of Western India from the state of decline into which it has been falling."

Under this head the report is very elaborate. From its great length we must content ourselves with giving a mere outline sketch of the measures recommended. This we shall do chiefly in the language of the report. They state, "that the system pursued in the chief agricultural districts of [Western] India for generations past is as

well adapted to the circumstances of the country and of the climate as can reasonably be expected; that the land is made to yield as large an annual increase as it is capable of doing, unassisted by the chemical, mechanical, and other scientific appliances which have contributed so much within these last few years to swell the annual increase of the highly tilled districts of the United Kingdom. With respect to the purely agricultural part of the question, therefore, we are not in a position to put forward any specific recommendation for reducing the cost of raising cotton.

"We would, however, beg to remark, that we believe the experiments undertaken by order of Government, both by the American planters and others, has established some important facts regarding the productive powers of different species of the cotton plant, and in one instance, at least, have introduced into general use among the native cultivators of a district in the southern Mahratta country, the New Orleans cotton plant, which experience shows to be a great improvement on any previously cultivated in that province.

"In the process of cleaning the cotton, also, we believe Mr. Mercer's efforts have been very successful, and we see much reason to hope that the saw gin, as altered by him, to suit the Indian varieties of cotton, may soon entirely supersede the tedious methods of cleaning now in use, and do as much to cheapen the production of Indian cotton, as the original discovery of the machine did for the American.

"The customs duties on cotton were collected, until a very late period, either at the subordinate ports on the first shipment of the cotton by sea to Bombay, or on importation into Bombay, if brought from the ports of an independent or foreign state; and the duty thus collected was afterwards refunded as drawback on the re-exportation of the same cotton to an European port. This system, which was not only cumbrous in itself, but oppressive to the fair trader, from the opportunities it afforded the dishonest dealer for the practice of evasion and fraud, whereby the former was exposed to an undue competition in the China market, whilst the public revenue also suffered, was put a stop to by the passing of act 2 of 1846, in consequence of the representations addressed to Government by the mercantile interests of this presidency, and from that time the duty has been for the most part collected on the shipment of the cotton from the Bombay custom-house, the only exemption being in favour of cotton shipped to Europe as before, the trade with China and every other quarter to which our cot-

ton is sent, being left as of old, to bear the burthen of this heavy tax.

"The duty in question amounts to 9 annas per Indian maund, or $12\frac{1}{4}$ annas per cwt., or 5 rupees, 5 annas, and 9 pice per candy, and was fixed at that rate by the customs committee at Calcutta, some twelve years ago, with the view, as we understand, of its representing an *ad valorem* duty of 3 per cent.

"The prices of cotton, however, have been gradually declining throughout India from the time when that rate of duty was determined, whilst the amount of duty itself has remained fixed and stationary, and thus this singular anomaly still marks the commercial policy of the Government of this country, that by far its most important agricultural production, the largest exportable produce of the soil, in its natural and unmanufactured state, is taxed the more heavily, in proportion to its value, as its circumstances and prospects become worse. The export duty levied upon cotton, forms, we believe, at this present time, almost an unique instance of the manufactured produce of the soil being still burthened, in times of the greatest depression and difficulty, with so enormous an impost as 7 to 10 per cent on its market value.

"The removal of this duty would afford great relief to the shipper to the Canton market, and we most earnestly recommend, for the consideration of the authorities, upon whose decision in the matter the question rests, the entire abolition of this impost in the case of all cotton exported on British bottoms. As the law now stands, cotton exported on a vessel not entitled to the privileges of the British flag, is subjected to the payment of double duty; a charge equivalent, as far as it concerns their earnings in the way of freight, to a difference of 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per candy (or 20s to 22s per ton,) between the current rate to China, and the rate at which a shipper could afford to send his cotton forward under a foreign flag.

"Looking back at the rates of freight at which cotton has been shipped to China for some years past, the admission of foreign flags to the advantages of the carrying trade in cotton, between the ports of India and those of China, would not be attended, in our opinion, with sufficiently compensating benefits to British trade in general, to warrant our recommending so great a concession; for, independent of other considerations particularly affecting the interests of what is termed the country shipping of India, the American trade with China is chiefly one of export from that country to the United States, and the experience of the present system even assures us

that the Americans would make it worth their while to call here on their way to China, and carry on a cotton cargo, at rates of freight that would soon leave that branch of the carrying trade almost entirely in their hands.

"It only remains for us to state the result of our inquiries as to the extent to which the cost of the cotton is enhanced by the Government land assessment.

"In considering this branch of the subject, we were struck, at the outset of our inquiries, by the difficulty of instituting any comparison between countries differing so widely in all circumstances affecting their fiscal and social condition, as the rival cotton-producing districts of India and America.

"In America, the most productive cotton lands are those which have not been many years reclaimed from the forest; and this circumstance, added to the abundance of rich unoccupied land in the neighbouring provinces, and the peculiarity of the laws of inheritance, renders it probable that many years must elapse before any class can exist, owning the land and deriving a rent from it, but not directly concerned in its cultivation.

"In India, on the contrary, we find a state of things which, sooner or later, must follow wherever the produce of the land continues for a length of time more than sufficient to repay the interest of the capital, and the wages of the labour employed in its cultivation. The land is tilled by one class, who pay to another, as lords of the soil, a rent, derived from a difference between the whole value of the produce and the sum necessary to reimburse the cultivator for the labour and capital employed in cultivation.

"In other words, the comparison has to be instituted between an old country, where the land generally pays a rent, and a new country, where rents are, and for some years will probably continue to be, generally unknown.

"It is obvious, that when two countries so circumstanced compete in the production of any article, supposing all other circumstances to remain the same in both, the country where a rent must be paid will not be able to produce the article profitably, at such low prices as the country where the best of land may be had without paying any rent at all.

"Practically, the inequality is to a great extent corrected by the high rates of wages and scarcity of capital incidental to a new country; still, it must not be forgotten that among the advantages America possesses, as compared with India, must be reckoned her immunity from any thing analogous to our Indian land assessment."

The commissioners suggest "that no reasonable ground of complaint would remain against Government, as enhancing, by its fiscal regulations, the cost of cotton, if the land assessment were restricted *within the limits of a fair rent*."

"We would lay the greatest stress on the necessity of such restriction, whenever the present land assessment exceeds the limit above specified, because we do not find any such measure enumerated among those which are considered practicable or desirable by some of the highest authorities whose published opinions are on record; while we feel convinced that, in point of importance as regards a more extended production of cotton, the revision of assessment, and its reduction where excessive, must be ranked with the improvement of roads, and the introduction of speedier and cheaper means of cleaning the cotton.

"We would observe that we cannot concur with the opinion which the collector of Surat seems to entertain, that it is a matter of indifference whether lands capable of producing cotton are cultivated with cotton or with less valuable grain crops, or that it is a proof of the satisfactory condition of the assessment, when the cultivator is content with a grain crop, and the land is not actually thrown out of cultivation.

"In every well populated province, the local consumption of grain will take off the produce of a large proportion of the arable land, and the over assessment must be most severe before this outlet for such produce can be seriously contracted. But it cannot be inferred from this, that it is a matter of indifference to Government whether a rich province produces valuable exportable crops, or merely those required to supply the first necessities of the inhabitants. The numerous sources of indirect gain to an Imperial Government, in the former case, are too obvious to require pointing out, and the example of Ireland would suffice to show that, even to a private landlord, high rents do not in the long run compensate for the disadvantages of having to do with a tenantry who, from good land, produce nothing which requires capital or skill, and rest content when they have supplied themselves with the merest necessities of life.

"There can be no doubt that the system is a most vicious one; but it is easier to see its evils, than point out a remedy in an independent state.

"Another item of great importance in the calculation of the cost of the cotton of Western India, remains now to be considered—namely, the expense of conveying it from the various dis-

tricts of its production to Bombay, as the port of shipment.

"We find, with respect to the cost of bringing cotton to Bombay by sea, whether from the ports of Guzerat to the northward, or those of the Concan and Canara to the southward, that the ordinary rates of freight on native craft are sufficiently low, excepting occasionally towards the close of the fair season, as to preclude the possibility of any reduction of practical utility being effected under this head. 3 rupees per candy of 7 cwt., appears to be about the average rate throughout the season from Broach, Tankaria, Bunder, and Compta—a rate which, if we suppose every candy of cotton to be carried 250 miles by sea, will be found not to exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a penny per ton per mile, and not more, we understand, than would be incurred on sending the same cotton a similar distance coastwise in the United Kingdom, or say between London and Hull, where the navigation is not closed for one-third of the year, as it is in this country.

"Neither do we learn that the cost of cotton grown in the maritime districts of Guzerat is much enhanced by the expense of conveying it to the ports from whence it is shipped to Bombay; and were it not so, we are informed, that the nature of the soil of those districts, and the deficiency of all suitable material for the construction of roads, would present almost insuperable obstacles to the establishment of such a system of road communication as would practically serve the object in view. A good deal of cotton, however, passes through Guzerat on its way down to the coast from the native states in the vicinity, when prices are sufficiently high to repay the expense of the conveyance of it; and we do not doubt that easier access to the coast, or rather into the districts bordering upon the sea, would increase our supplies from that quarter, by enabling the dealers to sell it upon cheaper terms than are found at present to remunerate them.

"With respect, however, to Malwa, Vengorla, Compta, and the other ports to the southward of Bombay, from which the produce of the extensive cotton districts of the Southern Mahratta country is sent up to Bombay, the case will be found to be very different. And it cannot admit of a doubt, that the completion and efficient maintenance of two good lines of trunk roads from the chief cotton marts of the interior, to as many well selected shipping ports north and south of Goa respectively, so as to diminish in each case the distance of land carriage as much as possible, would be followed immediately by a greater diminution in the cost of cotton, and a corresponding increase

in the quantity forwarded to Bombay for sale. Mr. Blane, the collector of Canara, in writing to the committee, under date the 17th October, observed,—

"It seems desirable that you should be made acquainted with the fact, that, since the year 1836, the Government of Madras has been using considerable exertions to improve the land communication between the coast in this district, and the inland districts of Dharwar, Bellary, &c., from which the supply of cotton is received; and it is believed that the facility which has been thus afforded for the transport of the cotton, has had considerable influence in increasing the exports. Previously to the year above referred to, the roads and ghauts from Upper into Lower Canara were scarcely passable for loaded cattle; the road from Compta (the great entrepot of cotton on the coast) to Dharwar has now been made easy for laden bullocks, and will shortly be rendered practicable for carts, throughout its whole distance of about 110 miles."

"The enormous pressure of the land carriage, however, upon the cost of cotton of Western India, is felt more particularly in the instance of those descriptions which are produced so cheaply in the fertile districts of Central India, as still to find their way down to Bombay in spite of it. We learn from page 9 of Mr. Chapman's able report on the "Present cost of carriage" on this side of India, printed by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, that the mean of the highest and lowest rates of charge incurred by Messrs C. H. Fenwick and Co., extensive purchasers of cotton at Khamgaum, in the course of six years, on sending cotton down as far only as Kusseylee Bunder, was as much as 6 rupees per load of 250 lbs. weight; and we are informed by parties here, of practical experience in the trade, that as the means of conveyance are most in demand at the season of the year when forage and water are scarce, and the rates are highest, an average allowance of fully 7 rupees per load should be made for the cost of bringing the cotton that distance. Seven rupees per load are equal to about 22 rupees per candy; and when to this are added the expense of bringing the cotton into Bombay from Kusseylee, whether by land or by water, the loss of time occupied in the transit of the cotton from Khamgaum, the deterioration it undergoes in respect of quality, from exposure to the weather, the dust of the road, and the sweating of the animals, and other drawbacks incidental to the system of conveyance, the actual expense incurred in the transit of the cotton can be hardly less on the average of the year than 33

rupees per candy, or one penny per lb. upon an article, of which the first cost in the market of Khamgaum did not probably exceed 50 rupees, or three half pence per pound.

"The extension and improvement of the present high roads of communication into the interior, over the Tull and Bhore Ghauts, and the construction of tanks and reservoirs of water at the various halting places on those roads, where the need of them is now more particularly experienced, would no doubt tend to facilitate the communication, and reduce, in some measure, the present very heavy cost of transport. That such relief, however, would be but partial, is shown by the difficulty which is now experienced, in providing adequate conveyance for the abundant cotton crop of 1846, in consequence of the failure of the Monsoon of 1845.

"As perfect independence of the difficulties, in respect to conveyance, which the vicissitudes of seasons interpose in this country, is the great object to be attained, so the system of railway communication just put forth by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, appears to us to furnish the only feasible means for insuring permanent immunity to our inland cotton trade from the uncertainties to which it is subjected under the present state of things. We have seen that an importer of cotton into Bombay from Khamgaum, (the great mart of Western Berar,) must be prepared to sustain a charge of upwards of 30 rupees for the carriage and custody of every candy that he sends down. The railway in question will approach the very districts from which the cotton is supplied, and deliver it in Bombay, as proposed by Mr. Chapman, at the rate of 2½d per ton per mile, or 12 rupees per candy, being at the least 18 rupees per candy, or more than a halfpenny per lb. less than what must now be paid; and this, too, in the course of as few days as it now takes months to accomplish. The mere pecuniary saving, however, of so much per mile, or so much per candy on the transit, is not the only consideration to be taken into account. The transfer of the animal labour from off the road to Bombay to the supply of the grand entrepôts on the line of railway from the local marts, the substitution of perfect certainty for the utmost uncertainty, of speed and regularity for constant disappointment and vexatious delay, of confidence in the execution of an order where no confidence whatever can now be placed, of facility of remittance and independence of the capricious vicissitudes of a native bazaar, would soon attract to Bombay the produce of the extensive cotton districts in Central India, which are

now in a great measure inaccessible to the ports on the coast, and enable the merchant in Bombay to supply the Liverpool market at a rate of cost that would allow him to compete fairly with the planter of the United States.

"While on this branch of our subject we would beg to refer to several suggestions, which will be found more specially detailed in the Appendix, for the improving the means of shipment at some of the chief ports where cotton is shipped for Bombay. The want of good piers, and the usual mechanical contrivances for hoisting the bales into boats, has an injurious tendency in enhancing the cost of transport, and frequently deteriorating the quality of the cotton, when it has to be conveyed over a mud shore to the boat. We would, therefore, beg the particular attention of Government to the suggestions contained in Mr. Davies' letter, for piers of boats at Broach and Tankaria; in Mr. Stewart's letter, for a pier at Randier, and an extension of that at Surat; and in the letter from Mr. Shaw, the collector of Dharwar, for the improvement at the ports of Vingorlu and Compta.

"We would beg to suggest that the Madras Government should be informed of the importance attached by this Government to the improvement of the last mentioned port.

"The cost of cotton does not undergo much enhancement susceptible of reduction after its arrival in Bombay. The charge for pressing cotton has been considerably reduced within the last two years, and measures are being taken also to economise as much as possible the expense of landing and storing it.

"Having thus inquired to the full extent, that our time and the means at our disposal have permitted us to do, into the important subject referred for our examination and report, it merely remains for us now to recapitulate the results in a few words.

"We have shown, as it appears to us—

"First. That the export cotton trade had undergone a great decline, both in quantity and value, and was in a very depressed state when the Government was appealed to on the subject.

"Secondly. That the cause of that decline has been the inability of the exporter from this country to compete with the cheaper produce of the United States in the markets of Europe, and the representatives of that cheaper produce in the form of yarns and goods in the markets of China.

"Thirdly. That the only means, by which this supercession of the cotton of India in those markets can be obviated, are by reducing its first cost here, and that this end is to be attained,

1st. By the entire abolition of the onerous customs duties levied on the export of our manufactured cotton.

2nd. By a revision of the land assessment in the collectorates of Surat, Broach, and Candeish.

3rd. By permanently improving the communications between the Southern Mahratta country and the ports of the sea coast.

4th. By the introduction of a system of railway communication between Bombay and the interior, as proposed by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company; and thus opening up the fertile districts of Berar and the Deccan to the sea.

"We submit these recommendations for the consideration of the Honourable the Governor in Council and the higher authorities, upon whose decision the use they may be put to will depend, under a full and sure conviction upon our minds that the future welfare of the cotton trade of India will be determined by the course that may be pursued with respect to them; and that their adoption, to the full extent recommended, will render the markets at home independent of supplies from other parts of the world, by enabling the exporter from India to compete, on terms of equality, with the importer into Liverpool from the Western hemisphere.

"We have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servants.

Signed,

RICHARD SPOONER,
H. B. E. FRERE,
ROBERT WIGRAM CRAWFORD,
S. D. MURRAY,
CURSETJEE JAMSETJEE.

Bombay, 23d March, 1847.

From the National Era.

THE CLERGY AND REFORM.

The Christian World, a Unitarian paper published in Boston, contains, in its number for the 31st ultimo, a well-written article under this head, from the pen of T. W. Higginson, the Unitarian minister of Newburyport, Mass. The writer takes the ground, that, considering the position occupied by the clergy, their own high claims, their constant and regular access to the people, the power which they really exercise through the religious feeling, and their ability to awaken the hopes and fears which brighten or shadow, like sunshine and cloud, the human spirit in view of the life to come, they have deserved the censure cast upon them by the friends of Liberty and Peace, at the present day—that they are, as a class, unworthy of their vocation, unequal to the need of the times, and unfaithful to their profess-

ed commission from God. Taking up the argument of those who arraign them, the writer says:

"Your claims are such, your position is such, as to give us rightfully an immense demand on you, which you have as yet scarcely begun to fulfil—and concerning which, when we sometimes call you to account, you put us off with the assurance that we ask too much, and no man can be expected to fulfil it. We wait anxiously to see how this insolency is to end. The burden of proof lies always with the clergy. *They are liable to be called on every instant to justify their own existence.* Carlyle truly said—The one question in regard to any organized clerical order is, Does this clergy lead and teach this people or not? If not, its doom is sealed."

We have long been satisfied that the clergy, as a class, must abate much of their pretensions, or retaining them, *be, in fact, what these pretensions require on their part.* We would gladly see them all that has ever been claimed for them, by their most devoted adherents. We would rejoice to see realized in them the wish of Gregory VII. that "Every Pope should be a saint." But human nature is fallible. The lore of theological schools, the laying on of hands, consecration solemnities, and ecclesiastical associations, cannot make the selfish benevolent, the sensualist a spiritualist, the coward brave, or the hypocrite true. We have never felt, for ourselves, the surprise which some of the ardent advocates of philanthropic objects have manifested, in view of the position of the great body of the clergy in respect to these "weightier matters of the law" of Christianity. We have been accustomed to judge all men by one standard. In our view, the preacher is but a poor, weak, erring man; and so in his own eyes, if he be really worthy of the name of a servant of the Highest, must he seem also. It is a significant fact, that the bitterest denouncers of the priesthood are those who have formerly been blind worshippers of the order. Their "Come-outer" reaction is the petty spite of idolaters, breaking their idols because they have at last found out that wood and stone, carved ever so grotesquely, or robed ever so quaintly, remain necessarily wood and stone still.

Too much is asked of the clerical profession, as a necessary consequence of what is claimed for it. Hence, when one of its number is detected in some glaring immorality, the poor wretch is hunted down without mercy, as if there could be no excuse for his delinquency, being holy by virtue of his station, and *ex officio* beyond temptation. Alas! have we yet to learn that the snares of the Tempter are spread in all paths—

that they are often concealed under the guise of the kinder feelings of our nature—that he who is regarded, in popular estimation, as above and beyond common liability to error, and who is consequently relied upon with the strongest confidence, by the young, the enthusiastic, the confident, of both sexes, needs, of all men, self-distrust and humility, and the daily repetition of the prayer, *Lead us not into temptation!*"

The bold manner in which Abolitionists have at times arraigned the clergy, for their conservative course in respect to slavery, has, we doubt not, added to their number men who are not unwilling to find a justification of hostility to the order in its antagonism to reform, while, on the other hand, it has repelled a still larger number, who have not yet learned to distinguish an honest and faithful rebuke of time-servers and blasphemous perverters of the oracles of God, from an attack upon Christianity and its institutions. If it be true, as has been asserted, that bad men are taking advantage of the position of the clergy on the slave question, to ridicule their pretensions, and bring them into general disrepute, the blame rests mainly with themselves. Men professing to believe in a God who sanctions and institutes war and slavery, resorting to the Bible to justify sanguinary and cruel laws, and taking, as by instinct, the side of the strong against the weak, and of the rich against the poor, or, what is essentially the same, holding in Christian fellowship those who do all this, have no right to expect the confidence and esteem of the people. In this nineteenth century, such cannot hope to remain "at ease in Zion." Were the world no longer lying in wickedness—no slave lifting his chained hands to heaven—no cry of the poor, bound to the dust by wealth and power, rising in wail and protest—were the fire of the distillery quenched, fraud divorced from traffic, labour reaping its due reward—were there, in short, no practical evils and wrongs to be abolished and redressed—it might be a very pleasant and profitable amusement to descant week after week upon obsolete creeds, or parade the ceremonials and trappings of a formal worship. But that millennial state seems yet far distant. There is work to be done—earnest, faithful, strong men, are needed to do it. The people are waiting for their spiritual guides to take the lead in its performance—to go before them into the great field of duty, waiting with ill-suppressed impatience.

"Up, loiterers! upon the winds are flung
The banners of the faithful, and erect
Beneath their folds the hosts of God's elect
Stand in their strength. Be ye their ranks among."

J. G. W.

From the Christian Citizen.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

What earthly interest can be dearer to any American heart, than American liberty? When we remember the manifold blessings which it has conferred on us, which it may confer on our children, and our children's children, when we remember the sacrifices which it cost, and the imminent perils through which it has reached us, we must prize it beyond all our other blessings.

American liberty should be doubly dear to the Christian. Not that it is the greatest of his blessings, but because it is at once the offspring and the protector of his religion. It gives freedom, not only to his body, but to his mind, and to his conscience. And it allows him to labour without molestation, to promote that form of religion which he believes to be of God. There is no inquisition, no spiritual court, no state religion to watch with jealous eye, every movement of the free spirit of man, but every one may labour to promote the kingdom of God upon earth in that way which he judges to be most in accordance with the Scriptures.

As Christians, we all believe that the liberties in which we rejoice, are founded on justice, intelligence, morality and piety,—the love of God and the love of man. To the same liberty all the human race are entitled. It is not the liberty to do wrong, not the liberty to oppress, not the liberty to enrich ourselves at the expense of others, not the liberty which sanctions lust of power, or of wealth, or dominion, but liberty to be good and to do good, liberty to serve one another in love, liberty to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God, liberty to promote the love of knowledge, and of holiness, and the enjoyment of the same liberty among others; liberty to be as happy, and to make others as happy as the conditions of our existence in this world will allow. This is what we mean by American liberty, secured to us by our excellent form of government, the product of the wisdom, the high moral and religious principle, and the self-denying sacrifices of our illustrious forefathers.

Whatever, therefore, threatens this, our best earthly inheritance, this medium of so many spiritual blessings, may well excite our alarm. And it is plain that whatever blunts the sense of justice among the people, whatever tends to destroy the feeling of charity and benevolence, whatever hinders the progress of pure religion among the people or among any other people by our means, must be attended with danger to American liberty. Whatever discourages in-

dustry and sobriety, whatever inflames the passions, or promotes the love of power, or of wealth, is corrupting the fountains of our freedom.

With what feelings must those who entertain these views, look on the present war with which our government is engaged with a neighbouring power? Was that war commenced, and has it been carried on, in accordance with the doctrines and principles of American freedom, rather we would ask, in accordance with the principles of our holy religion? It is time that the attention of Christians in our land was more seriously turned to this war. Is it not fraught with great danger to the best interests of the people of this country? We ask these questions, not to cast blame on any man, or party, nor from any party motive, for we have no such motives, but in view of the solemn truths to which we have before adverted. What American, who loves his country or his God, who loves liberty, or religion, or justice, or morality, does not see that the present is a most fearful crisis? Never before has our country been presented in such an attitude before the civilized world, and before high heaven. Never before were the armies of the free republic of the United States seen afflicting the people of another nation for the misconduct of their rulers; when in reality they have no rulers. Never before were our armies seen spreading desolation, capturing towns and cities, and occupying them by an armed force, and piling up heaps of slain. And what is it for? Are our liberties threatened? Does a powerful nation threaten to invade us? What provocation have we received, that we should visit any portion of our brethren of the human family with such calamities?

These are questions for the Christians of this professedly Christian nation to ponder seriously, and prayerfully. Whatever may be our views of the wrongs we, as a nation, are inflicting on the Mexicans, we are inflicting a greater wrong upon ourselves.

From the Louisville Examiner.

SPASMODIC EFFORTS—THE CAUSE.

Every now and then, there are, in South Carolina and Georgia, what may be termed spasmodic efforts in behalf of manufactures.

We remember well, in Columbia, when wealthy politicians and rich professional men determined "that we must be a manufacturing people, and that nothing else could save us from utter poverty." Consequently the Saluda Company was established, and the great iron works of Spartanburg bought up. But the fever-fit soon passed away; failure followed nearly all those forced

efforts; and people continued the old business of raising more cotton to buy more negroes.

The Columbia Telescope and Charleston Mercury are urging the people now to turn their attention to manufactures. "Time was," says the latter paper, "when South Carolina flour, manufactured at Camden, was considered superior to any in the Union, commanding, not only in our market, but in the West Indies and South America, higher prices than any other with which it was brought into competition." Time was! That is a significant phrase. Time was; but it is so no longer. We remember well the old Carter Mills where this "Camden Flour" was made; but then the North West was a wilderness, and our sister city, Cincinnati, a village. Whereas now the one is a mighty land, and the other a great city, sending out alone its three hundred thousand barrels of flour, while old South Carolina only manufactured a little over one-sixth of this amount.

Alabama, too, seconds lustily the action of the Telescope and Mercury. "Let us have manufactures," it says: "we have the water-power, and the raw material. Take a bale of cotton at 500 lbs. and costing eight cents the pound, and see our advantages."

Bale of cotton, 500 lbs. at 8 cents,	\$40 00
Freight to Mobile,	1 00
Storage at the landing,	10
Wharfage at Mobile,	10
Storage at Mobile,	25
Weighing,	05
Compressing,	25
Commission on selling,	1 00
Insurance in store,	20
Marking for shipment,	05
Broker's commission for purchasing,	50
Freight to Boston, 3-4 cent,	3 75
Wharfage,	05
Drayage from boat in Mobile,	10
Drayage to ship in Mobile,	10
Drayage from ship in Boston,	05
Storage in Boston,	05
Interest on \$40, 3 months, at 6 per cent,	60
Insurance on ship, 1-2 per cent.,	20

Cost of bale of 500 pounds in Boston,	\$48 30
Cost of same at Tuscaloosa,	40 00

Difference, - - - - - 8 30

Here is a difference in favor of the Alabama manufacturer of over twenty per cent. and why is not this advantage turned to good account? Why do not the Carolinians and Alabamians work up their own cotton? Alabama had, in 1840, fourteen cotton manufacturing establishments;

South Carolina, fifteen; Georgia, nineteen; employing in all, sixty thousand four hundred and forty-six spindles, while the number in little Rhode Island, alone, was two hundred and nine, working five hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and seventeen spindles!

The fact cannot be concealed. It is FREE LABOR which makes the difference. Mobile is retrograding; Charleston is retrograding; rail roads neither help them on, nor build them up; for slavery drives away their own white laborers, and keeps out free Northern artizans; and with all their advantages, these States are sinking, sinking in power and prosperity every day. Nor will any spasmodic effort save them. They will have to go to the root of the evil, and dig up slavery as the upas tree which blasts and withers up whatever comes within its reach, and plant in its stead the goodly tree of liberty, ere labor will flourish in their soil, and a healthy prosperity bless it, and the people who sustain it.

The reader may suppose we exaggerate. Not a bit! We know the land of which we speak; the people, their habits and condition; and comparatively speaking, there is not in either Mobile or Charleston, nor in large portions of Alabama or South Carolina, any thing like a class of free laborers. The editor of the Kentucky Yeoman has been paying the latter State a visit. Hear what he says of Charleston, the commercial capital of one of these States:

"But the most striking feature of the market, and that which will probably more surely arrest the attention of a stranger, and mark the character of society, than anything else, was the total absence of whites from this scene of plenty and beauty. I did not notice one white vender in the market. All were blacks. The butchers, the fishermen, the producers, and the salesmen, and with the exception of a straggling white, met now and then, the purchasers too were slaves—not mulattoes, but almost invariably blacks—"black as the ace of spades." A passenger-acquaintance remarked, if he did not know he was in an American city, the illusion there presented would lead him to suppose himself in a nation of the Ethiopian race. In fact, blacks do every thing here, nearly. They are mechanics, agriculturists, and domestic tradesmen.

"The ladies and gentlemen appear to live within doors, or else drive leisurely about in carriages, drawn by beautiful horses. But few are seen in the streets. Upon the whole, I consider Charleston a very remarkable city, and well worthy of being visited on account of its attractiveness."

Talk of prosperity under this state of things!

Tell us that city or country can flourish when labour is thus degraded! Pretend that society can be vigorous and healthful when the white labourer's arm is palsied, and the free mechanic exiled, by the ruinous competition of the slave! It involves an utter impossibility.

INTELLIGENCE.

An esteemed friend has kindly furnished us with sundry interesting statistics which he has gleaned from reliable sources. They are to our purpose, and we accordingly give place to them and shall thank our friend for the continuance of such favours.

There was imported into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from their colonial possessions in the East Indies, for the year ending August 25th, 1847, viz:

Sugar, 2,313,726 cwt.; Molasses, 50,418 cwt.; Rum, 837,937 gals.; Coffee, 20,547,466 lbs.—*Philadelphia Inquirer.*

NOTE.—2,313,726 cwt., of sugar, are equal to 259,137,312 lbs. or equal in quantity to 259,137 hhds. of Louisiana sugar. The Philada. Public Ledger, of Sept. 14th, contains a statement of the annual crops of sugar raised in Louisiana from 1828 to 1846, in which the crop of the latter year is put down at 140,000 hhds., and the greatest crop ever raised there, (which was in 1844,) at 200,000 hhds. So it appears that after supplying the home consumption, the British East Indies exported more sugar to the mother country by 59,137 hhds. than was ever raised in Louisiana in any one year, and 119,137 hhds. more than the same year's crop of the latter country.

Shipped from Barbadoes up to August 23d, 1847:—Sugar 30,595 hhds., 1669 tierces, 1996½ bls.; Arrow Root 661 packages; Ginger 331 packages; Cotton 346 bales; Gourds 559; Molasses 4,681 puncheons, 238 hhds. 43 bls.

A few engagements of breadstuffs are making at New York, for Liverpool, but the quantity is moderate. Grain is taken at 6d. and Flour 18d. Cotton is ¼d. Some Cotton was shipped to Hamburg a ¾c, and Sugar at 30s.

The Sugar crop of Louisiana, it is said, affords most flattering promise, and should the weather continue favourable, and the cane escape the blighting effects of an early frost, there is good reason to expect that the product of this important staple will exceed that of any previous year since the introduction of its cultivation. The follow-

ing is a statement of the crops for a series of years by which it will be seen that the product is subject to remarkable fluctuations:

Crop 1846, 140,000 hhds.	Crop 1837, 65,000 hhds.
" 1845, 186,650 "	" 1836, 70,000 "
" 1844, 200,000 "	" 1835, 30,000 "
" 1843, 100,000 "	" 1834, 100,000 "
" 1842, 140,000 "	" 1833, 75,000 "
" 1841, 90,000 "	" 1832, 70,000 "
" 1840, 87,000 "	" 1829, 48,000 "
" 1839, 115,000 "	" 1828, 80,000 "
" 1838, 70,000 "	

The market, for some months past, has been exceedingly heavy, and closes with a stock in the State of Louisiana, on the 1st inst., estimated at about 4000 hhds.

Ninth month 14th, 1847.

COTTON CULTIVATION IN TURKEY.—The recent attempts to cultivate cotton in Turkey have succeeded equal to the expectation of those who attempted it. Dr. Davis, at the solicitation of the Turkish Government, left South Carolina some time ago to test the practicability of successfully raising cotton in that country. After making the proper inquiry as to the seasons, examining the tables of the weather kept by the Rev. Mr. Dwight, missionary, the character and capacity of the people, Dr. Davis selected a body of land near San Stephano for a model farm; not that it was the best suited for cotton, but because it was near the Sultan's cotton factory, and convenient for his inspection. He commenced planting on the 22d of April, and finished the 25th of May. The cotton came up badly; indeed, the first importation of seed was damaged, and, with the exception of about five acres, none of it came up. When the second lot arrived, he re-planted. This all came up well, grew well, bloomed well, and is now full of bolls, and he thinks the hundred acres planted, promise to make one hundred bales of three hundred weight each. There was no frost till January last year, and this is usually the case. The cotton was planted five feet in the rows, and eighteen inches apart, on a level with the ground, anticipating the effects of dry weather. The cotton planters from America, who have been here, pronounce the crop equal to that grown on any of our American soils, and the doctor thinks better than Carolina crops. The Carolina negroes think it bears heavier than at home, and the doctor is sure of it. The doctor has ten young men, five Turks, four Armenians, and one Greek, whom he instructs in English geology, chemistry, natural philosophy, &c., who are to be assistants in his school hereafter.

THE COTTON CROP.—A correspondent of the New Orleans National, under date of Alexandria, (La.) Sept. 27th, says:—"With regard to the crops, I would say, that it will not, in my opinion, be what is usually called a fair one. The rains in the early part of July injured the early crop very materially, and the worm has cut off the late crop. I think that two-thirds of the crop will be made by a few planters in Rapides, but a large majority will not average more than half a crop. With this statement, on which you may rely, you can make your own conclusions."

A correspondent of the Montgomery (Ala.) Journal, from Henry County, writes as follows:

"Cotton in this region promises to be very small: few planters getting more than from 100 to 176 lbs. to the acre. As written you before by Mr. T., the caterpillar has struck some of our plantations, but the majority are too poor to have any injury done them. We have had from ten days to two weeks of good weather for gathering. Corn promises well in bulk, but the grain is light and chaffy. In short, the season has been too bad, and the hurricane, boll-worm, lice, wet weather, and 'all the ills cotton is liable to,' have worked so hard against it, there is a small chance of having more than half crops."

POETRY.

TO THOSE I LOVE.

Oh, turn ye not displeased away, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear, an oft-repeated theme;
The story of the negro's wrongs is heavy at my heart,
And can I choose but wish from you a sympathising part?
I turn to you to share my joy,—to soothe me in my grief—
In wayward sadness from your smiles, I seek a sweet relief:
And shall I keep this burning wish to see the slave set free,
Lock'd darkly in my secret heart, unshared and silently?
I cannot know that all the chords, which give their magic tone
Like Memnon's harp, in music out, 'neath sunshine smiles alone,
Are torn by savage hands away from woman's bleeding breast,
And with their sweetness on my soul, my feelings keep repress'd!

If I had been a friendless thing—if I had never known,
How swell the fountains of the heart beneath affection's tone,
I might have, careless, seen the leaf torn rudely from its stem,
But clinging as I do to you, can I but feel for them?

I could not brook to list the sad sweet music of a bird,
Though it were sweeter melody than ever ear hath heard,
If cruel hands had quenched its light, that in the plaintive song,
It might the breathing memory of other days prolong.

And can I give my lip to taste the life-bought luxuries, wrung
From those on whom a darker night of anguish has been flung,
Or silently and selfishly enjoy my better lot,
While those whom God hath bade me love, are wretched and forgot?

Oh no!—so blame me not, sweet friends, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear an oft-repeated theme;
The story of the negro's wrongs hath won me from my rest,
And I must strive to wake for him an interest in your breast.

E. M. CHANDLER.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Free Labour Dry Goods.

Some new styles of 3-4 Prints, of better quality than the old, just received at the FREE PRODUCE STORE, Fifth and Cherry streets. Also, fine Chintz Umbrellas. A further reduction has been made in the price of Sugars; and Teas, of superior quality, are offered low by the half-chest and pound.
11th mo. 1st, 1847. G. W. TAYLOR.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

Edited by ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, SAMUEL RHODES, and GEORGE W. TAYLOR, is published on the first of each month, at ONE DOLLAR per annum, for one copy, or FIVE DOLLARS per annum, for six copies.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

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COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ANTI-SLAVERY PRACTICE VERSUS ANTI-SLAVERY PROFESSION.

A great deal is said and written against slavery, which is well enough, so far as it goes. But while the life and practice of those who thus write and speak, are a standing contradiction of their preaching, they ought not to be disappointed if those on whose ears their "words fitly spoken" are intended to fall, should wait to see fruits which will show that the speakers and writers are really in earnest, and do themselves believe their own exhortations.

What says the champion of anti-slavery principles? Men and brethren, these things ought not so to be. It was never intended that man should be the property of man—be bought and sold like sheep and oxen, tasked and worked at the will and bidding of his fellow—and the proceeds of his labour all claimed and wrested from him, the mere bones and rags of the meat and clothing which he has earned, thrown back to him for his share of his toil. Does not the Declaration of the Independence of the United States assert that "all men are created free and equal," &c.? What right, then, has one man to hold another in bondage, robbing him of his earnings, and what is more, of his liberty! It is preposterous! contrary to the plainest rules of justice!

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That sinews bought and sold have ever earned,
No; dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
Just estimation prized above all price,
I had much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him."

"Than fasten them on him?" And yet, it is thought to be quite allowable for good anti-slavery men and women to hold out the inducement and motive for slavery, by appropriating to their use,

those products of the slave's toil, for which, and by which, he is held in bonds. This is anti-slavery profession. But how does it square with the true spirit and ground of anti-slavery principles? Why am I opposed to slavery, but because it is a system of injustice, of cruelty, at variance with my apprehension of the laws of God. It is not doing unto others as we would they should do unto us. With what consistency or propriety, then, can I declaim against slavery as an evil, an iniquity, while I clothe it with muscle and sinew, and continue to breathe into it that breath of life, without which (in the aggregate) it cannot exist? None at all. Such a course is empty anti-slavery profession, valueless and totally unavailable, as to any moral or physical effect it can have in abolishing the system.

Widely different is the course and effect of consistent anti-slavery practice. Seeing and knowing that

"Whoso gives the motive, makes]
His brother's sin his own,"

the consistent opposer of slavery dares not freely partake of the fruits of the extorted and unrequited labour of the slave, deeming it but the mockery of truth and justice to build up this giant evil with one hand, while he is pretending to pull it down with the other. He would feel ashamed to rebuke the slaveholder to his face, in word, and then at a little distance turn round and extend the means by which he is able to continue the wrong; yes, even deriving from the acts of his condemner, the countenance and support without which, he might not be willing to go on in what his own conscience informs him, is disallowed by the law of righteousness. The practical opposer of slavery believes it his duty to practice what he preaches. He does not discriminate in the teachings of truth, between the duty which he feels to declare openly that he believes slavery to be wrong, and the practice, in his daily life, of abstinence from its support. He thinks that when the light of truth is clear enough to manifest

a thing to be wrong, it is sufficiently clear to show him that he must not *partake* in the wrong. He reads in the conduct of the blessed martyrs, that they did not feel that even great sufferings might be shrunk from or evaded by omitting to support their principles by a consistent practice. Nay, even in the life and death of the holy Jesus, our Saviour and Redeemer, they learn the lesson of self-denial, "If this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, thy will be done!" T.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

I find it difficult to obtain book muslin handkerchiefs of the finer quality, free from the objection which increasingly prevails among philanthropists.

Allow me to suggest to those who may be able to act on the suggestion, that a very desirable article made of flax and hemp, and called Kenting or Lawn, was formerly imported from England. My remaining handkerchiefs of this material are valued and thought worthy of more careful mending, than would be afforded to the usual fabrics.

If the manufacture is discontinued, could it not be advantageously resumed?

MATRON.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE-LABOUR PRODUCE.

The system of slavery, whether viewed in its origin, its incidents, or its results, is now generally admitted to be not only an enormous crime against man, but an act of daring impiety against God; and, therefore, every legitimate means should be used to secure its universal abolition.

The slavery of modern times, we speak of that which exists among professedly Christian and civilized nations, had its origin in THE SLAVE-TRADE, and is, in one form or other, fed and sustained by it at the present hour. The Spanish Colonies and Brazil derive their supplies of new slaves direct from the Coast of Africa, whilst the southern sections of the United States depend for their's, in a considerable degree, on the slave-rearing States, where the victims of oppression are as regularly bred for sale as cattle are for the markets. In the one case, we have the foreign African slave-trade, with all the horrors of the capture and the middle passage; in the other, the internal or domestic slave-trade, with all its loath-

some and atrocious incidents; and in both, an epitome of all the crimes that can darken or debase the character of man.

It is a melancholy and startling fact, that, with very few exceptions, all the slaves, upwards of seven millions in number, now held in bondage in the New World, are either the immediate victims, or the descendants of former victims of the slave-trade. They are the sad remnant of that mighty host which have been stolen from Africa, and doomed by the wickedness of their fellow-men, to hopeless captivity, unrequited toil, and premature death.

It is unnecessary that we should dwell on the essential unrighteousness and hateful cruelty of slavery; or depict its fearful results either on the slave or his oppressor: it is sufficient to say, that it is full of "deadly evil to both." It is, therefore, against slavery, rather than the slave-trade, which has now become its adjunct, that our most strenuous efforts should be directed, for so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings.

While slavery existed in the British Colonies, or the territorial dependencies of the empire, we had the power of overcoming it through the constituted authorities of the realm. Our efforts to enlighten the public mind, and to move the legislature, were, under the divine blessing, crowned with success, and that dreadful evil has disappeared. But we could not use the same means with the foreign states, and were limited to moral suasion, the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, and the disuse of slave-produce. It has pleased the Imperial Legislature to enact laws which admit the free importation of slave-grown produce into the British market for home consumption, and very shortly the duties will be equalized, so that the last restriction upon it will cease to exist, and the produce of piracy, rapine, and murder will be elevated to the same dignity with that of free labour, honestly obtained and fairly remunerated. We deeply regret this; but we fear that Government will not retrace its steps; there remains, therefore, only two modes of action left, that of moral suasion, and the disuse of slave-produce.

It is extremely satisfactory to know, that the means to which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have resorted to promote the abolition of slavery by foreign states, have been followed by a large measure of success. Already Sweden and Denmark have decided the question of freedom, and the slaves in their colonies are now in course of being emancipated. France is

prepared, we trust, shortly to follow the example, and Holland cannot hesitate much longer to give liberty to her slaves. Nor is this all: Tunis has listened to the voice of humanity and justice, and her noble prince has destroyed the last vestiges of slavery and the slave-trade, throughout her coast. Turkey has abolished her slave-markets. Rajpootana has terminated her slave system, and Lahore has declared her bondmen shall be free. To this we may add, that many noble minds and generous hearts in Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and the Spanish Colonies, sympathise with us in our struggles for the freedom of the whole human race. We shall, therefore, persevere in the use of those moral and pacific means which have hitherto been so remarkably blest. One means, however, has been, we fear, much overlooked. We allude to the disuse of slave-labour produce; a weapon which all, more or less, can use with great effect. To this we invite serious attention.

The rule of the Society, adopted in 1839, is "to recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown." The qualification, "as far as practicable," is added, because of the necessity of the case, for it is, perhaps, impossible, under existing circumstances, wholly to avoid all contact with the produce of slave-labour; yet we hold it to be a duty wherever there is liberty of choice, or a substitute for slave-produce can be found, to avoid it; and we earnestly recommend this view of the subject, and a corresponding practice, to the immediate and serious consideration, and adoption of every friend of humanity throughout the country.

If the demand for slaves is now the sole cause of the slave-trade and its accumulated crimes, the demand for slave-produce is the prolific source, the main prop and stay of slavery, with all its terrible and revolting circumstances and awful responsibilities. It requires no powers of reasoning to demonstrate that if this demand were to cease; if the righteous indignation felt against slavery led to the general disuse of its produce; and if compassion for the slave produce its legitimate fruit in a resolute determination thus practically to discountenance the sin we profess to condemn and execrate, it would soon be abandoned. It is the market for slave produce which gives energy and extension to the system of slavery. Unhappily, in our own country, that demand has greatly increased, since the last alteration in the sugar duties, and the result has been, that a vast stimulus has been given to the slave-trade; that slave property has greatly augmented in value; and that the progress of emancipation has been greatly impeded thereby. Such being

the fact, the question is simple and the answer obvious, with regard to our duty—we must abstain from the use of slave-produce.

It may be said that isolated efforts of the kind recommended can do little towards the removal of the giant evil of slavery. We admit it, but the question of individual duty remains the same. Every one who uses slave-grown produce when it is in his power either to do without it or choose that which is free, does in reality sustain the system of slavery; whereas, on the other hand, every one who abstains from it not only bears his protest against the iniquity of enslaving man, but attacks it in its most vulnerable point.

But however weak the effort may be in the first instance, yet, if it be based on a right principle, others will engage in it; the units will become hundreds, and the hundreds thousands, and their abstinence will not fail to make a decided impression on the market for slave-produce. If the abolitionists of this country—and who is not an abolitionist?—would ally themselves to this branch of anti-slavery effort, the consequences would be not less surprising than beneficial, for we may be assured that no slave-holder would add to his stock of slaves under a decaying demand for his productions. Hence, among the first consequences of abstinence from their use would be, that a smaller number of ships would be freighted for the slave-trade—fewer wars would be waged in Africa to obtain slaves—and a less number of victims would be destroyed, and, as the public conscience became awakened, the demand would gradually decrease, until slavery would become unprofitable—a burden and a yoke too heavy to be borne.

To those who sincerely desire to act in conformity with the rule of this Society, there can be no difficulty in their doing so. A large proportion of the sugars, coffees, rice, cocoa, and other tropical productions, brought to the British market, is the result of free-labour. To distinguish them from the produce of the Spanish colonies, Brazil, and the United States, is not difficult. Any respectable tradesman would be able to supply the above-mentioned articles, without being tempted to deceive. In the article of cotton goods, the case is somewhat different, though it is hoped that the exertions which are now being made will issue in an abundant supply of the raw material, free from the taint of slavery, so that the choice in this respect will be as easy as it now is in reference to sugar, coffee, and rice. But were the difficulties of obtaining free-labour goods greater than they really are, the idea that by the non-use of those of an opposite character, you were sub-

serving the great interests of humanity, would more than compensate for any amount of self-denial which the sacrifice might involve.

"Be not ye partakers of other men's sin," is an injunction of the Sacred Scriptures, which we think peculiarly appropriate to the subject we have ventured to submit to your consideration. The slave-holder first robs his fellow-man of his liberty, and then plunders him of the reward of his toil. That is his sin; but do we not participate in it when we purchase of him the fruits of that toil? We think that every rightly constituted mind must answer, yes! An eminent American writer, the late Dr. Channing, speaking of the Cuban slave-trade and slavery observes, "We do much to sustain this system of horror and blood. The Cuban slave trade is carried on in vessels built especially for this use in American ports. These vessels often sail under the American flag, and are aided by American merchantmen, and, as is feared, by American capital. And this is not all; the sugar, in producing which so many of our fellow-creatures perish miserably, is shipped in great quantities to this country. We are the consumers who stimulate by our demands this infernal cruelty. And, knowing this, shall we become accessories to the murder of our brethren, by continuing to use the fruit of the hard-earned toil which destroys them? The sugar of Cuba comes to us drenched with human blood. So we ought to see it, and turn from it with loathing. The guilt which produces it ought to be put down by the spontaneous, instinctive horror of the civilized world."

These remarks are as applicable to Great Britain, as to the United States. Let us turn from slave produce "with loathing," and the millions who now suffer as slaves will bless us.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 1847.

THE SLAVE PRODUCE QUESTION.—In our last number were presented to our readers some suggestions on this subject, by the respected author of "Christian Non-Resistance," followed by our remarks upon them. We are since indebted to our friend Ballou, for a copy of the Practical Christian, containing his further observations on that question, induced by a second letter to him from his Philadelphia correspondent. The state of our friend's mind does not appear to us now, to be one of inquiry, so much as we before supposed it. We still believe he has been led into the collection of materials on which he could well base an unanswerable argument against the use of the

products of the slave's unjustly exacted toil, and which, we trust, will be yet required at his hands, by fidelity to the pure principles of Christian ethics, of which, in their application to the duty of Non-Resistance, he has been the luminous expositor. The sentiment that "the Christian Non-Resistant, cannot consistently do any act, either in person or by proxy; nor abet or encourage any act in others; nor demand, petition for, request, advise or approve the doing of any act—which would inflict, threaten to inflict, or necessarily cause to be inflicted any absolute personal injury,"* cannot long co-exist with the sentiment that all these forms of action, which are substantially comprised in the single act which gives support to the slave system—that of demanding its products—may be consistently exerted by the anti-slavery Christian in thus causing to be inevitably inflicted the greatest possible amount of absolute personal injury of which we can readily have any conception. One of these sentiments must yield eventual obedience to the other. Relying on the truthfulness of this view, and not desiring to withhold from our readers a single objection to the doctrine which denies to the Christian the use of the products of any act of violence, we proceed to give in their full extent the observations referred to, with such annotations of our own as the occasion may require and our space permit.

"SLAVE-LABOUR PRODUCE."

"Editor's reply to Chas. Cadwallader.

"RESPECTED FRIEND: Your last was welcome to our columns. We desire to understand this subject thoroughly,—to know what can be said against the use of slave produce, and to present fairly the arguments of the other side. The point to be established on your side is, that the use of articles produced by slave labour is *per se* a violation of moral principle—a sin against God and humanity, as truly as slaveholding itself. If this can be demonstrated, we shall yield at once, and will abstain from the use of such produce thenceforth and forever. (1) We are, however, somewhat surprised to see that you shrink from this high moral ground, and rest your case partly on the basis of expediency. You say, "If we were so situated that those productions were absolutely necessary to support animal life and comfort, I am not prepared to deny the lawfulness of the act." Would you say this of slaveholding, or slave-trading, or man-stealing? Would you admit the bare possibility that such sins ever could be absolutely necessary to support "animal life and comfort?" Or if thus necessary, that a man would not be bound in duty to suffer the destitution of such "comfort," and even the loss of "animal life" itself, rather than commit either of these sins? This is the only impregnable moral position for you to take. Any thing short of this would be a ground of mere carnal expedi-

* Christian Non-Resistance, page 27.

ency, on which the saving of "animal life and comfort" would justify the most monstrous wrongs. It is true, you affirm that, in this matter of using slave produce, there is no such necessity. But of this you will have to leave every man to judge for himself; the result of which will be, that thousands may in their own honest judgment make use of these products. To them they will be absolutely necessary to support "animal life and comfort"—or, if not bare animal life, at least "comfort." (2) Again you say—renounce the use of slave produce "and the system must be abandoned, for the simple reason that the foundation, and the only one upon which the system of slavery is or can be built, has been removed;" i. e. the pecuniary profits of it. Is it true that pecuniary gain is the only foundation of slaveholding? Then slavery can never be peaceably abolished but by your method. Nor by that method until it shall have been almost universally adopted. For a few to adopt it, without a prospect that the multitude will concur in their measure, amounts to little or nothing. But if the thing could be rendered universal, or nearly so, the slaveholders would undoubtedly be necessitated to abandon their system. (3)

"To make the case plain, let it be supposed that our friend Cadwallader is constituted the sole representative of the non-slaveholding world, with full power to purchase or refuse the entire mass of slave produce; i. e. with full power to sustain slavery by taking its productions, or annihilate it by refusing them. The slaveholders appear before him and offer their goods for sale. He is now lord of the market. They must sell to him, or not sell at all. He says to them, "I cannot purchase your goods, for that would be to partake in your sin of slaveholding, and to sustain by pecuniary encouragement the system of slavery. To disfellowship and rebuke your slaveholding—to abstain conscientiously from all religious, political and intermarriage communion with you—to exert my utmost moral influence upon you in every other respect, will never induce you to renounce your darling iniquity. So long as you can acquire and subsist on its pecuniary profits, you will adhere to it. The only foundation on which it rests is pecuniary gain. I shall therefore take it away at once and forever. You shall never sell or exchange one cent's worth of your slave produce again till you have emancipated all your slaves. Abandon slavery, or sink to poverty and starvation!" (4)

"Is this your ground, my respected friend? Have you no expectation that slavery will be abandoned till the slaveholders are reduced to this alternative? Is this moral suasion consistently carried out? Is this an exemplification of the Christian law and spirit? Did Christ work by such motives, and make such appeals? Are such motives adapted to the moral nature of man? Is this a truly divine method of putting away the sins of the world? May we rightfully reduce all wicked men to such a necessity? If we could, no doubt they would surrender promptly. (5)

"But we must be permitted to entertain some

doubts as to the divine origin of such expedients; especially with the fact in view, that bad as well as good men can resort to them with equal success. We must be permitted to demand better evidence than has yet come under our consideration, before we can feel morally obliged to abstain from slave produce on the ground of necessitating the abolition of slavery by withholding its pecuniary profits. We are by no means convinced that pecuniary gain is the "ONLY" foundation on which "slavery is or can be built." We believe that some hold slaves from this motive, others from pride and lust of dominion over man, others for the sake of political power, others from love of personal ease and exemption from what are deemed vulgar labours, others for household and domestic convenience, others for the gratification of the lust of sexual licentiousness, and yet others from mere conformity to custom, fashion and respectability. These several classes of slaveholders cling with tenacity to the system, and are not to be weaned from it by any pecuniary privation likely to be enforced on them by abstinence from the use of slave productions. If such abstinence be really a duty, it must be so purely on moral grounds; not as an expedient for compelling the slaveholders into emancipation, but as a conscientious expression of utter abhorrence and disfellowship. Now we admit that this is an imperative duty, if the use of slave productions is *per se* sinful, as truly as slaveholding. Therefore let this be demonstrated. If it cannot be, then abstinence from the produce of slave labour involves only an inferior question of expediency. It is not enough to show that the purchase of an article, in itself useful and allowable, puts money in the pockets of the slaveholders. Buying an article proper for human use and paying a man the fair market value of it is not necessarily aiding and abetting him in any thing sinful. To do this with an intention to aid him in committing such deeds, or in a manner to signify indifference to his iniquitous conduct, would be aiding and abetting him therein. But if the article bought and paid for be one which it is right for him to sell, and right for me to buy—which I buy without intending to aid him in any thing sinful, and without his understanding that I either approve, or am indifferent to his wickedness, the mere fact that I increase his pecuniary gain is not aiding, abetting, or approving him in any thing sinful, within the proper meaning of those terms. "But does he not draw pecuniary means from you?" Yes. "If he could not acquire those means, could he command the facilities for committing his evil deeds?" Perhaps not. Neither could he, if God should withhold from him the bread of life, or the requisite physical strength. Yet God gives him these and numberless other blessings. Is it any worse for man to buy and pay him for a good thing, than it is for God to give him that without which he could not hold a slave, or inflict a single wrong? But God does not aid, abet or approve him in any thing sinful. He gives him life, and breath and all things, knowing that he will pervert them to most unholy purposes. Does this render God a partaker of his sins? No; unless He bestows these gifts

with the intention to aid and abet him, or as a mark of *His* approval, or without reproving him for his sin; neither of which He has ever done. Nor may man do it, whether he *pay* for value received, or bestow a *gift*. (6)

"But it will be said—the slaveholder has no right to sell the productions of his slaves, and therefore we have no more right to buy them than we have to buy the slaves themselves." Let us see. Here is a slaveholder who has a hogshead of sugar, a bale of cotton, and a quantity of rice. These articles have been produced by the aid of slave labor, under *his* general direction. His slaves are stolen property—entirely so. He had no right to buy them, he has no right to sell them, he has no right to hold them in bondage; nor has any man a right to buy them of him. But is this just as true of the *sugar*, the *cotton* and the *rice*, which he has forced them to assist in producing? Not just as true. Why? Because these articles are partly the gift of God to him and the slaves in common, and partly his own production, in so far as he has done any thing necessary to their production by actual labor, or general care and responsibility. His proper portion of them, as God's gift, together with the portion to which he is justly entitled as a joint producer and care-taker of them, entitle him to be considered a joint-proprietor of them, with at least a joint right to sell them. It is granted that he has *only* this joint-right of proprietorship and sale. The rest is usurpation and oppression. Is not this true in a degree of nearly all the articles sold and bought throughout the civilized world? Is it not true of money itself? And may we never consume goods, or use money acquired by usurpation and oppression? And if the usurper and oppressor acquires gain by selling to us *that* to which he has justly only a partial right, are we who purchase of him his abettors and approvers? I grant we *are*, if we do not bear an out-spoken, consistent, and unequivocal testimony against his usurpation and oppression. But are we if we *do* bear such a testimony? Stolen property we may not buy at all. But may we not buy property partly accumulated by means of stolen property—when it is impossible in the nature of things to do justice to the oppressed by paying them their just portion of the purchase-money—and when the only thing we can do for them is to proclaim their wrongs, and endeavor to place them in a condition to enjoy their rights? When Jesus proposed to take refreshments at the table of Zaccheus, where he must eat of a bounty partly extorted by injustice from others, did he aid, abet and approve such injustice. No; for he went thither as the reprover of all such sins. A conclusive proof of this is found in the fact that Zaccheus resolved to restore four-fold to any one he might have wronged—and then to give the half of his goods to the poor. Does a faithful abolitionist aid, abet and approve slaveholding when he wears a cotton shirt, writes on a sheet of cotton paper, or trades at all in articles of slave produce? Or can no one be a faithful abolitionist who uses slave productions? Our worthy friend would seem to imply that for a man to wash his hands entirely of all religious, political, matri-

monial and social fellowship with slaveholders amounts to nothing, if he is a consumer of slave produce. This may be true, if it be true, as he affirms, that *pecuniary profit* is the *only* foundation on which the system of slavery rests. But we have expressed our dissent from *his* conclusion; believing that there are thousands of slave-owners who know that they are pecuniarily the poorer for holding them—yet will not relinquish their grasp on them for any pecuniary consideration. But if the whole non-slaveholding world considered it entirely sinful and abhorrent to unite with slaveholders in the church, in the state, in matrimony, and in select society, nine-tenths of the latter would speedily abandon slavery, and the other tenth would have no means of preventing the property from taking a speedy leave of their premises. But *now* slaveholding is treated as innocent, allowable, and even commendable. Slaveholders are great men in the church, great men in the state, great men in matrimonial connections, and great men in select society. Those who consider them otherwise are so few and far between, that they are deemed fanatics, knaves or fools, worthy of a hempen cord, or a coat of tar and feathers—especially if caught where slaveholders prevail. (7)

"You introduce as analogous the Temperance cause, and ask how we should regard a man who denounced the distiller as extremely guilty, while at the same time he freely drank his liquors. We should certainly consider him very inconsistent, and unequivocally an *anti-temperance* man. Why then do we not consider every professed abolitionist, who consumes slave produce, equally *inconsistent*, and unequivocally *pro-slavery*? Because the two cases are not parallel. The distiller converts wholesome food into slow poison. It is a sin to drink that poison, and therefore it is a sin to manufacture it to drink. It is not a sin to manufacture or use it for certain other and useful purpose. Now the man who denounces the distiller for turning wholesome food into a slow poison, to be used as such, yet drinks the poison and encourages others to do so, stands clearly self-condemned. But the slaveholder uses his slaves wrongfully to produce cotton, rice, sugar and flour, which are *good* things. It is no sin *per se* to produce or to use these good things—though it is a horrible wrong for the slaveholder to force his fellow creatures to assist in producing them against their will, and without just compensation for their services. The end is *good*, but the means *bad*. The abolitionist, who honestly denounces the wrong means used by the slaveholder, may consume the good things produced, provided only that he come into possession of them without abating his testimony against the slaveholder's sin. But the man who drinks rum commits the sin *per se*, to which the distiller is accessory before the fact. The abolitionist consumes good things, proper in themselves to be used, though in part wrongfully produced. It is *per se* right to consume such things, and can only be wrong to consume them *without* a faithful testimony against the wicked means in part used by the slaveholder for their protection. But as the true abolitionist bears this living and faithful testimony, he con-

sumes them innocently. The mere fact that he has paid the slaveholder the market value of them, that he has exchanged good things with him for good things, does not implicate him in the slaveholder's guilt. So the two cases are not at all parallel. (8)

"You think, respected friend, that we 'struck the nail on the head' in putting the case of the horse-thief, who systematically pursues his wickedness, and by means of his stolen horses raises produce for public consumption. To buy or consume grain produced by a man, known to thrive by such crimes, you consider giving a *moral sanction* to his wickedness. So it would be, if done without a distinct, unequivocal, uncompromising disfellowship and testimony against his crimes. But suppose a man lived in a country in which horse-stealing was generally held to be innocent and allowable; in which horse-thieves were numerous and respectable; where they had exclusive privileges under the national constitution; where they held the highest offices in the government, legislative, judicial and executive; where they took eminent rank in the church, so much so as to be Doctors of Divinity, prelates, &c.; where they commonly married into the first families of the land; where they occupied the high places of literature, and were courted in the most honorable select societies of every description; and where it was a mortal offence to denounce and disfellowship them. Suppose all this, and suppose a scattered and despised handful of anti-horse-thieves in that country should raise the question among themselves whether this popular system of horse-theft was not founded wholly on love of money, and whether a refusal to consume their marketable produce was not the most efficient method of abolishing their nefarious system? Now in such a country, under such circumstances, would it be a moral sanction of horse-stealing for anti-horse-thieves, who jeopardized their reputation, their personal quietude in society, and some of them their very lives, by exposing, denouncing and testifying against the horse-thieves, who would neither buy the stolen horses, nor help catch them when they ran away, nor assist in breaking them down when they became unmanageable, nor take office with the thieves, nor vote for them to hold office, nor swear to support their pro-horse-stealing constitution, nor acknowledge the thieves to be Christians, nor intermarry with them, nor sit in select societies with them nor even buy their corn and potatoes, flax and hemp, without reproving them for their wrongs—would it then be a moral sanction of their systematic horse-theft, for such persons, under such circumstances, to consume food and clothing produced by the said horse-thieves? If so, much more is it a moral sanction of slaveholding for the people of Hopedale Community to consume the produce of slave labor. Otherwise, we may not be guilty in this matter. (9)

"Now, friend Cadwallader, we have given the views hitherto entertained by us on the subject. We do not threaten to adhere to them against better views on the other side. On the contrary, we desire to be enlightened—to go for truth and righteousness, however different from our old

opinions and practices. But we do not want to be converted without clear and substantial reasons—such as we may confidently render to others. We do not want to adopt new conclusions involving important practical duties, without thoroughly understanding their principles, grounds and reasons. We want to know whether *pure moral principle*—a principle of universal application—lies at the foundation of your doctrine on this subject; or whether, after all, *expediency* is its real basis. We do not doubt the perfect sincerity and conscientiousness of our Free Produce friends; but we would be sure that their consciences are as *rational* as they are scrupulous on this point. If so, we desire to be numbered with them. We have seen people so extremely *rational*, that they had scarcely any room left for conscience; also people whose consciences were so acute, tender and scrupulous, that *reason* was crowded aside as an impertinent meddler with sacred things. We want to see *whole men—humane, religious, moral and rational*, in all things. In such there will be self-consistency and harmony. Be not discouraged by what may seem our dulness of apprehension, or our stubbornness of opposition to what you deem right; but present the merits of your cause again in all their force, ever confident that Truth is great and must finally prevail." (10)

REMARKS.

(1.) We hold our brother to the terms of his agreement, to renounce the use of slave produce now and forever, in virtue of the negative duties of doing nothing which would be an incentive to another's performing an evil act; of using nothing feloniously obtained; and of doing, through another, nothing which he would be morally inhibited from doing himself. It is a sin *per se*, against God and Humanity, to hold out an inducement to another to commit a wicked action—"Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also." No bottle is more inebriating to the sinner than that which gives him the motive for sinning: none more potent to the slaveholder than a demand for his unjustly extorted goods. It is a sin *per se*, to use, knowingly, goods procured by felonious means. This sin the slaveholder commits when he appropriates to his use the products of the slave's toil. It is a sin in itself, though one of the series of wrongs, each of which is a sin, which the slaveholder commits from the first stealing of the man down to this, its fruition. This sin is then common to all conscious users of the products of the slave's labour. It is a sin *per se*, against God and Humanity, to use another as the instrument of obtaining that which we are aware we could not by the same means innocently obtain ourselves. We commit this sin when we make the slaveholder our agent for robbing the slave of his rightful ownership in the

products of his toil, by buying those products, as fast as we have occasion for such goods, just as much as we make the horse thief our agent when we buy his stolen horses, as fast as we have occasion for horses; or the general robber our agent when we buy his purloined goods. In this aspect the sin of using the products of slavery is not merely, "a sin as truly as is slaveholding itself," but it is, also, the very sin of slaveholding.

(2.) The exception suggested by our friend Cadwallader, to the general law of morality touching the use of goods feloniously obtained, is not stated with the precision we should have desired, or which he probably intended. The exception should have been limited to the use of goods essential, under circumstances surrounding the user and not at his control, to the preservation of human life. It may be represented by the case of a person cast upon an island occupied by freebooters, in which all the food and clothing obtainable are the products of robbery. Two questions now present themselves. *First.* Is he guilty of the crime of participancy in the wrong by which these goods are obtained, in using them, so long as he cannot escape from his present thralldom? *Second.* Is he guiltless, when having the power to escape, he does not choose to embrace it, but continues in that use? Whether the answer to the first be negative or affirmative, and based or not on "a ground of mere carnal expediency," there can be but one answer to the second, and that resting on the basis of unmixed, imperishable truth. We pass over wholly the remarks of our friend Ballou, on what we consider a misapprehension of the views of his correspondent, though possibly justified by their literal expression. Mere animal comfort is certainly no reason for doing wrong, and no argument for not doing right.*

(3.) That the system of slavery must be aban-

* For speculations on a correlative question, whether a man in extreme want of food or clothing may resort to the unlawful taking of things necessary to the support of nature, without crime, we refer to the great law writers, Grotius and Puffendorf, who took the affirmative; maintaining that in such case the community of goods, by a kind of tacit concession of society, was revived, and to Blackstone, who considered the excuse a dubious one as "men's properties would be under a strange insecurity, if liable to be invaded according to the wants of others," the latter being the judges. We are not to infer from their discussion of this subject, that these eminent civilians considered the moral obligation of honesty to rest upon mere expediency.

doned if the use of its products is renounced, is one of the simplest of truisms. Its existence is clearly dependant on the advantages derived or supposed to be derived by the slaveholder, from the application of the labour of his slaves to the production of articles, chiefly agricultural, intended for a market. This fact is so universally accepted as to throw on the party denying it, the burden of proving the negative. What other motive than is presented in this fact, can be offered sufficient to account for the holding in slavery in this western hemisphere of seven millions of men, women and children, visibly occupied in the culture of the earth, in acts auxiliary to it, or in preparation for such culture? What other motive but one of returning gain could sustain the vast expenditure of the system? What other motive can account for the importation of 360,000 slaves into the Island of Cuba, between the years 1821 and 1840, and of an annual importation of 100,000 to 130,000, into the ports of Brazil antecedent to 1841? What other motive can account for the great increase in the illicit African slave-trade, since the repeal of the British discriminating duties on slave grown sugars? What other motive will explain the great preponderancy of males in such importations? What other motive would issue in a result exhibiting such a vast yearly mortality as the annals of slavery present? "Is it true," says our friend, "that pecuniary gain is the only foundation of slaveholding? then slavery can never be peaceably abolished but by your method." We think the affirmative of the question clear, and the inference following it a reasonable one. Why may we not then adopt the method, and that instantly, in reference to the measure of slavery with which we are connected, or which we can overcome and are therefore accountable for? Will we achieve nothing unless we liberate all the slaves? Is it nothing to release from slavery a single individual now suffering under its galling yoke and torturing lash, to supply the wants of some six or eight professing abolitionists? Is it nothing to give to one free labourer the impulse to supply the future wants of these? Would it be nothing for the 200,000 professing abolitionists, to verify their pretensions to the name, and exhibit their principles in the light of their practice to the world, by making unnecessary the servitude of some 20 or 30,000 slaves, who now toil for them, and bringing into counter-action the labours of a similar number of freemen? Away then with the idea that we must wait till the millions flow into the one instantaneous, overwhelming, astounding effort. The 200,000 would draw the millions after them by a new attraction, not now felt—the attrac-

tion of Consistency! Even the units have no excuse for not coming to the work—

What if the little rain should say,
"So small a drop as I,
Can ne'er refresh those thirsty fields;
I'll tarry in the sky!"

What if a shining beam of noon
Should in its fountain stay,
Because its feeble light alone
Cannot create a day!

Doth not each rain drop help to form,
The cool refreshing shower?
And every ray of light to warm
And beautify the flower?

(4.) It is a fair suggestion to suppose that there is but one consumer of slave produce in the world, and thence to deduce what is moral duty as to purchasing or refusing to purchase these products. In the first place then, he is not bound to buy, even if the products were unexceptionable. If he buys them, such as they are, he brings upon himself the guilt of sustaining the whole system, to the perpetuation of which such buying is necessary. He says then, "I don't buy. I can morally have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness;" and instantly the shackles of the slave fall! Is this non-action force? Is it any more force than that we exert when we tell the pirate we won't buy his blood stained goods? If it be force, how do we characterize that influence which he would have exerted against the oppressed and in favour of the oppressor, had he committed the positive act of buying these products? The act which refuses to buy these goods, is, indeed, an act which goes directly to the point. It disfellowships the offenders in the very offence of robbing the slave, not in matters extraneous to it, which may be good also. It says, with no circumlocution, to the offender, "Abandon slavery;" but it does not add, "or sink to poverty and starvation." It is incompatible with wishing him all enjoyments which are derivable from a life of righteousness. More we would not rightfully desire for ourselves or him. What does the similar act say, which refuses to buy of the pirate the fruits of his piracy? Abandon your evil life, and bring us goods which an honest man can purchase!

(5.) We have often put to the users of the productions of slavery the question,—If you were the only users of these productions would you not feel extremely guilty in continuing a system of such stupendous iniquity, by giving it your custom? And we have uniformly received an emphatic affirmative for our answer. We have then said—if your guilt would be thus great, limited to a few, would it be diminished by an addition

to your numbers? Is there a pro rata distribution of crime, until by repeated division it ceases to have a palpable existence? and we have received various answers. The suggestion now comes to us for the first time, that there would be guilt, not in upholding the system, but in withdrawing support from it. We have not so read the precepts of Christ; or construed the prayer he has left us, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," as authorizing us to tempt others to evil doing, and to join them in its perpetration.

(6.) We can see no reason for considering the simple duty of ceasing to do evil as an expedient, or for doubting the fact that bad as well as good men may successfully practice it. The probability of their doing so is another question. All the coercion, separate from the encouragement of free labour, which we claim to exert upon slavery by abstinence, is the negative one which the carrying out of this duty will impose upon the system. It is no more coercion in principle, than is the withdrawing ourselves from religious fellowship with the slaveholder. All the suggested motives for slavery, other than the pecuniary advantages accruing to the slaveholder from the labour of his slaves, are but out-shoots from this, its great root, which they may nourish but cannot sustain. Even its horrible concubinage is made contributory to it. For a further exemplification of these views, we refer to articles in our first volume, entitled "Slavery abolished by abstinence from its products," "British Abstinence," "The existence of Slavery dependant on a commerce in its productions," to articles in this number, and to both volumes generally. We claim abstinence as a duty independent of the results which we see will follow it, just as we claim honesty to be a duty, independent of the proof that it is the best policy. We have proved the duty by demonstrating that its opposite is *per se* sinful, and have before shewn that buying an article in itself useful, but procured by immoral means, and known to us to be so procured, is an immoral buying, irrespective of a guilty intention. It is no offence to put money into the pocket of the slaveholder, or to shower down upon him acts of beneficence, but we may not fellowship him in his act of injustice, which we do when we buy its products. The argument that God gives the slaveholder facilities by which he holds the slave, as much justifies the slaveholding, as it does the slave-produce using. "God does not aid man in any thing sinful," and therefore when "he gives him life, and breath, and all things," he does it in view of his applying them to holy purposes. He has additionally given him moral laws, which are in-

tended to restrain him from any perversion of his bounties. Those laws deny him the right of being in any way accessory to sin.

(7.) That the slaveholder has any right to sell the products of the slave's toils, on the plea of a joint ownership, is scarcely debateable. It is wholly an assumption to consider the gift of God in these products, as being in any respect to the non-labouring, wrong-doing and usurping party. By the natural law, the products of labour belong to him in the sweat of whose face they are produced, and the slave is no party to the social law; but surrendering this point, and allowing additionally all the claims to remuneration for supervisory care which may be asserted for the slaveholder, what right does joint-ownership, and especially a compulsory joint-ownership, give to the slaveholder to sell the slave's part? If we throw a bushel of corn into another man's heap, does it give us the right to sell the whole without his consent? If we so sell it, do we not perpetrate as clear a theft upon the owner, as if we had seized the pile without that addition? The obvious deductions we need not apply. Parallel wrongs, if they exist elsewhere, are no justification of this great wrong to the slave; and parallel practices, if they exist elsewhere, are no justification of our participancy in the support of this system of fraud and violence. We have before shown that to use the products of this system is to support it by the most efficient means in our power. Whatever permits this use is not an *outspoken, consistent, unequivocal* testimony against this heinous usurpation and oppression. No proclamation of the wrongs of the slave, no other endeavour to place him in a condition to enjoy his rights, will be an equitable satisfaction for the counter-influence we exert to his injury when we use the products of his coercion. The remaining portions of the paragraph under review, with one exception, have been either met by what we have already said, or relate to means of abolishing slavery which we do not oppose. The table of Zaccheus, at which our Lord sat, is represented to have been spread with refreshments, "partly extorted by injustice." We take exception to this statement, and aver our belief that if the tables of abolitionists were as conscientiously spread, none of the products of violence and wrong now there, to the great prejudice of the cause they advocate, would be found upon them.

8.) To render the valuable lesson of consistency, read to us in the progress of the temperance enterprise, availing in the anti-slavery cause, it is not necessary that both reforms should be alike in all particulars. To have attempted the aboli-

tion of the distilleries by expostulation with the proprietors on the evils of distillation, without an attempt also to reduce the consumption of the distilled products which gives the motive for the existence of the distilleries, is a folly which the wise temperance builders avoided, but which we commit, in seeking the abolition of slavery by expostulation with the slaveholders, whilst we pay no attention to a reduction of the consumption of the products of slavery, which gives the motive for its existence. There is even an analogy in apparently opposite circumstances. The produce of distillation is physically deleterious to the user, not to the producer: of slavery to the producer, and not to the user. There exists between these usings, the distinction of suicide and murder, but they are both homicide. The one heaps self-invited misery on the sufferer, the other inflicts it on unconscious, guiltless victims. What is duty in the first case, becomes, then, yet higher duty in the second. This higher duty is expressed in the following apostolic declaration—"Wherefore if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest it make my brother to offend." While, then, the direct effect of the using of slave productions is to occasion slavery, there can be no adequate protest, no living and faithful testimony which will make innocent their consumption. The mere fact that the user pays the slaveholder for them the market value, or exchanges good things with him for good things, giving him additionally an abundance of salutary admonition touching the wicked means pursued in the production of the things he buys, will not save him from a just implication in the slaveholder's guilt.

(9.) The nail surely was struck on the head when the different phases under which the using of articles produced by the labour of stolen horses were brought into view. The user of those articles justified, in being so, the precedent sins of stealing the horses and using them, and invited a repetition of those offences. Who then can doubt his moral implication in the horse-thief's guilt, both retrospective and future. No testimony, however distinct, unequivocal and uncompromising, of disfellowship with the horse-thief's crime, short of the penitential confession of his own, as a confederate, will avail to remove the stain of guilt written upon his conscience by being that user. Declarations of the guilt of him he patronizes in, and incites to its commission, but adds to his own. Like the bloodstain on Bluebeard's key, there it is, ineradicable by any human contrivance, and only brightened by the effort for its dislodgement. Get up a community chiefly consisting of horse-

thieves, systematically engaged in the cultivation, by stolen horses, of corn, potatoes, flax and hemp; give them wealth, eminence, power—peculiar institutions, civil, political, religious,—limitless facilities for stealing horses—modes for their quick recovery when their rightful owners seek to rescue them, and all appliances proper to the conducting of their nefarious business; then place a sane and truly honest man in their midst, and ask him to accept their corn and potatoes, and flax and hemp, raised by the labour of their stolen horses, with the privilege of saving his conscience by all manner of protest which the subtlest casuistry could devise, and he would find in all this array of power, and pomp, and circumstance, but added inducements to spurn from him the proffered guilty boon. Now we can readily perceive that in this community there may be some persons not themselves stealers of horses, nor working with stolen horses, who shall become convinced that such stealing and using is a sin of a heinous character, and shall set about to organize an anti-horse-thief society, and shall jeopardize their reputation, personal quietude, and even their lives, by exposing, denouncing, and testifying against the horse thieves, but still continuing, from some idea of convenience, though with facilities of their own not making it necessary, to buy and use the corn and other articles raised by the horse-thieves by means of their stolen horses. Being asked what is the moral position of these men, we must answer—It is one of hopeful progress, but they have not yet attained the stature of honest men: doubtless, when full grown, the system, now feeling their sturdy blows, will crumble beneath their gigantic power.

(10.) There is a point in this matter of the using of slave produce which our respected brother has not adverted to, and which we think it our place to call his attention to. It is the suffering of the slave, through the invasion of those rights to himself and to the products of his labour, which we have claimed for him. In this consideration we, however, present him not as a being having rights, but as one having feelings—A MAN AND BROTHER. Read, in this relation, the article "Duty of Abstinence," at page 2, in our first volume. We see him divested of life, limb, health, intellect, happiness, and all these offered up in bloody profusion at that altar of Mammon which the user of the products of the slave's labour builds up, and incessantly renovates, in the heart of the tyrant master; and we ask the user, if there is no chord of human sympathy in his inmost soul, no ray of inshining light, telling him that this is wrong, and he wrong in his connection with it?

We are done. We have honestly given our views on this subject, and we leave them to operate on the reason and consciences of others. Our appeal is to all their means of intelligence. "Ever ready to give an answer to any man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us"—and to hear him in reply—we yet confess, with our brother, that we do not want to adopt new conclusions but upon full convictions of their truth. Such new conclusions would be to us painfully to descend from our present exalted views of man's proper dignity, and to make us feel that he was, indeed, a being unintended for the practice of a high, virtuous consistency!

EFFECTS OF THE CONSUMPTION OF SLAVE-GROWN PRODUCTS IN GREAT BRITAIN ON SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN CUBA AND BRAZIL.—"Every month brings fresh intelligence from the coast of Africa," says the London Anti-Slavery Reporter, 11th month 1st, "of the increased activity of the slave-trade. It is reported to be five times more active than last year, in consequence of the increased demand for the produce of Cuba and Brazil."

The squadrons of armed cruisers on the African coast have failed to put down the dreadful traffic; and it now appears that negotiations have been opened between the governments of France and England, with the view of modifying their late treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade. "The modification sought," says the *Courier Francais*, "is the diminution of the number of vessels of the English and French squadrons whose crews are decimated by sickness, and, at the same time, the adoption of efficacious and direct measures against the Sovereigns of the Coast of Africa, who are known for openly carrying on the trade." We believe, with the Editor of the Reporter, that this mode of suppression, and all others of a like nature, will fail of their intended object; and that so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings.

A letter addressed to Lord John Russell, Prime Minister, appeared in the London "Times" of 10th month 27th, and will be found in our pages this month. What a dreadful picture does it present of the effects of purchasing and consuming the products of slavery! Well might Dr. Channing exclaim—"The sugar of Cuba comes to us drenched with human blood; so we ought to see it, and turn from it with loathing." Very pertinent, too, is the enquiry made by the writer of this letter in reference to the attempts to put down the African slave-trade by armed squadrons,

while a supply of "cheap sugar" is procured through the labour of its victims:—"Will it not be too flagrant an absurdity to pretend to wrest the tool from the hand of the cultivator on whom you depend for your supplies, and who cannot raise them without it?"

ADDRESS OF THE LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE PRODUCE.—When it was proposed in the British Parliament last year to reduce the duties on slave-grown sugar, and thus allow its introduction into Great Britain, a strong protest against the measure was presented, as our readers may recollect, to the Government by many friends of the slave. They believed the effect of the measure would be a greatly increased consumption of sugar, and that, consequently, the system of slavery would be strengthened and the slave-trade proportionally stimulated.

After the act for the reduction of the duties had been passed, we endeavoured to impress upon our English friends the truth, that the anticipated augmentation of the demand for slave-grown sugar would result simply from individual consumption of the article; and we urged the importance of refusing to receive into their houses what they had themselves declared could not be admitted into the kingdom without a violation of high moral considerations.

We have great pleasure in presenting to our readers the Address on the second page of our present number. It fully recognizes the duty of abolitionists to adopt this individual abstinence, and justly asserts that, if they would ally themselves to this branch of anti-slavery effort, the consequences would be not less surprising than beneficial.

If it be true, as the committee declares, and as abundant evidence proves, that the result of an increased demand for slave-produce has been "that a vast stimulus has been given to the slave-trade; that slave property has greatly augmented in value, and that the progress of emancipation has been greatly impeded thereby," we do not see how the conclusion can be avoided, that we must either abstain from the use and consumption of that produce, or acknowledge ourselves the direct supporters and abettors of slavery and the slave-trade. We entertain an encouraging hope that the efforts of the London Committee, with other contemplated measures, will effectually arouse the attention of the British public to the subject, and also stimulate the abolitionists of this country to pursue the same consistent course.

In connection with this address, the following

extract, from the London correspondence of the *National Era*, is highly interesting:

"Your cotton growers had better open their eyes at once to the claims of freedom; and before it is too late, by an act of justice to the slave, enlist in their favour the feelings of the friends of Freedom in this country. There is now growing up here a deep conviction that we ought to get rid of slavery in America, by going for our cotton to India; and if there should be on the part of your planters a determination not to remove the fetters from the slave, the course that will be taken by our Abolitionists is decided. The matter is now assuming a shape which admits of no delay among your countrymen. On Friday last, the *Times*, in an elaborate argument, advocated the change of the market from the United States to the East Indies; and the *Morning Chronicle* does the same thing to-day. The latter journal says: 'The quality of India cotton, the needful cost of production, and the capabilities of several districts in the country, have been examined and tested, and they have been pronounced to offer satisfactory prospects, at meetings of the Manchester Commercial Association, by most competent judges. A demand now exists for a much larger quantity than has hitherto been imported, and attention is earnestly directed to the best means of procuring an increase of the supply, of the best quality. Large farms, under efficient management, are projected, and European agents are to be employed in purchasing directly from the cultivators, and affording to them advice and encouragement, as to the best mode of conveying the cotton to the port.'

"I think these facts will be found to place the question of slavery in your cotton districts in a light in which it has not hitherto appeared, and I indulge the hope that the result may be very beneficial to those who are now in bonds."

WESTERN FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.—A letter from an esteemed friend and correspondent in Indiana, informs us that the First Anniversary of this Association, was held at West Elkton, Ohio, on the 5th and 6th of last month. It was not as large as it ought to have been, but was interesting and encouraging. Amongst the measures adopted to promote the cause, was the appointment of a committee of fourteen to collect loans, without interest, and donations, to aid in procuring free goods. This committee subsequently appointed Samuel Mitchell its travelling and collecting agent. A few hundred dollars have been subscribed, but a much larger amount is needed. Will not those see to it who desire to avoid the gain, not of oppression only, but of piracy, robbery and war. We hope the effort made by Levi Coffin, to increase the facilities for obtaining a supply in the western states of free cotton goods and free groceries, by opening a Store in Cincinnati exclusively of the productions of free labour, may be well sustained.

CHEERING INDICATIONS ABROAD.—We were glad to observe in the last number of the *British Friend*, the account of a meeting of the Committee and Friends of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was published in the *London Friend*, and also in our last paper. The Editors of the *British Friend* express the belief that the subject of disusing slave products is gaining increased attention in Great Britain. The *London Friend*, for 11th month, contains the excellent Address inserted in our ninth number, and also the following letter from one of its correspondents.

To the Editor of the [London] Friend.

"DEAR FRIEND.—I was much pleased with the prominence given in the last No. of the *Friend*, to the consideration of the use of slave labour, and with the interesting account of the meeting of Friends in London on the subject. From the time of reading in the late T. F. Buxton's work on the Slave Trade, the affecting statement which he considered himself fully borne out in making, as being considerably within the truth, that not less than 1000 of our fellow-creatures are daily sacrificed in the capture of slaves, their conveyance to the place of embarkation, and their passage across the Atlantic, independently of those consigned to the miseries of slavery, I have felt at times very painfully affected by the reflection, that in so far as I am making use of the produce of slave labour, I am contributing towards the continuance of this fearful waste of human life, and the cruelties and enormities connected with it, as well as the maintenance of the system by which the down-trodden slave is made the victim of tyranny and oppression.

"The more I consider this subject, the more I am convinced of the inconsistency of remonstrating against the slave trade and slavery, and at the same time continuing to purchase and use the products of slave labour. Doubtless there are many Friends who only require to have this subject plainly set before them, and the feeling of their individual responsibility brought into exercise, in order to relinquish the use of whatever thus contributes to the misery of so large a number of their fellow creatures, although for a time it may involve a pecuniary sacrifice, and be attended with considerable inconvenience. It will be obvious that the more extensive the bearing of this testimony becomes, the easier will the way be made to act in accordance with a sense of duty; we have only to create a demand for free labour produce, and the supply will be provided; and although for a time we may have to sustain a pecuniary loss, this will be amply compensated by the reflection, that we are doing what lies in our power to hasten the time when the yoke of the slave shall be broken, and the oppressed shall be suffered to go free.

Thy friend sincerely,

S. C. S."

THE WESTERN FRIEND.—We have received the first number of a periodical with this title, publish-

ed by Pugh & Pettit, Cincinnati, Ohio, and, we presume, intended to be issued weekly, though it is not clearly stated. We were pleased to see in its columns, an account of a meeting held in London, at the close of the last Yearly Meeting, on the subject of abstinence from the productions of slavery. The simple truth, that a commercial connection with slavery involves us in its guilt, is, we trust, becoming more generally apparent; and a just appreciation of it must lead to the conviction that those who condemn slavery as sinful, and yet make no effort to withdraw from its connection, deny their profession and dishonour the Christian religion.

We hope the Editors of the *Western Friend*, will not shrink from a decided advocacy of the testimony which they have thus introduced to the notice of their readers, and that in the liberal patronage of Friends and others in the Western states, they will find that "honesty is the best policy."

MUNIFICENT GIFT OF GERRIT SMITH.—We had much desired to place upon the records of the *Non-Slaveholder*, ere closing the present volume, an account of the grant of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND ACRES OF LAND made by Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York, in the autumn of 1846, to coloured citizens of that State, in portions of from 40 to 60 acres each, and of the efforts making by the grantees for fulfilling by their occupancy the beneficent intentions of their donor. We advert to the subject now, as showing that this act of extraordinary benevolence has not been to us an unheeded circumstance, though we have not sufficiently known the facts to warrant us in an attempt at their minute recital; and in the hope that some friend more cognizant of the particulars, will make this journal the vehicle of its communication.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.—Without passing a sentiment on the efficacy of these instrumentalities for promoting the cause of the slave, we believe that persons who feel at liberty to engage in them, and perceive the duty of abstinence from the use of the products of slavery, should sedulously guard against the introduction into them of any articles of that character, or if this be impossible from want of sympathy in their co-adjutors, that they be careful that all articles of slave and free production shall be *distinctly* marked. In this way an important public testimony will be borne to the obligations of that doctrine to which the South tauntingly invites the attention of northern abolitionists—"TOUCH NOT, TASTE NOT, HANDLE NOT, ONE SINGLE PRODUCT OF SLAVE LABOUR."

EDITORIAL WITHDRAWAL.—The annexed address will announce the withdrawal of one of our number from the editorial board, and following it will be the views of the remaining editors as to a continuance of the Non-Slaveholder during another year.

To the Patrons and Readers of the Non-Slaveholder.

With the present number of the Non-Slaveholder will terminate the editorial services of its senior editor. Some words, friends of the oppressed, may be due from him to you, on this occasion. They need be but few, as the journal will be continued under the sufficient charge of its other editors. But he desires to say to you, that no diminished zeal for the slave, nor any doubt of the efficacy of the remedy which he, with them, has sought to inculcate, has led him to this withdrawal. On the contrary, each added year has given him new interest in the slave's deliverance, and new confirmation of the truth of that principle through which they have sought its accomplishment. There are, however, imperiously calling for his attention, other duties, domestic, social, religious and benevolent, and among them some which have relation to the same end, the overthrow of slavery by the encouragement of its opposite system of labour. Some repose is also demanded by advancing years. In yielding to these considerations, he but confesses that "to everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven."

In uniting with his valued colleagues in the effort to show, through this medium, to the friends of the slave, that a consistent and efficient action in his behalf, demanded a disuse of the products of his labour, he felt that the argument was a brief one, resting, as it did, on the plain fact that the users of these products gave the motive for the existence of slavery. He therefore looked to an early conclusion of their labours, whether those to whom their doctrine should be addressed, yielded obedience to its truthful requirements or not. At the end, however, of their first year's enterprise, it did not appear to either of them that the duty severally resting upon them had been fully accomplished, and they therefore determined on a continuance of their labours during another year. He finds at the end of this second period, that the time of his release has arrived, whilst his younger coadjutors still feel impressions of duty in the case.

In withdrawing from his esteemed associates it will be in that respect only in which he is connected with them editorially. In whatever other way he can availingly do it, he will be cheerfully contributory to their efforts, and a glad sharer in

the unrepaid cost they will doubtlessly incur. He has but to add his wish that these efforts may be eminently successful in awakening to a proper consistency the professed friends of the slave; in which consistency, exists, in his view, a moral power necessary to the abolition of slavery, and which, neglected, will bring upon them the guilt of its continuance.

ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK.

The withdrawal of our beloved friend and veteran labourer in the anti-slavery cause, makes it proper for the remaining Editors to state, briefly, some of the grounds which induce them to continue the *Non-Slaveholder*. It is as true now as it was at the commencement of the publication, that "slavery is the crying sin of this land and of large portions of this hemisphere;" and we cannot but believe that the measures of the Federal government within the two last years—the annexation of Texas, and the barbarous war still waged against an adjacent nation, for the acquisition of territory to be devoted to the extension of the unchristian system—have imposed additional responsibilities upon all who deplore its existence and possess in any degree the power of removing it. The great work of emancipation is yet at the threshold. Means commensurate with the strength and enormity of the evil are required for its extirpation. They will be found in a faithful and intelligent application of the pure principles of Christianity. It is incumbent, then, upon all Christian professors to inquire seriously into their several and common duties.

The slaveholder has intrenched his conscience behind the inconsistency of those who profess to abhor slavery. He says to them: you do not, as far as your circumstances permit, refuse to sustain the system which you condemn, and therefore you neither afford me proof that you believe the doctrine you profess, nor that you would refuse to hold slaves if you were placed in my circumstances. This sentiment is general amongst slaveholders. A fugitive slave, of unusual intelligence, recently startled a friend of ours by saying:—"with all their labours, the people of the North can never accomplish emancipation while they purchase the cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco, produced by slave labour." On being asked, where he obtained such an idea, he answered—"From my master, eight years ago."

While proofs are multiplying, sufficient to assure us that the duty and importance of the abstinence we advocate, are increasingly appreciated, it is but too evident that the harvest is yet plenteous and the labourers few. For the present, therefore, we feel constrained to remain in the

field, and, to the extent of our humble abilities, endeavour to fulfil what may be required at our hands.

We hope that our friends who have kindly acted as Agents for the *Non-Slaveholder*, will continue to do so, and that our readers generally will endeavour to extend its circulation.

SELECTIONS.

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

EFFECTS OF THE CONSUMPTION OF SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR IN GREAT BRITAIN ON SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRAZIL AND CUBA.

Extracts from a Letter to Lord John Russell, contained in the *London Times* of the 27th October, under the signature of Jacob Omnium:

"Against the evil condition to which your Lordship has reduced the British Sugar Colonies, you have to boast the set off of cheap sugar and increased consumption.

"Sugar is, indeed, at this moment sold cheap—as cheap as a bankrupt's effects usually are sold. There has been 'an awful crash in trade;' and your Lordship, like the swindling Regent-street drapers, is gaining popularity by supplying your pleased customers with goods at half the price which they cost the honest and industrious men who made them.

"This, however, must soon come to an end; the supplies from the Mauritius and the West Indies will rapidly diminish, and that from the East Indies will cease altogether. Prices will then rise; the cry for more sugar—cheap sugar—will be louder than ever; and, as our own colonies will be unable to furnish it, you will have to transfer your custom to the foreign slave-driver.

"I spent the beginning of this year in Cuba, with a view of ascertaining the preparations which were being made in that island to meet the opening of our markets. To an Englishman coming up from Grenada and Jamaica the contrast between the paralyzed and decayed aspect of the trade of those colonies, and the spirit and activity which your measures had infused into that of the Havannah, was most disheartening.

"The town was illuminated when I landed, in consequence of the news of high prices from England. Three splendid trains of De Rosne's machinery, costing 40,000 dollars each, had just arrived from France, and were in process of erection; steam-engines and engineers were coming over daily from America; new estates were forming; coffee plantations were being broken up and their feeble gangs of old people and children, who had hitherto been selected for that

light work, were formed into task gangs, and hired out by the month to the new *ingenios*, then in full drive.

"It was crop time. The mills went round night and day. On every estate (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact) every slave was worked under the whip eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and, in the boiling-houses, from five to six P. M., and from eleven o'clock to midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work; the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed, it was necessary, to keep the overtasked wretches awake.

"The six hours during which they rested were spent in a barracoon—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex.

"There was no marrying amongst the slaves on the plantations; breeding was discouraged; it was cheaper and less troublesome to buy than to breed. On many estates females were entirely excluded; but an intelligent American planter told me he disapproved of that system; that the men drooped under it, and that he had found the most beneficial effects from the judicious admixture of a proportion of one 'lively wench' to five males, in a gang of which he had charge. Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination.

"Whilst at work, the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent bloodhounds.

"To afford you an idea of the light in which negroes are looked upon by the Cuban planters, I will mention that I was present at a hiring bargain which took place between an American and a Frenchman, both men of unusually good character. The American wanted ten additional hands. The Frenchman only wished to let eight females, observing facetiously, "*Elles feront fureur parmi vos jeunes gens*."

"At last the latter said, 'I'll tell you what I will do; I've a lame houseboy; he has never been used to field labour certainly, but he's a very spirited lad, and your mayoral may get a deal of work out of him if he only presses him a little; you shall have him; that will make nine; and then I've got a magnificent breeding wench, *aussi large que Monsieur*, (turning to me;) she was confined three weeks ago. I'll wean her baby at once, and she shall be here, fit to go to work, on Sunday.' And, as Dr. Locock was not there to remonstrate, the bargain was struck, the baby weaned, and the breeding wench put to work. Possibly your Lordship is at this moment

sweetening your tea with the results of her exertions.

"The Spaniards have always been esteemed humane slave-owners, and I have no wish to make them out worse than they are; what I describe here I saw. The *lex scripta* of Cuba, as regards the negroes, is indeed most humane; but the corruption which pervades every branch of the public service in that island renders it entirely a dead letter.

"Travellers generally form their ideas of slavery from the domestic negroes, the only ones *en evidence*, who are picked slaves, and are generally much petted and spoiled; and it is very rarely that they have opportunities of witnessing what really goes on, on the sugar plantations. Our Consul and our two slave-commissioners told me that they had never visited one since their residence in the island, and I doubt whether they would be permitted to do so.

"The Captain-General, O'Donnell, is an open abettor of the slave-trade, and a declared enemy of the English, who cut a very insignificant figure in the commercial community of Cuba. He treats our representative there with studied contempt, and evades, in the most barefaced manner, the treaties which our commissioners are resident there to enforce. Yet they assured me, that previous to your Lordship's alteration of the sugar duties, the price of produce had been so low that the slave-trade had almost died away, not more than one or two cargoes having been landed during the year 1845-46.

"In February last, the market value of field negroes had risen from \$300 to \$500,—a price which would speedily bring a supply from the coast. The accounts thence of the numbers of vessels captured, and of the still greater numbers seen and heard of, but not captured by our cruisers, bear ready witness to the stimulus which you have afforded to that accursed trade. It is only during the last year that we hear of steam-slavers, carrying 950 slaves, dipping their flag in derision to our men-of-war.

"I know nothing of what is going on in Porto Rico, my Lord, but there is every reason to suppose that the result of your measure has been the same there, and evidence arrives by every packet that the Brazilian slavers have enormously augmented of late in numbers and activity.

"As the Cubans dare not, for their own personal safety, increase the numerical quantity of their negroes beyond a certain limit, they have commenced importing Chinese immigrants, bound to the planters for seven years. These immigrants are transported to Cuba in *English ves-*

sels, and the fate which awaits them there, is not a very dubious one.

"If you are to look to these foreign planters for a future supply of cheap sugar, I ask you in the name of common sense, what excuse you will have for continuing the presence of our costly squadron on the coast of Africa—costly in seamen's lives as well as in money? Will it not be too flagrant an absurdity to pretend to wrest the tool from the hand of the cultivator on whom you depend for your supplies, and who cannot raise them without it?"

From the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LETTER FROM THE FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PARIS, September 16, 1847.

Mr. President,—We could have wished to have replied long ere now, to the letter with which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society favoured us, on the 23d of January last; but having been unfortunately mislaid, it did not reach us till a day or two ago; and this is the first opportunity which has presented itself for answering it. This circumstance gives us much pain, for we attach very great importance to the communications which your Committee make to us on the great question of emancipation; a question which leaves far behind all those political questions which engage, in so great a degree, the attention of civilized nations.

Allow us, Mr. President, to congratulate ourselves on the progress which our cause has made in France since the date of your letter. If we had answered it some months before, we should only have been able to deplore with you that state of things which your Secretary pictures so truthfully in his letter; we should have been compelled to state with grief that public opinion was at a stand-still on the question; and that those measures, which were only adopted as preparatory to the entire abolition of slavery, were considered as definitive by the great majority of our countrymen. But the late discussions in the Chambers have filled us with unbounded hope. Our Colonists have at last begun to understand that France wishes immediate emancipation; and the language of the ministry, on several recent occasions, seems to indicate that if this wish of the country continues to be expressed with firmness, the government will comply with it.

We quite agree with your Committee in thinking that the lot of the slaves cannot be materially ameliorated by any of the measures which may have been adopted for the purpose of effecting that object. The experiment has frequently been tried, and the results have ever been the same. In the bosom of every society, weighed down by slavery, there will ever be found obstacles, before which all attempts at amelioration or partial reform must necessarily fail. THERE IS NO REMEDY FOR SLAVERY, BUT ITS ABOLITION.

For this reason, all our efforts are now directed to the obtaining complete emancipation. Nevertheless, we see with satisfaction the adoption of projects of law favourable to the slaves, because they are concessions to our opinions; but we are firmly resolved not to be contented with them. After too long hesitation, perhaps, our Society has become convinced, that in simplifying its task, and confining itself to demanding the immediate and complete emancipation of the Negroes, that task will advance more rapidly to its completion than if we had troubled ourselves concerning the means to be employed in its execution. Our duty, as an abolitionist society, is essentially to urge for a prompt action. The rest belongs to the legislative body. With this object in view, the petitions presented to the Chambers last sessions were drawn up, as well as those now under course of signature. In conformity with this view also, the matured conviction of the society has been made known, a conviction in accordance with the conclusions embraced in the letters you have from time to time addressed us. It gives us great pleasure to find, Mr. President, that on this fundamental point we now agree entirely with your society. The success which has crowned its efforts plainly shows how just are its views as to the course which ought to be followed, for the purpose of obtaining the abolition of slavery, and how surely that course leads to the desired end.

Permit us here to express, Mr. President, our entire sympathy, with your generous and persevering efforts.

In the name of the Society,

(In the absence of the President,)

(Signed) H. PASSY,

Peer of France and Vice President.

(Countersigned,)

DUTRONE, Secretary.

SOME FACTS.

Looking over some calculations on the Census of 1840, we found these results:

For every one hundred whites—South Carolina

has 145 slaves; Mississippi, 109; Florida, 92; Alabama, 75; Georgia, 69; Virginia, 66; North Carolina, 50; Kentucky, 31; Tennessee, 28; Maryland, 28; Arkansas, 26; Missouri, 18.

The whole slave states number 15.

The slaves are chiefly centered in the *planting* regions. You may find 2000 slaves in parts of South Carolina, to 100 whites—on the other hand there are districts having but few bond. In the low lands of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and in Florida and Louisiana negroes abound; in the hill country, or upland region they are limited in numbers. The same holds true of Mississippi, Tennessee, &c. But in East Tennessee, Western Virginia, &c., slavery is nominal.—*Examiner*.

THE CUBA MOVEMENT

Seems to be a-foot, and there are people mad enough to think that the annexation of that island can be effected without violence. Cuba would swell our slave population to about thirty-three hundred thousand souls, give additional representatives of the Slave Power to the number of eight or ten in the Senate, and ten or a dozen in the House, and impose upon the Government the necessity of keeping a standing army in Havana to keep down the slaves. A precious acquisition!

We copy the following from the Charleston Mercury:

"The New Orleans Bulletin of Saturday last says: The Patriot of yesterday announces that it is informed, through a respectable source, that a new Spanish journal will, in the course of a very short time, be established in this city, 'dedicated exclusively to advocate the emancipation (independence) of the Island of Cuba, and its annexation to the United States.' One of the two principal editors will come hither from Havana, where the sum of ten thousand dollars is already available for this new enterprise; the other is already in the United States, and if not now in New Orleans, will be soon here. With regard to its introduction into Cuba, in anticipation of the hostility of General O'Donnell, it is stated that the persons interested have so well established relations there, that there will be no difficulty in distributing 5,000 copies of the paper among the inhabitants of the island."

National Era.

IMPORTANT DECISION.

A slave belonging to Louis Alme Pigneyguy was yesterday declared to be free, in consequence of having been taken to France.—*N. O. Picayune of the 10th*.

This is in accordance with decisions which

have frequently been made here, and with which the South has never been satisfied. If a slave be brought by his master, voluntarily, into this State, his shackles fall off at once. Slavery cannot exist here for a moment. And it is so with every free State, and with every country where slavery is not recognized. The decision in New Orleans goes further, however, than our decisions have gone or can go. It establishes the important fact, that the freedom which a slave thus acquires, by the voluntary act of his master, shall avail him permanently; and that if he, of his own choice, shall afterwards return to a slave State, he shall not again be subject to bondage.

Boston Transcript.

The same court decided, a few days previous, as it appears in some of the New Orleans papers, that the steamboat Missouri was not liable for carrying off a slave. In this case a singular fact was disclosed, viz: a slave being so white that he could pass anywhere for a white man, and who was supposed to be such when he was taken into the employ of the steamer and carried out of the State. The slave had been permitted to hire himself on boats trading to places where slavery does not exist, and to remain there till he chose to leave, and the court expressed great doubts whether his master could exercise ownership over him afterwards.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

MARYLAND.

Dr. SNODGRASS attended a meeting in Cecil county, Maryland, on the 26th ult., and, after addressing it on the subject of slavery, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the time has come when our sectional jealousies and differences should be forgotten in an earnest and persevering effort to rid not only Maryland, but the country at large, of this moral and social evil.

Resolved, That we are determined that our sanction shall never be given to the further extension of slavery, feeling as we do, that having allowed it the constitutional guarantee within its present limits, we have done all that can be fairly asked of us as lovers of Truth and Justice, or as true patriots.

Another meeting was held in the same county, in which Marylanders declared their determination to discuss the whole subject, and passed the following resolves:

Resolved, That we believe that not only the physical, but the moral interests of Maryland, demand that slavery shall cease within her borders—resting, as it does, like an incubus upon

her body social, while blasting, as if with a general mildew, the fruits of her beautiful and naturally productive soil, and drying up, as with a rushing wind, the fountains of Truth and Justice.

A letter from a Kentuckian in Cumberland, Maryland, to a friend in this city says:

"There is an evident and growing determination to bring up the subject of emancipation, and when the Presidential election is over, I believe it will be done, as slaveholders seem as bent upon it as those who do not own any negroes."

This looks bright and cheering. It seems, indeed, as if the border slave States were resolved to master their one great evil. The will alone is wanting. Give them that, and they conquer it, and rise to a pitch of moral and physical greatness such as they could never begin to reach under slavery.—*Louisville Examiner.*

JOHN WOOLMAN.

Have you ever, gentle reader, chanced to meet with the History of the Life of John Woolman?

If you have not, then go, I pray you, to the library of some ancient Quaker of your acquaintance, and borrow it. But do not read it then, not, at least, if the "Wept of the Wish-ton-wish," with half its leaves still uncut, is lying upon your table—or if you have only just peeped between the pages of one of the annuals;—but when you are wearied of all these things; when you sit among your "pleasant company of books," listless and discontented; when your heart turns sick with the long details of human crime and misery, written within your volumes of history; when biography serves but to humble you, with the knowledge that the best have been so frail, and the wisest so ignorant; when philosophy, which has led you with a proud wing among the secret influences of nature, leaves you but a knowledge of your own ignorance—and poetry, glorious poetry, that you thought had almost become a portion of the life-spring of your heart,—you fed so long on its magnificent imaginings—comes only with a dazzling garishness to your worn and feverish spirit—then go forget yourself for a while, in the unpretendingness of John Woolman's auto-biography.

Were you ever ill of a fever?—and do you recollect the blessedness with which you closed your eyes, when the cool fingers of a beloved friend came and pushed aside the loose hair, and were laid upon your hot forehead. With such a moon-light feeling will the pure simplicity of Woolman come to your sick heart. There

is no glitter of fancy, no display of stupendous intellect, no splendid imaginations to bewilder you into tears, with their intensity of brightness; it is not even a tale of striking or romantic incident: but it is the beautiful history of a meek heart laid open before you, in all its guilelessness. You will become familiar with a character of the most perfect humility, full of a simple majesty, yet gentle as a very child, unfaltering in its quiet self-denial, and unbending to its own weakness, assuming no superior sanctity, lifting not up the voice of stern judgment against the frailties of others, and gifted with all the holy and affectionate charities of life.

You will feel a purifying influence steal gradually over your heart, while you bend over the quiet pages, calming the rude beatings of its pulse into a thankful evenness, and cooling the impatient irritation of your spirit, with the lesson of its gentle words, till you feel almost as if the unworldly moments of your childhood's time had again come back to you.—E. M. CHANDLER.

From the National Era.

A NIGHT ON MOUNT KATAHDIN.

To the summer tourist and fashionable traveler, the White Mountains of New Hampshire are familiar as Cape May or the Catskill. Every rugged pass or green dingle of their wooded sides; every stream leaping down from their high well-springs; every picturesque outlook from the winding paths which lead to their rocky summits, has been annually made the theme of admiring description. But, comparatively few travellers have turned their steps towards Katahdin, the solitary mountain-giant, whose head, five thousand feet above the waters of the Penobscot, overlooks the vast valley beneath, glittering with its hundred lakes. Situated in the midst of a wilderness traversed only by the trapper and the lumberman, difficult of ascent, and peculiarly liable to sudden storms and snow-blows, it has been seldom visited; and of those who have attempted to reach its summit, only a few have succeeded. Professor Bailey, of West Point, ascended it in the 8th month, 1836, in the midst of a cold drizzling rain. In the 9th month of the following year, Dr. C. T. Jackson, State Geologist, made the ascent, but was compelled to stop short of the highest peak by a sudden storm of sleet and snow. The first ascent of which we have any knowledge was made in 1804.

The Legislature of Maine having granted an appropriation for a botanical survey of the State, and having appointed Dr. Young, of Bangor, to carry it into execution, that gentleman, in com-

pany with Dr. Thurber and several others, left the City of the East on the 18th ultimo, for the purpose of ascending Katahdin. John K. Laski, of Bangor, one of the party, has given a long account of the tour, which, although evidently written in haste, has the merit of conveying a vivid idea of the writer's adventures. It appeared in the Bangor Courier of the 14th instant.

Leaving Bangor, the party, seven in number, passed up the Penobscot to the village of Passadumkeag, camping at night in a violent rain. At noon, on the next day, they reached Lincoln, the principal town on the Penobscot above Bangor, where the river moves quietly through a rich interval, its banks studded with pleasant farms, and embosomed "beautiful islands, whose open growth of large elms formed a picturesque and charming appearance." The night found them at Mattawamkeag Point. On the following morning, quitting the military road, they struck into the Aroostook track, which takes a northwesterly direction through the forest. In the course of the afternoon, while passing the unincorporated township of Benedicta, (a purchase of the late Bishop Fenwick,) they for the first time obtained a distinct view of the object of their journey. Far in the west, the huge granite pile towered through the hazy atmosphere, its loftiest summit circled with white smoke-like clouds. At a lone farmhouse in township No. 3, at the distance of eighty-five miles from Bangor, they left their carriage, and started on foot towards the mountain. Late in the afternoon of the 21st ultimo, they reached the solitary dwelling of a pioneer farmer, who, a few years since, sat himself down in the wilderness, with no other resources than his axe and a strong arm to wield it. He had now a cleared farm of one hundred acres, a good house, and substantial barns filled with seventy-five tons of hay. The next day being the first day of the week, it was decided to remain until the 23d. One of the company, it seems, was a clergyman, and he was requested by their host to exercise his vocation, which he did, very much to the satisfaction of the good man and his wife, to whom the presence of a minister was a rare and welcome event. On the following morning the party continued their journey to the base of the mountain, a distance of thirty miles, along the banks of the Wassataquoik, a wild rocky stream, dammed with huge boulders, which appear to have been swept down from the granite sides of Katahdin in some terrible submersion far back in the geological ages. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, they commenced the ascent. The first part of their way was extremely difficult, over steep, broken rocks,

and through a thick growth of maple, birch, spruce, and fir. They encamped for the night, weary and thirsty, with no water, to their knowledge, nearer than that of the Wassataquoik, which they had left foaming and roaring down its rugged channel two thousand feet below them.

Seneca, in one of his epistles, says, that "where there is a lofty deep-shaded grove, full of old trees with interlacing boughs, shutting out the light of heaven, the silence, the depth of shade, the grandeur of the wood, infuse into the breast the notion of a Divinity." If such was the effect of mountain groves upon the heathen sage, we cannot wonder that, on waking amidst the ancient shadows of Katahdin, our Christian travellers gathered around their clerical companion and listened to the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. After toiling onward about two hours, they came to a clear-gushing mountain stream, at which they slaked their thirst, feeling, as they did, very much like the behemoth of Job, that they could "draw up Jordan at a draught." "Here," says the narrator, "Dr. Young and his assistant botanists searched for rare plants, and were successful. He found here the *pyrola uniflora*, (the one-flowered pirola,) a beautiful little thing, about three inches high, concealing its leaves in the moss, but just modest enough to run its beautiful little blossom upon a slender stem, an inch or two long, to greet with a smile the morning sunlight, and to bask in his effulgent beams. We saw here, in the greatest abundance, the mountain ash, some of which were quite seven inches in diameter. The sugar pear, growing in bushes from three to ten feet high, we frequently met with. The berries were very delicious, and particularly so to us before we discovered water."

Passing onward through a broad belt of the *pinus nigra*, a low, dwarfed spruce, tangled and twisted in all conceivable forms, "kicked about and snarled up in the crazy waltzes of the North winds," at the noon of a bright, cloudless day, they reached the loftiest summit of Katahdin, famous in the traditions of the Penobscots as the residence of a mighty mountain spirit, Pomoola, who carried thither a beautiful daughter of their tribe, beyond the reach of the most adventurous hunters of her race. The thermometer, even at that height, (nearly 6,000 feet,) stood at 61 degrees. We will let the narrator give his own account of the outlook from his lofty position over that wild and wonderful "lake country" of the East:

"There was not a cloud in the sky nor a breeze of wind upon the mountain, and the whole hea-

ven was filled with warm, gorgeous sunlight. The eye could not be withdrawn from the scene till the soul was filled with the transporting images of beauty around. The tallest trees were like grass in the distance, and the lakes, Chesuncook, Moosehead, and a hundred I cannot name, were glowing like burnished silver in the noontide effulgence. I thought of many similes, but can give you the best idea of it when I say the scene reminded me of that represented by a splendid mirror broken into a thousand fragments, and wildly scattered over the grass, reflecting the full blaze of the sun. Be it recollected that Mount Katahdin is the very centre of all the head waters of the Penobscot, and that almost seven-tenths of the lakes in the State can be seen from its summit. We saw, with the glass and the naked eye, Mars Hill, and might have seen the Atlantic ocean, had not the southern horizon been overcast with haze, or fog. To the west and northwest stretching away as far as the eye could extend, were the White Hills, while, in the south, east, and northeast, we could see only here and there a mountain. It seemed to us that the area of the whole State was in view.

Between sixty and seventy lakes, some of them of large size, are in full view from the top of Katahdin, more beautiful in their wild loneliness than those which feed the Hudson, amidst the Adirondack wilderness, so finely described in Hoffman's "Vigil of Faith."

"Lakes which the sun, though pouring down
His noontide splendor round each isle,
At eventide so soon forsakes,
That you may watch his parting smile,
For hours around the summits glow,
When all is gray and dark below.
Some broadly flashing to the sun,
Like warrior's shield when first displayed;
Some dark, as when the battle done,
That shield oft blackens in the glade."

Dr. Young improved the afternoon in gathering specimens of Alpine plants and flowers. "Here," says the narrator, "we found beautiful mosses and flowers; the flowers short-lived to be sure—and so is man, who has the vast globe for his realm. But one sweet little flower only lived here because it was nearer heaven, as it seemed, to gaze freely at the stars, and catch the first glance at the sun's golden eye. It was the *Arenaria Greenlandica*, called Greenland sandwort. It is only found on high altitudes, such as on Mount Washington, &c., and grows about three inches high, with a thousand little stems in tufted masses, and crowned with beautiful white flowers."

The top of the mountain is a table land of seve-

ral hundred acres, broken by two or three elevations, Pomoola being the highest. In the eastern part is a vast chasm or valley, which is thus described:

"From the highest points on each side of this tremendous valley, frowned on by scornful brows of granite, in a straight line across, the distance is not less than a mile, and certainly not less than a thousand feet of perpendicular descent. In the bottom of this valley are two lakes, perhaps from three to eight acres surface in each. From those points on the eastern ridge of this valley, rocks might be rolled into the lake nearest. With the glass, it seemed reposing just under the base of those angry pinnacles. The walls were perfectly smooth, in some places, so that even a man might, for many hundred feet, slide down without losing a tolerably upright position. I had the pleasure of rolling down rocks on the opposite side—the western part of this valley. Can any one judge of distance by the descent of rocks in such places? Then it was twenty thousand feet, and could be likened to nothing but the 'bottomless pit,' in idea of depth. I rolled one rock, as large as I could start, and in its descent it carried others with it, and away they went, like so many fiends, jumping, howling, now leaping almost off at right angles, then again falling in a perpendicular position, and again thrown off in a counter direction, scattering before their paths the small trees that presented themselves, and filling the whole valley with the thunders of the concussion."

Night overtook our travellers on the mountain, a glorious summer night of star-light and moonlight. Think of a sunset view from Katahdin, followed by a moon-lit panorama of lake, and mountain, and forest!

"I stood alone," says our traveller, "no one within a mile of me, on the highest northern point—phrenologically speaking, on the very firmness of the mountain—and saw the sun go down in the west, surrounded with golden clouds. His light was spread far over the west, till, by and by, the dim twilight was diffused over the earth, and the appearance of lakes, forests, streams, and mountains, changed and grew less distinct. But the moon had already risen above the horizon, full and cloudless, and looked as it seemed to me, for the first time and with astonishment, upon these wild scenes of nature. Soon the stars came out from their hiding places, and, as the moon continued to mount the sky, another glorious brightness, of moon-light and star-light, filled the heavens, and was poured over forest, mountain, and lake."

At 10 o'clock at night the party bade farewell to old Pomoola, and commenced their descent by moonlight. After travelling an hour and a half, they reached a suitable camping ground. Early in the morning they continued their descent, following the course of the Katahdin stream, which takes its name from the mountain. They counted five splendid cascades, some of them of nearly one hundred feet fall. Their sound filled the deep dark valley with echoes. At 7 o'clock in the evening, the party encamped once more on the mountain, on the very verge of the rushing river, amidst trees hewn only by the dull axe of Time. The night was perfectly clear and calm—a brilliant moonlight streaming through the arches of the forest, and silvering the wild water flashing under them; far above, rose the dark form of Katahdin, dimly seen through the mists flowing like grey hair over his giant brows. On the morning of the 27th the travellers reached the Wassataquoik river, at the base of the mountain, and three days after returned to Bangor, having been absent fourteen days.

Smoke of clearings will ere long curl about the wooded spurs of Katahdin; rail cars thunder along its still valleys; its lakes and waterfalls be made the slaves of mechanism; and the great lonely mountain itself become a familiar resort for the fashionable idlers of our cities. But it may well be doubted whether the prospect which its summit may then afford will equal, in beauty and grandeur, that which our late travellers enjoyed. Improved water privileges, painted shingles, and steeple houses, could lend no additional charm to the simple majesty of Nature in these vast solitudes. In one of his essays, Ralph Waldo Emerson says, that "Nature is loved as the City of God, although, or rather, because, there is no citizen. The beauty of Nature must always be universal and mocking, until the landscape has human figures that are as good as itself. Man is fallen, nature is erect." Hence, when describing his visit to Monadnock, he laments that the dwellers amidst its mountain glory seemed so totally unworthy of the magnificent theatre upon which they were acting their poor farce of existence. Under the shadow of the heavenward mountain, he found men—

"With step of cat, and eye of bug,
Dull victims of the pipe and mug."

Our fastidious philosopher would experience none of this revulsion of feeling upon Mount Katahdin. Man has neither made nor marred the landscape which is overlooked by that lone watcher by the eastern gateway of the New World.

J. G. W.

From the National Era.

THE BETTER LAND.

"The shapings of our heavens are the modifications of our constitution," said Charles Lamb, in his reply to Southey's attack upon him in the Quarterly Review.

He who is infinite in love as well as wisdom has revealed to us the fact of a future life, and the fearfully important relation in which the present stands to it. The actual nature and conditions of that life He has hidden from us—no chart of the ocean of Eternity is given us—no celestial guide book or geography defines, localizes, and prepares us for the wonders of the spiritual world. Hence imagination has a wide field for its speculations, which, so long as they do not positively contradict the revelation of the Scriptures, cannot be disapproved.

We naturally enough transfer to our idea of Heaven, whatever we love and reverence on earth. Thither the Catholic carries in his fancy the imposing rites and time-honoured solemnities of his worship. There the Methodist sees his love-feasts and camp meetings, in the groves and by the still waters and green pastures of the Blessed Abodes. The Quaker, in the stillness of his self-communing, remembers that there was "silence in Heaven." The churchman listening to the solemn chant of vocal music, or the deep tones of the organ, thinks of the song of the Elders, and the golden harps of the New Jerusalem.

The heaven of the Northern nations of Europe was a gross and sensual reflection of the earthly life of a barbarous and brutal people.

The Indians of North America had a vague notion of a Sunset Land—a beautiful Paradise far in the West—mountains and forests filled with deer and buffalo—lakes and streams swarming with fishes—the happy hunting-ground of Souls. In a late letter from a devoted missionary among the western Indians, (Paul Blohm, a converted Jew,) we have noticed a beautiful illustration of this belief. Near the Omahaw mission-house, on a high bluff, was a solitary Indian grave. "One evening," says the Missionary, "having come home with some cattle, which I had been seeking, I heard some one wailing, and, looking in the direction from whence it proceeded, I found it to be from the grave near our house. In a moment after, the mourner got up from a kneeling or lying posture, and, turning to the setting sun, he stretched forth his arms in prayer and supplication, with an intensity and earnestness as though he would detain the splendid luminary from running his course. With his body leaning

forward, and his arms stretched towards the sun, he presented a most striking figure of sorrow and petition. It was solemnly awful. He seemed to me to be one of the ancients, come forth to teach me how to pray."

A venerable and worthy New England clergyman, on his death-bed, just before the close of his life, declared that he was only conscious of an awfully solemn and intense curiosity to know the great secret of Death and Eternity.

The excellent Dr. Nelson, of Missouri, was one who, while on earth, seemed to live another and higher life, in contemplation of Infinite Purity and Happiness. A friend of ours once related an incident concerning him, which made a deep impression upon our mind. They had been travelling through a summer's forenoon in the prairie, and had lain down to rest beneath a solitary tree. The Doctor lay for a long time, silently looking upward, through the openings of the boughs, into the still heavens, when he repeated the following lines, in a low tone, as if communing with himself, in view of the wonders he described:

"Oh, the joys that are there, mortal eye hath not seen!
Oh! the songs they sing there, with hosannas between!
Oh, the thrice-blessed song of the Lamb and of Moses!
Oh, brightness on brightness! the pearl-gate uncloses!
Oh, white wings of angels! Oh, fields white with roses!
Oh, white tents of Peace, where the rapt soul reposes!
Oh, the waters so still, and the pastures so green!"

The brief hints afforded us by the sacred writings concerning the Better Land, are inspiring and beautiful. Eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive of the good in store for the righteous. Heaven is described as a quiet habitation—a rest remaining for the people of God. Tears shall be wiped away from all eyes; there shall be no death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain. To how many death-beds have these words spoken peace! How many failing hearts have gathered strength from them to pass through the dark valley of shadows.

Yet we would not forget that "the kingdom of Heaven is within;" that it is the state and affections of the soul; the answer of a good conscience; the sense of harmony with God; a condition of Time as well as of Eternity. What is really momentous and all-important with us is the Present by which the Future is shaped and coloured. A mere change of locality cannot alter the actual and intrinsic qualities of the soul. Guilt and Remorse would make the golden streets of Paradise intolerable as the burning marl of the infernal abodes, while Purity and Innocence would transform hell itself into Heaven. J. G. W.

THE STEAMER BAY STATE.

A correspondent at New Bedford complains of the treatment of coloured persons on board the Fall River and New York steamboat Bay State. He says that a woman with a nursing infant was obliged, not long since, to sit all night on deck. Joseph Holley, a respectable young man, was also treated as freight on board this boat, though he paid full passage as a human being. We have heard the same complaint from another quarter. The Rev. Mr. Gardner, a highly respectable clergyman of Philadelphia, was subjected to the same outrageous and contemptible treatment, and could get no redress, though he complained personally to the Captain. He has arrived at that age, and is in such a state of health, that an exposure all night might have been fatal to him. But he was indebted to one of the waiters for a shelter and a bed, which his money, though he paid full price—could not purchase for him, and which no appeal to the humanity of the officers of the boat could procure. These, we presume, are only examples of the manner in which coloured people are uniformly treated on board the Bay State.—*Nat. A. S. Standard.*

COLOURED ORPHAN ASYLUM, NEW YORK.

The managers of the Coloured Orphan Asylum, in anticipation of the exigencies of the establishment during the approaching winter, would once more appeal to the sympathy of their friends. The wants of the institution now present themselves under the most urgent of all forms, that of an imperative necessity of defraying the expenses of food, clothing, fuel, and other contingencies, for the maintenance of 145 children; requisitions which have hitherto demanded the utmost care and forethought in the employment of their limited and fluctuating income, and which now present themselves with a totally exhausted treasury.

Children are admitted into the institution from two to eight years of age; and being thoroughly grounded in the rudiments of a practical education, and early instructed in their duties to themselves, their fellow beings, and their Creator, are indentured generally at the age of twelve. The habits of honest and useful industry, which are sedulously cultivated, will not, it is believed, allow them to be thrown upon society helpless and incompetent to provide for themselves, but will act as a stimulus to that self-respect, which, in its humblest form, ever tends to usefulness and virtue.

The managers hope that none will censure the earnestness of their expressions, when they insist upon the importance of their work, but that the friends of this neglected class will so far co-operate in it as to afford them pecuniary assistance in their present necessities.

Contributions will be received by Hussey & Murray, 62 South street, and 96 Fourteenth street;

C. V. S. Rosevelt, 94 Maiden Lane; Joseph B. Collins, 56 Wall street, and 415 Broome street; Anthony P. Halsey, 550 Greenwich street; John Wood, 26 Pine street, and 181 East Broadway; William B. Skidmore, 628 Houston street. ANICARHA MILLER, First Directress.

POETRY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

The following lines, which were published in one of the papers of this city, immediately on the appearance of the first number of the Non-Slaveholder, were cut out and laid aside at the time. Now near the close of the second volume, they have accidentally met my eye, and I offer them for insertion. I wish also to say, (and I say it in no spirit of adulation) that not only has the plan of the Non-Slaveholder met my approbation, but the carrying out of the plan has surpassed my anticipation, though I expected much. Conscious as I am that the Journal has been conducted without hope of emolument, and even with the certainty of pecuniary sacrifice, I feel, as an individual subscriber, that my acknowledgements are due to the editors; and I can state with equal truth and pleasure, that among many periodicals introduced into my family there is no one that I more highly value, no one that I more entirely approve, no one which I should more regret to have discontinued. In pursuing its blameless tenor, it has supplied what else had been a void; interfering with the province of no other journal, and, by its amiable spirit, giving occasion of offence neither to Jew nor Gentile, nor the Church. F.

From the American Citizen.

COERCION!

Lines suggested on seeing the first number of "The Non-Slaveholder."

Fresh help! fresh champions in the field
Of moral bravery,
Truth's panoply to wear and wield
'Gainst Slavery!
To stand in virtuous freedom bold,
The banner with firm hand to hold,
A life-time warfare to proclaim,
In freedom's name,
Against a system foul, inhuman,
And to a bloodless battle summon!

But hark! as from a bleating flock,
Who fear the moral battle shock,
I hear the timid cry arise,
Of those who mark, with mournful eyes,
Truth nailed against the cross by Hate,
And, with vague fear of unseen bait,

Afraid of ghosts where ghosts are none,
Or seeking worldly loss to shun,
Follow afar, with conscience stricken,
That Truth, believed, and yet forsaken.

Truth's lovers, struck with pallid terror,
Join the Ephesian shout of Error,
And cry "COERCION!"
Evil is odious in their sight,
And yet they dread the moral fight,
Some spectre rises to affright
And check exertion.

Backward they look with reverent gaze
On conquests won in former days,
Past triumphs win their ready praise,
As "MORAL SUASION!"

Their valiant fathers battled well—
Proudly their sons their virtues tell
On each occasion.

And, oh, had Satan kindly lain,
Prostrate and slain,

When those good fathers struck the blow
As ye strike now,

Who could have blamed the fatal thrust,
Coercing him to lie in dust,
Or feared, (their faith excused from trial,
Temptation having taken wing,)

To use luxurious self-denial
Separate from the unclean thing.

Yet list ye to that chorus cry!
With ready ear its meaning try!
Subject the word to test discreet,
As with the mouth ye taste of meat!
It stands you much in stead to ken
The temper of the assailants' blade,
The one they ever brandish, when
Fresh movements for the truth are made!

To me, I ween, that cry has grown
An old familiar tedious tone,
Still ringing, dinging in my ears,
Since first I grew to manhood's years,
I've known it raised, with craven terror,
At every new attack of Error—
And not without this deafening roar,
Was gained one inch in righteous war.

When chaste and lovely Temperance, first
Her "few and feeble" champions mustered.

The sages, at the bottle nursed,
Struck with dismay, were sadly flustered,
To the pure love of Truth a stranger,
Each saw his gainful craft in danger,
And, lacking argument for Evil,
Yet bent at moral Truth to cavil,
In hope of gain—in pure perversion,
They raised this bug-bear shout, "COERCION!"
And silly Echo caught the cry,
Nor suffers yet the sound to die,
Filling with the re-echoing sound,
Craniums where brains not much abound,

And hollow hearts where sordid self,
Or that corroding canker, Self,
Upon the vital fluid preys,
And every generous impulse stays.

Since then I've marked, on each occasion,
That called for fearless Moral Suasion,
In every stage of every fight
Where Error was assailed by Right,
COERCION was the favorite shout
Employed to put the Truth to rout,
And lingering sometimes on the tongue
Of truthful ones who loathed the wrong,
Good men and true in pure mistake
As argument the word would speak.
And Truth would always kindly bear

The attacks which most obstruct
When hearts mistaken, yet sincere,
The many join in blind applause,
Of plausible insidious Error,
And view her form with honest terror! A.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON CITY, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

G. Bailey, Editor; John G. Whittier, Corresponding Editor.

The leading purpose of this journal is, the discussion of the question of Slavery, and the advocacy of the main principles of the Liberty Party. Due attention is given to Social and Political Questions of general importance; nor are the interests of a Pure Literature overlooked.

It aims to preserve a faithful record of important events; of inventions or discoveries affecting the progress of Society; of public documents of permanent value; and, during the sessions of Congress, to present such report of its proceedings, as will convey a correct idea not only of its action, but of its spirit and policy. The debates on the exciting subject of Slavery and the Mexican War, expected to arise in the next Congress, will occupy a large share of its columns.

Arrangements have been made for extending and enriching its already valuable Department of Home and Foreign Correspondence.

It is printed on a mammoth sheet, of the finest quality, in the best style, at \$2 a year, payable in advance.

The generous spirit in which the Era has been welcomed by the Public Press, and the very liberal patronage it has received during this, the first year of its existence, encourages us to hope for large accessions to our subscription list.

It is desirable that subscriptions be forwarded without delay, so that they may be entered before the approaching Congress.

All communications addressed to

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. III.] **PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1843.** [NO. 5.

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

Few men truly lay to heart the atrocity of slaveholding, or view the act in its true character. To know its character would be to feel its pangs; and those who are victims of its power are not permitted to proclaim the sum of their afflictions. But if we have full assurances that the slaves are bought and sold like cattle in the market—husbands separated from wives, wives from husbands, parents from children, and children from parents, to be driven to some southern plantation, there to drag out a miserable existence under the lash of a tyrannical master, whose only and highest object, in general, is to obtain the greatest amount of labour from his victim with the least possible expenditure for his subsistence, though this be but an item in the aggregate of the slave's sufferings, and not by us felt—is not this of itself sufficient to cause us to pause for a moment and seriously reflect whether there is not a remedy? We have too long viewed the system as without a remedy. From the benumbing influence of long custom the sufferings and wrongs of the slave have had too little penetration into our hearts. This fact is evinced by the support generally given to the system, by which it remains in force. They do great injustice to themselves, to reason and common sense, who conclude slavery an incurable evil—yes, further; if made an act of necessity, they charge it upon the Almighty. We ought not so to view it—we might deem war with equal propriety indispensable—when, in truth, nothing can be more irrational and preposterous than to claim necessity for man's slaughtering his fellow man. Men by their own voluntary acts make war; it is not matter of necessity, but an undue indulgence of the propensities. "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" Now the sure remedy for this evil is near at hand, in the reach of every

person. "I will write my law in their hearts and put it in their inward parts." This law, written by the divine finger, being obeyed, restrains and directs all the propensities of the human mind in their legitimate sphere of action, otherwise the law would be imperfect, and suppose an imperfection in the Deity—"the law of the Lord is perfect converting the soul." Where self-will, envy, pride and covetousness—indispensable elements of war—are extinguished, war must cease. The enslavement of the African is a voluntary act; the barbarous system has been deliberately and intentionally provided for by law in these United States, and it is but reasonable to deem the law the will of the people—a majority at least; hence we see, that slavery has been and continues to be matter of choice, however much the evils are complained of, which are inseparable from it. Would such a law ever have been made and sustained had the moral sense of the people been just and right on this subject? No! Here, then, we see that the system originated in, and is sustained by, the unrighteousness of the people; and it is a remarkable fact that many denounce slavery as one of the grossest evils, but charge its existence upon the government and upon certain slave states, without sufficiently considering that such as is the state of the people, such will be the character of the government. It is the people who make governments, and the slave states do not stand alone—they are in intimate connection with the free states, and require and do absolutely receive their countenance and aid in sustaining slavery, without which it would speedily be abolished. If the people make the government, and the government sanctions slavery, and slavery is acknowledged to be one of the grossest of evils, a violation of morality and christianity, then, however great the crime, still the responsibility is with the people, and the remedy too. But such is the power of custom upon the human mind, that this responsibility is not felt in the degree it should be, nor the remedy seen with

proper clearness. Now, suppose this country was free from slavery, and it was proposed to open a market for slaves, by passing a law legalizing the kidnapping of Mexican slaves without distinction of colour or rank, by which hundreds and thousands were likely, with their posterity, soon to be placed in the most bitter and aggravating bondage in these United States. Would such a proposition be viewed with indifference? I presume not. The responsibility would be sensibly felt; its injustice, cruelty and barbarity everywhere spoken against and acted against, as unbecoming a civilized people; and yet no greater responsibility would attach to the people in that case, than does at the present for the existence of slavery. Here we see the powerful influence of long and general custom to make people indifferent and unconcerned when under deep responsibility for the continuance of one of the greatest of evils. I have said the remedy for slavery is with the people, and, I doubt not, even with those of the free states. But, alas! too many are indisposed to fully comprehend and apply the remedy. The voice and action of the people want to be turned against slavery, and it would vanish as a vapour; it must and would die, for it lives for and by the consent of the people. Now, the community is made up of individuals; hence a certain portion of the remedy for the evil of slavery attaches with as great certainty and force to individuals as the whole does to the community. How is it with me? Have I constituted myself one of the number who can with cold indifference look on and see the system of slavery pressing its helpless victims to the greatest point of suffering and degradation, and not apply the remedy for this evil to the extent possessed? If this be the fact, then what assurance do I give that I would apply the remedy, did I possess it, to the extent the community does? None! And if clothed with power for the abolishment of slavery, and unwilling to exercise it, what proof do I exhibit that I would not hold slaves, if tempted with the inducements with which the southern slaveholder is surrounded? None! Then to how much better stamp is my moral character entitled than that of the slaveholder himself? By thus entering into a serious and candid enquiry respecting ourselves, we may come to see the relation we sustain to the slaveholder, and the awful responsibility attaching to us, if giving our countenance or aid to the inhuman system. And can it be denied that he who, acquainted with all the attending circumstances, is a purchaser or consumer of slave-labour products, is by such act countenancing and aiding slavery? Is not the

free and indiscriminate purchase of these products as practical and positive an endorsement as can be made of the slaveholder's right of property in his slave? It certainly is, if such purchase is claimed to be morally just, for it would be repugnant to common sense to suppose we had a valid right to purchase of one whom we knew and acknowledged had no such right to sell. Again, by endorsing the right of slaveholding, we also endorse all its inseparable evils, even the right of war, in the full sense of the word; for the slave is made and retained such only by superior physical force, regardless of moral right. This being the case, let us be candid; let us put the question to ourselves, are we not too insensible to the atrocious character of slavery and a due discharge of our individual duty for the removal of the evil?

However unjust the slaveholder may be, ought not we of the North to blush with shame in asking him to desist from his tyrannical grasp, if we are still unwilling to withdraw our countenance and practical aid, on which he is dependant for the maintenance of his hold? How long shall we who make a profession of Christianity dwell at ease with this partnership responsibility with the slaveholder resting upon us, by which a system of iniquity is maintained; inflicting mildew upon everything physical and moral coming in contact with it, and now raising a portentous cloud over the United States which blackens as it spreads.

If the people holding no slaves were to refrain from participancy, it would prove a moral force, hastening the day of emancipation with a certainty and speed far exceeding all the combined efforts that have been heretofore made; for this would be removing the cause, and then the effect must cease. Surely, then, no one thing can be clearer, than that there is a remedy for the evil of slavery, and that, too, even in the hands of those who deem themselves non-slaveholders. Shall it be applied? It does seem to me that morality and christianity forbid that it should not. Slavery in these United States has reached an awfully important crisis, a crisis of the deepest interest, which justly claims the serious consideration of each individual to know how and where he stands. Christian friend, hast thou made up thy mind to occupy neutral ground upon this subject? If so, be entreated to reconsider the thing, and remember that Jesus said to his disciples, "he that is not for us is against us," and so it will be found, I doubt not, upon the subject of slavery. On proper examination, if thou art not against it, whatever thy profession, thou wilt be on the side of its supporters, who,

having the means for the abolishment of slavery, are indisposed to bring them into operation.

Quaker Hill, 19th of 2d mo., 1848. D. I.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH 1, 1848.

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.—So apparent have become the results of the increased consumption of slave-grown sugars by the people of Great Britain, in an increase of the slave trade from Africa to Cuba and Brazil, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and other Christian philanthropists, are renewing their efforts to induce Parliament again to impose the prohibitory duties, by which those sugars were formerly shut out from the British market.

A deputation of the Anti-Slavery Committee, consisting of Samuel Gurney, George W. Alexander, Joseph Sturge, Josiah Forster, George Stacy, Henry Sterry, Joseph Cooper, Robert Alsop, Samuel Sturge and John Scoble, waited upon Lord John Russell, on the first of last month, to present a memorial against the further introduction of slave-grown sugar, and recommending, at the same time, the importation of all other sugars, whether foreign or British Colonial, on equal duties. The Minister received the deputation with much courtesy. A petition of a similar character has been presented to the House of Commons, from the Committee, by Sir E. N. Buxton.

Three Committees have been appointed by the House to examine and report upon important questions closely connected with the anti-slavery cause. The first committee is to inquire into the state of the sugar and coffee planters, both of the East and West Indies, and to suggest remedies for their relief. The second, of which John Bright is chairman, and George Thompson one of the members, is to inquire into the causes which impede the growth of cotton in India, with a view to their removal. The object of the third committee is to investigate the present state of the foreign African slave trade, and to report whether the cruising system of repression should be persevered in or not.

We cannot but hope, as we earnestly desire, that these investigations may lead to important results, both upon the action of the government, and of the people individually. The state of the West Indies has given rise to an interesting debate in the House of Lords, and we have trans-

ferred to our columns from those of the London Anti-Slavery Reporter extracts from the speeches of Lord Stanley and the Bishop of Oxford on that occasion. We ask the special attention of our readers to the statements and arguments of the Bishop, and we would remind them that the people of the United States, equally with those of Great Britain, are sharing in the "Cuba profits," and consequently incurring the "Cuba guilt," and the Cuba chastisement.

There is evidently an increasing conviction, not only that the attempt to put down the slave trade by armed cruisers must continue unavailing, but that they are actually enhancing, to a vast extent, the sufferings of the slaves. The importance, too, of rejecting the productions of slave labour, as a means of destroying the slave trade, is obtaining increased attention; and this, of course, is equally applicable to the destruction of slavery itself. Lord Stanley stated that the sugar duties' act of 1846 "had given such a stimulus and encouragement to the slave trade, that it more than neutralised the efforts of the naval force, and that if he were compelled to choose the MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS of putting an end to this traffic, and one only, he should prefer to retain the differential duty on all slave grown sugar and withdraw the naval squadron."

The Bishop of Exeter said:—

"If it was the settled policy of this country to encourage the production of slave-grown sugar, he hoped they would decide on the removal of all difficulties in the way of importing slaves from Africa, for it was perfectly clear that the difficulties thrown in the way of that importation only caused increased suffering to those actually imported. The more vigilant and successful the squadron on the coast, the greater was the pressure on the unhappy creatures embarked in the slavers. If, then, they were to encourage the growth of slave sugar, they could not do better than at once give every help to the importation of slaves." Lord Denman quite agreed with the Bishop of Exeter that "if the policy of the government was to encourage slave-grown sugar, it would be far better to withdraw their squadron from the coast of Africa at once."

Whatever may be said about "the legislation of government giving a stimulus and encouragement to the slave trade," or the "policy of the government encouraging the production of slave grown sugar," must be resolved into the simple fact, that all this is done by the INDIVIDUAL CONSUMPTION of that sugar. Let this cease, and no policy of government could induce the planters

of Cuba and Brazil to store their sugars in the warehouses of London and Liverpool. This, after all, is the grand point to which a Christian people should bring their conscience and their practice. "Let the principle be comprehended," said the Bishop of Oxford, "and the mind of the people will insist upon morality and honour; they will dash at once from their lips the chalice you offer to them, tinged, as it is, with the blood of fellow creatures sacrificed to economy."

The inconsistency of which those are guilty who wish to abolish the slave trade and slavery, and yet consume the articles produced by them, is strongly exhibited in the following remarks made by Counsellor Hill recently, in a great trial in the English Court of Exchequer:—

"What is our conduct at this moment, as a nation? We, who have lavished our blood and our treasure without stint to check the trade we once lived by and encouraged; we, who have abolished slavery throughout the British Dominions and the world, as far as in us lies—now sue to the Brazilian slaveholder for the produce of that labour which we have pronounced unlawful and odious to God and man. To them we say, 'Bring us your sugar and we will buy it; and if it costs more, by reason of the very exertions we are now using to prevent its manufacture, we will readily pay that extra price.' Such, gentlemen of the jury, is British philanthropy! We pay hundreds of thousands to annihilate the slave trade, and we pay as much in the shape of increased cost to those who deal in articles produced by it to supply our own markets. We thus coin our efforts into an encouragement to slavery, and but that such a thing is unknown to the law, as applied to nations, well might we expect that a commission *de lunatico inquirendo*, would issue to try the sanity of England with reference to this subject, and richly would she deserve it."

PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING.—This body commenced its sittings for the present year, on the 17th, and closed on the 21st of last month. It appeared from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, that a committee stands appointed by that meeting, to investigate the present state of slavery, and the foreign and domestic slave trade. No report has been made on these topics by the committee, but the minutes contained an account of a census taken by its direction, of the coloured population of Philadelphia, and the result of an

examination into their moral and physical condition. Their number was not given, but it was stated that about one half are emigrants from the slave states, and it is principally among this class that the degradation and misery exist, which have been so often held up as proofs that the coloured people are "better off in slavery than in freedom."

A large portion of the coloured inhabitants of the city and its districts, are industrious and respectable, acquiring property, providing for their own families, and paying a fair proportion of taxes and other contributions for the relief of the poor. We hope the information obtained by the committee, will be speedily published.

With respect to the proposed investigation into the present state of the slave trade and slavery, we do not know what specific object the members of the Meeting for Sufferings have in view, but, we confess, we cannot hope for much benefit to the cause of the slave, from such an investigation. The character of both slavery and the slave trade, is fully known. The census of the United States proves a constant increase in the number of slaves; and of the continuance, and even extension of the slave trade, there is no want of evidence.

It seems to us, that the great concern and business of *Friends*, both individually and in their church action, should now be, to seek for the remedies that may remove these evils, and, so far as lies in their power, to apply these remedies.

The British House of Commons has recently appointed a committee to investigate the present state of the foreign African slave trade; but a distinct and definite object is in view—to ascertain whether the present cruising system of repression should be persevered in or not. The legislators and statesmen of England! are slow to believe that so long as a demand exists for African slaves, there will be a supply, notwithstanding the laws against the trade, and the combined efforts of armed squadrons to suppress it. Hence, the propriety of their inquiry into the effect of the measures hitherto pursued, to enable them to decide whether the existing circumstances of the case render some change of policy expedient.

But it is sufficient for *Friends* to know that the whole system is in active and vigorous existence; they possess no legislative or coercive measures, to be varied by circumstances; their duties are not changed by the increase or decrease of the foreign or domestic slave trade, nor by the greater or less intensity of the evils inseparably or temporarily connected with slavery. Under these impressions, we believe the inquiry now proper

for *Friends* to make, and, indeed, imperative upon them if they would fulfil their high calling, is not, to what unusual sufferings and abuses the slaves are subjected, or to what extent the slave trade is now pursued, but what are their own duties as Christians and Christian citizens, individually and collectively? To this point they must come at last, and we cannot but fear that the present movement, if movement it may be called, of the Meeting for Sufferings, will have little effect other than to divert the attention of the members of the Yearly Meeting from an examination into their individual duties, and to render them easy under, and unconscious of the solemn responsibilities which are really resting upon them.

In our last number, we had occasion to advert to the advice issued nine years ago, by this Yearly Meeting, inciting its members to "seriously and impartially examine what is required at their hands," and to an "individual inquiry, with a single eye to the pointings of Truth, how far they are clear" in respect to the "close connection and intimate intercourse" with the slaveholding sections of our country, "through the diversified and widely spread channels of commerce and business." If this had been earnestly repeated, year after year, as has been the case in relation to the subjects of education and temperance, and due heed had been given to it, we cannot but believe that, instead of being at the threshold of the matter, and instituting an inquiry into the extent, condition and character of the slave-trade and slavery, the Society would now be prepared, not only to acknowledge that "Slavery is the support of the slave-trade—without it, this system of theft, oppression, rapine and murder, must of necessity cease,"* but also to perceive that slavery is supported by the use and consumption of its productions, and to advise its members to "cease being customers in the market which makes slavery."

But, alas! how widely different from this is the general feeling amongst us! On no former similar occasion, have we observed so little disposition to enter into an exercise on the subject of slavery—to sympathise with the slave, or to consider what was required at our hands. A darkness which might be *felt*, seemed to shut out nearly every gleam of light, and so far as he might look to this highly professing Society for his deliverance, to extinguish almost all hope for the slave.

This discouraging state of things demands the

unflinching perseverance, the faithful devotion of those who are truly awakened to their duties. May they be enabled to cherish their grain of faith!

CORRESPONDENCE.—An esteemed foreign correspondent writes thus: "The views developed in the speech you wisely quote at large, delivered by George Thompson, M. P., point out, what I consider, the true remedy for American slavery. Replant India with its native weed; people again the grass-grown streets of Dacca with a race of manufacturers; give them all the improvements of English machinery, and the great end of the philanthropist would I think, gradually be attained. The great stimulus would be removed from slavery and the slave trade; and while the cotton trade of India would gradually revive, slavery in America, from year to year, would gradually languish; while the slave, as his labour became less valuable, would, step by step, arise to the condition of a freeman. Evil, according to the apostolic method, would be overcome with good, just as in the every day process of nature, light expels darkness."

Our friend seems to have a clear conception of the results to be expected from a great combined movement by a nation, or the people in the aggregate; and he sees no objection to *thus* removing the "great stimulus"—the consumption of slave-labour products—from slavery and the slave-trade, through a rejection of the slave-grown cotton of America, and the substitution of cotton cultivated in India by freemen. We scarcely need say that we have long entertained and often expressed similar views. But we regret to find, from subsequent remarks of our correspondent that he is one of those who forget that the aggregate action which would produce the contemplated effect, must itself necessarily be the result of individual action; and he even goes so far as to question the propriety of *individuals* adopting a principle and a course of conduct, which, he acknowledges would, if pursued by the people generally, constitute "the true remedy for American slavery;" attain "the great end of the philanthropist," and remove "the great stimulus from slavery and the slave trade." But we must let our friend speak for himself. "Be it remembered," he continues, "that the products of the slave, equally with those of the freeman, are the works of nature's God, and, I confess, I doubt whether it be the best mode to refuse these gifts, because, by an anti-slavery fiction, 'blood-stained.'"

We do not know how our esteemed correspon-

*The Friend, Ninth month, 9th, 1843.

deat can entertain this doubt, and at the same time approve the views of George Thompson. The fallacy of his argument has often been exposed, and yet, we fear, there are many sincere seekers after the truth, who continue deluded by it. We deny, on behalf of the slave, that the product of his labour is a *gift* to any but himself. On this point, our sentiments were given several years ago in a pamphlet, entitled, "Considerations on the use of the productions of slavery;" and we shall take the liberty of quoting them here.

"Overlooking the end for which slavery exists, it has been contended that however wrongful may be the holding of a slave and the using of him as an instrument of labour, there is no wrong in taking and using the fruits of his coerced labour. These, it is said, do not belong to him; they have been grown on his master's soil, and withal are the increase of the earth—the good gifts of heaven to man—which we are thankfully to accept and use.

"Let it be granted that no man is created to be a slave, but that every man is entitled to the proper use of himself, and it must follow that the results of that use should be accorded to him also: otherwise the grant would be a mere nullity. Obviously then, the man who is compelled to work for another, the fruits of his work being taken to that other's use, is robbed of those results. The aggression, overlooking the protracted torture of the labourer, is as perfect as any act of piracy can be, and is identical in spirit with it.

"The gift of 'the increase of the earth' is doubtless to all mankind. It is deeper, and higher, and stronger, than right conferred by parchment and seal. But it is a gift proceeding in an orderly manner: first, to the cultivator, and thence through him, according to fixed laws of moral action, to the consumer or user. There is no gift to one of another's coerced industry, any more than there is of his person, or any more than there is a gift of the earth's increase to the robber, who neither toils for nor buys it, or to the purchaser from that robber, though his plea may be that he has 'no control' of the robbery.

"Conceding, however, to him who holds a patent for the soil, all the rights it can *justly* give him, he has no patent to the man, and as much superior as is MAN to the dust he treads upon, are his rights to those of the other when they come in collision."

The same argument, in another form, has been thus urged: "God blesses the produce of the slave's labour, and therefore, in refusing to partake of it, we do wrong, and call in question His goodness and His mercy."

To this objection, the pamphlet already quoted, replies:

"It is true His rain descends upon the just and unjust; are we therefore to be partakers of the sins of the unjust? His light guides the robber to the work of evil—the murderer to the deed of death; are we hence to conclude that the robber and the murderer are right, or that we may

innocently partake of the fruits of their deeds?

"The inference from God's blessing the slaves' labour, if just, would be more comprehensively expressed thus: God has blessed the labour of slaves, therefore the holding of slaves is right! But the rice, cotton and tobacco plants, the sugar cane and all other plants which are cultivated by slaves, grow in accordance with a law which was established by the Almighty when he said, 'Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth.' Now His laws of nature are unalterable, except by His special intervention; and are we to conclude that because He does not thus interpose, and by a miracle blast all the plants cultivated by slaves, He therefore regards their labour with His especial favour and blessing! And because He does not send down fire from Heaven to destroy the oppressor—the slaveholder—that therefore He blesses slavery! God blesses the labour of all, both freemen and slaves, in contemplation of His having benevolently given to the cultivator of the soil, the production of the sweat of his face. God changes not; it is man who perverts and misuses His blessings. 'When the earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are applied to support unrighteous purposes; here the gracious design of infinite goodness in these his gifts being perverted, the earth is defiled, and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable, 'Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities.'—*Woolman*.

"We assert for man an ownership in the production of his own toil, unless alienated by his direct or implied consent; the exception being an affirmation of the doctrine. The freeman cannot raise his arm to do an act of labour but that he *feels* the truth of this ownership. The Christian cannot read the history of man's fall and the accompanying promise, without perceiving that in the sentence which connected labour with his condition,—'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,'—the fruit of it was given to him. Thus both natural and revealed law accord to man the produce of his labour. It is true, that man in society parts with some of his rights that others may be the better secured; and thus is the primitive law rightfully modified by parties to the social compact, and is so modified in the matter of labour: though the justice of natural law is often affirmed in the granting of specific liens on workmanship performed. But shall the slave's right be mystified by the plea of having surrendered some of his rights that others may be assured to him? Who is he? An outlaw! What is he in contemplation of the social law? A chattel! What are his rights in that relation? He has none—not even the right to complain of being treated as the beasts that perish! He has no lot in the social arrangement. The fruits, then, of the sweat of his brow belong to him, and he that takes them from him commits a robbery; not the less true or monstrous because sanctified by law. What, in this view of the case, are the rights of the slaveholder to the produce of the slave's labour? Can he create ownership to it by selling it to us? Can we honestly buy it?"

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.—Our readers will not expect the *Non-Slaveholder* to furnish details of the remarkable events which have recently occurred in France and other parts of Europe. It will, however, be proper that we should note some of the results which flow from these overturnings.

An article which we have copied from the London Anti-Slavery Reporter, announces the highly important and cheering fact, that one of the first measures proposed to be adopted by the new government in France, is freedom to more than two hundred thousand slaves in her colonies. One of the deputation who presented to the French Provisional Government, the Address headed, "Peace with France," which will be found in our pages this month, having expressed a wish for the complete abolition of slavery, Lamartine replied:—"We should have considered that we conquered a selfish and guilty liberty for ourselves, had we monopolized its blessings. We accordingly hastened to proclaim the freedom of all our brethren, and we congratulate ourselves on being, in that respect, in accord with the noble sentiments of England, which has so long emancipated the black race in her colonies. The moment the National Assembly shall meet, it will proclaim the principles we ourselves proclaimed the day after our glorious Revolution. One question only remains to be decided, which is, the indemnity to be paid to the colonists."

We are further informed by one of the members of the deputation, that Arago, the Minister of Marine, gave them an equally unequivocal assurance that slavery would be completely and at once abolished in the French Colonies.

The address to which we have alluded, sufficiently explains its origin and object. It was presented to the Provisional Government by George W. Alexander and Edward Miall, of London; Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham; B. Bradshaw, of Manchester, and Robert Norris, of Bristol. The evidence it contains of a friendly and brotherly feeling on the part of the British people towards their neighbours, whom they had long regarded as "natural enemies," gives promise of the preservation of peaceful relations between the two countries.

The London Nonconformist publishes the following extract of a letter from a highly respectable Wesleyan Minister, as testimony to the moderation of the French people.

"During the three days I was about, constantly mixing with the people in all their moods, and marked all their deeds; but not from the roughest or the drunkest (and I saw more drunken men those three days than all the time I have been in

France,) did I receive a word or a look, but what was polite, and even kind.

* * * The speed with which order was re-established, and the firmness with which it has been maintained, have been unspeakably creditable to the authorities. Their measures generally have borne, to my judgment, a stamp of remarkable aptitude, and generally breathe a spirit of elevated intention. Whatever be the issues of their experiment, they have, by their conduct in the crisis, deserved well of France and of all lovers of freedom, as also of all friends to peace and order.

The only part of their course on which I look with apprehension, is that respecting the 'operatives,'—as they are called, I fear they are taking steps which, if not made abortive by their own feebleness and precocity, will tend to deprive the working classes of self-reliance and the will to toil. And the country whose working classes fail on those points must waste away, and either live emaciated, or die of decay.

As to religion, I see no ground to regard the change in any aspect but that of hope. Whether or not the State will dissociate itself wholly from churches, as is generally expected, there can be little doubt that a more complete liberty than has been hitherto allowed, will prevail, and that everything necessary to complete the opening for the gospel will be afforded. Your Baptist brethren, I rejoice to think, will have no more legal persecutions."

Since the above was written, we have received the London Anti-Slavery Reporter, which contains the following important intelligence:

"No man, whatever may be his political opinions, can regard the marvellous events which are taking place on the Continent of Europe, with other feelings than those of the profoundest interest; and no philanthropist certainly can observe them without the most ardent wishes that their issues may advance the true liberties, the happiness, and the civilization of their fellow-men. Amidst the labours and excitements consequent on the great revolution which has just been accomplished in France, we are delighted to find that one of the earliest acts of the Provisional Government was to decree the abolition of slavery in all the French Colonies and Dependencies abroad. This was nobly done; and we trust will be peacefully realized. The decree which terminates this brutal and impious system, and which is soon to have the force of law, is as follows:—

"FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.*

"The Provisional Government of the Republic, considering that no French land can any longer bear slaves,

"Decrees,—A Commission is appointed at the Provisional Ministry of the Marine and Colonies, to prepare, as quickly as possible, the act of immediate emancipation in all the colonies of the Republic.

"The Minister of Marine will provide for the execution of the present decree.

"Paris, March 4th, 1848.

F. ARAGO."

"The Provisional Minister of the Marine and Colonies decrees,

"The Committee, instituted by the decree of the Provisional Government, to prepare the Act for the Emancipation of the Slaves in the Colonies of the Republic, shall be composed of the citizens

Victor Schoelcher, President.

Mestro, Director of the Colonies.

Perrinon, Mayor of the Marine Artillery.

Gatine, Advocate for the Council.

Gaumont, Operative Clock Maker.

Citizen Walker and Citizen Percin, Secretaries to Commission.

"Paris, March 4th, 1048. F. ARAGO."

"The agent of the Government was despatched to the colonies by the second mail in March, we may therefore soon expect intelligence of his arrival in them, and of the reception he has met with from the planters. For their sakes we earnestly hope, that they will throw no difficulties in the way of this functionary, but aid him in the great object of his mission. They have now the opportunity, by the generous exercise of their power, to attach the negroes to themselves, and of showing their respect for their mother country.

"The coloured population resident in Paris, of whom there are a considerable number, have waited by deputation on the Provisional Government to express their gratitude for the great measure of emancipation. They were well received by M. Cremieux, who, in an eloquent address, said: 'The new Republic will accomplish what the Republic in 1792 proclaimed. You shall again become free. There shall no longer be a slave on the soil of liberty. In our colonies, as well as in continental France, every man who inhabits the land shall be free.' These declarations were received with loud acclamations."

ST. DOMINGO OR HAYTI.—The "horrors of St. Domingo," have been so long and so frequently attributed to an attempt on the part of the slaves to obtain their liberty, that the error has become generally credited. A correct history of the transactions which resulted in the independence of that Island, has recently appeared in the *National Era*. We copy a part in this number, and intend to give the remaining portion next month, recommending the whole to the careful attention of our readers.

SELECTIONS.

From the *National Era*.

ST. DOMINGO.

THE MISREPRESENTATION.

April 3d, 1848, Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, in replying to Mr. Giddings, said:

"But he would give the professed philanthropist from Ohio one instance—a horrible instance it was—where this process of universal emanci-

pation was done at a blow, with a single dash of the pen; it was the well-known case of St. Domingo. Then the thing had been effected by the busy intermeddling of visionary fanatics, just as it was now sought to be done by the gentleman from Ohio and his associates. There was then a band of fanatics in London, who met in the old Jewry, and who passed resolutions very similar to the amendment which it was now sought to foist on the pending resolution.

"It was then proposed to aid these negroes with men and money in a struggle for their freedom; and similar resolutions were at the same time adopted in France by an association similar to that to which the gentleman and his abolition friends belonged among us. These fanatical visionaries set the revolt of the blacks in St. Domingo in motion; their machinations succeeded in exciting a servile insurrection, in the course of which every white man and woman and child in the island was massacred, with the exception of a small remnant, who fled to the shipping in the harbor, and barely escaped with their lives. Whole hecatombs of dead bodies were piled up in the streets, amid burning, murder, and pillage. Nay, so great was the fury of the blacks, that their rage and revenge could not glut themselves with the butchery of every white person, (and they found no difficulty in drawing that line of distinction which the gentleman thought so great a mystery; it was no problem to the negroes;) but they then turned upon the mulattoes, and exterminated them. They seemed to hate every human creature that had white blood in his veins with a bitterness that had no parallel, unless in the breast of the member from Ohio."

Mr. Bayly, just before making these statements, remarked that the "House knew very well that he was not in the habit of speaking of what he had not looked into, or of making assertions without knowing on what they were founded." We shall soon demonstrate to the satisfaction of every reader, we care not what his prepossessions, that, in regard to St. Domingo, Mr. Bayly has made assertions which he cannot prove, and spoken on a subject without knowing any thing about it, if we may judge by the extract above quoted.

His loose declamation, we presume, was stimulated by an editorial in the *National Intelligencer*, which appeared on the morning of the day when the speech was made, betraying a similar misunderstanding of the subject referred to:

"*Les Amis des Noirs*," says the *Intelligencer*, "having, in the old Revolution, just as they have done now, procured the passage of a decree to the same effect as that to which we have referred, the Government of the principal colony (St. Domingo) knowing that the decree was one of desolation and death to them and theirs, made by persons who either knew not or were reckless of what they were doing, hesitated to carry it into effect. Impatient of the delay, *Les Noirs* took the execution of it into their own hands."

The assertion is here made that a decree for the immediate abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies was procured by "*Les Amis des Noirs*," and that from this sprung the horrors of St. Domingo. It is utterly groundless, as we shall presently show.

One word in regard to the "*Amis des Noirs*"—"fanatical visionaries," "an association similar to that to which the gentleman from Ohio and his abolition friends belong among us," says Mr. Bayly. The leader of this abolition association, of these "fanatical visionaries," whose "machinations succeeded in exciting a servile insurrection," was LA FAYETTE, the friend and ally of America, whose full length portrait, in the Hall of the House, was looking down on the man who ventured to stigmatize him as a fanatic. La Fayette, Condorcet, Brissot, and the Abbé Grégoire, were the controlling spirits of "*Les Amis des Noirs*." This is a matter of history, into which, we presume, the gentleman from Virginia had never looked.

PRELIMINARY.

We now ask the attention of our readers, especially the Southern portion of them, while we present a record of well authenticated facts in relation to the "horrors of St. Domingo." We have carefully examined standard authorities upon the subject, and if Mr. Bayly or the *Intelligencer* choose to question our statements, there is not a member of Congress who may not verify them by consulting the several volumes treating of St. Domingo, in the Library of Congress. It is a shame that the American People should permit their minds to be abused by the inconsiderate, reckless assertions of men, either too prejudiced or too careless to examine, before they presume to assert.

The population of St. Domingo in 1789 was estimated as follows:

In the French section.

Whites	-	-	-	30,826
Free coloured	-	-	-	27,548
Slaves	-	-	-	465,429

Total 523,803

In the Spanish section.

Free people of all colours	122,640
Slaves	30,000

Total 152,640
Grand total 643,000

Never was there a more heterogeneous and inflammable population. The whites were divided into three classes—the creole planters or large

proprietors, constituting the native aristocracy; the European residents, composing the office holders, adventurers, speculators; and the *petite blancs*, the poorer whites, tradesmen, mechanics. Each of these classes hated the others. The aristocratic planter was jealous of the monopoly of office in the hands of the European, and regarded with profound contempt the lower order of whites; who in their turn looked up with sullen envy at the ostentatious display of the planters.

These classes had but one feeling in common; and that was a most implacable abhorrence of the mulattoes or free coloured people, who, it is stated, owned one-third of the real estate and one-fourth of the personal property of the island. Notwithstanding this they were considered as public property; compelled to do any kind of service without compensation; degraded and insulted in every possible way, short of absolute enslavement.

The slaves, or negroes, were most brutally treated in the French part of the island. This is the testimony of all who have written upon the subject. Large masses of them consisted of Africans recently imported, who still retained the heathenish superstitions and usages of their mother country.

It is obvious that whatever temporary prosperity in a pecuniary sense such a colony might enjoy, it was doomed to ruinous convulsions. The state of society was unnatural, abhorrent, repugnant to every principle of humanity, morals, and, we may add, political economy. Any violent change in the mother country would be certain to array in fierce conflict elements so fearfully discordant.

We shall prove,

1st. That Emancipation was not in any sense the cause of the troubles and insurrections in St. Domingo.

2dly. That the history of that doomed colony furnishes conclusive evidence in proof of the entire safety of Immediate Emancipation, as it is called.

THE BEGINNING OF TROUBLES.

The beginning of troubles may be dated in the year 1788. December 27th of that year, the States-General of France passed a resolution to admit to that body a number of the "*Tiers Etat*," equal to that of the other two orders. When the news reached St. Domingo, the white colonists immediately resolved to assert their right to be represented, and commissioned eighteen delegates, six of whom, after

much discussion by the States-General, were recognized. About this time the Society of *Les Amis des Noirs* was organized. Next arose in Paris a secret association of the planters, called the Massiac Club, with branches in the colonies; instituted ostensibly to support the revolution, but really to sustain this movement, so far as it might strengthen them against the colonial authorities who were supposed to favour the rights of the free people of colour.

Every blow struck for liberty in France electrified the colonies. When the fall of the Bastille was announced in St. Domingo, the colonists became wrought up with intense excitement.—“Liberty and Fraternity” sounded from the lips of all classes. All were seized with the fever of imitation; and whatever France did was regarded as a pattern for her dependencies. Just at this time a rumor was started of a servile insurrection; and a large force was marched to the locality designated as its seat, but every thing there was tranquil. The rumor was groundless; still the preparations made against this imaginary horror, it is thought, suggested to the slaves possibilities never dreamed of before.

THE REAL STRUGGLE.

Meantime, in the general discussion of the subject of human rights, the mulattoes, or free people of colour, began to take a deep interest. Many of their number were at Paris, receiving an education, and their correspondence with relatives at home stimulated them to the demand of rights, which the French Revolutionists could with no consistency deny.

October 22d, 1789, the wealthy mulattoes despatched a deputation to Paris to urge their claims to representation in the Colonial Assembly. They presented 6,000,000 livres to the Government, and pledged one-fifth of their property to aid in the liquidation of the national debt. The deputation received great encouragement. Lafayette and his associates deeply sympathized with them. The President of the National Assembly said, that no part of the nation ever reclaimed in vain its rights from the Assembly of the representatives of the French People. M. Charles de Lameth declared that, although he was one of the largest proprietors in the colony, he was in favour of the admission of the mixed races to a share in the legislative power.

Encouraged by these indications, the free people of color in the colony began to press their claims on the attention of the authorities; but

they were at once met by the most unrelenting opposition from all classes of the whites. Lacombe, a mulatto, was hung at Cape Francois for having merely signed a petition on the subject. M. Ferrand de Baudiere, a magistrate at Petit Goave, a venerable old man who had drawn up a petition of a similar kind for the mulattoes, was dragged from his home and brutally murdered. The *petits blancs* signalized themselves above all others by their outrages against these unfortunate people, who, thus far, had distinguished themselves for their forbearance.

January, 1790, the Assembly of the colony convened, consisting of some two hundred and thirty members, who were implacable against the mulattoes, and disposed to assume for themselves independent legislative powers.

Lafayette and his friends were meanwhile urging the claims of the free people of colour, and had the satisfaction of procuring the passage of a decree by the National Assembly, dated March 8th, 1790, that “every person of twenty-five years of age, the proprietor of real estate, or, in fault of that, who had been a resident of the place for two years, and paid taxes for the support of the colony, should be entitled to vote for members of the Colonial Assembly.”

Let it be observed that the contest concerned not the natural rights of the slaves, whom nobody proposed to emancipate, but the political rights of the free coloured people. Although the decree did not, in specific terms, extend the right of suffrage to this class, it was clearly understood that by the omission of any qualifying prefix to the word “persons,” its rights were secured.

The promulgation of the act kindled a flame in the colony. The whites execrated the National Assembly. The Colonial Assembly passed a resolve that it would prefer death rather than share political rights with “a degenerate and bastard race.” The populace went so far as to threaten death to the French residents in the colony. This Assembly was dissolved. A new election was held; the mulattoes were excluded by force from the suffrage to which they were entitled; the same unrelenting enemies of their class were returned; and one of the first acts of the new Assembly was, to assert its right to originate all legislation, and overcome the Governor-General’s veto by a majority of two-thirds. This functionary, finding his prerogative encroached upon, endeavoured to strengthen himself by secretly encouraging the coloured party.

Ere this, however, intelligence of the disturbed state of the colonies, and of apprehended violence in Martinique, having been received by the Home Government, the National Assembly passed a decree explaining away that of March 8th, so far as it conferred political rights on the free people of colour, and, in effect, licensing the slave trade—an act of tergiversation which aroused the indignation of Lafayette and *Les Amis des Noirs*.

Bitter feuds continued to prevail in the colony until the principal provinces were arrayed against each other, and open war broke out between the Governor General and the Colonial Assembly. In the struggle, the free people of colour were invoked by the former, and he made such head against the Assembly that the whole body, driven to desperation, resolved to embark for France, and lay its grievances before the National Assembly. Meanwhile the mulattoes continued to be the subjects of the grossest outrages and insults, and began to lose their patience.

Vincent, or James Ogé, an educated mulatto, in Paris, who had for a long time been labouring for the reclamation of the rights of his class, disgusted at the explanatory decree of the National Assembly, out of heart, irritated and desperate, abandoned Paris, and on the 2d October, 1790, landed at Cape Francois, where, without much deliberation, he put himself at the head of two hundred of his friends, resolved to compel concessions. He demanded of the Governor General that the decree of March 8th be carried into effect; expressly excluding from his demand the negroes or slaves. With them he would have nothing to do. No rights but those of the mulattoes were in question. The response to this demand was a force of six hundred men sent out to punish him. These were routed. Another force, twelve hundred strong, with artillery, was more successful. Ogé's band was scattered; he and his fellow-chief, Baptiste Chavanne, took refuge in the Spanish part of the island, whence they were reclaimed. They were tried secretly. The whole mulatto population was deeply excited. At last, after two months' confinement, they were sentenced; led, bareheaded, *en chemise*, into the public square, with ropes round their necks, and then placed upon the wheel, where, with faces upturned to heaven, and their thighs, legs, and arms broken, they died a horrible, lingering death. This took place on the 9th of March, 1791. It was never forgotten; it filled the hearts of the free coloured population with undying hate.

Similar efforts were made by them in the Southern and Western provinces, but they were peacefully put down by the Governor General and his adviser, Colonel Mauduit. But for this they received no credit. The planters suspected them of having made secret promises to the mulattoes, to be fulfilled at a more convenient season.

September 16th, 1790, the Assembly of St. Mark's arrived at Brest, and soon made known their complaints. But the decision of the National Assembly was against them. It passed a decree extinguishing all the legislative powers of the Colonial Assembly, prohibiting its members from being elected thereafter, sustaining the Governor General, and the king was besought to issue commands for a new election, conformably to both the decrees of the 8th and the 28th of March—decrees, by the way, clearly contradictory. The consequences of this unwise, vacillating, inconsistent legislation by the National Assembly were most ruinous. This decree was dated October 12th, 1790.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of the great planters. They looked with dismay upon the elevation of the *petits blancs*; and both were fired with deadly animosity against the mulattoes. The authorities were overwhelmed. Col. Mauduit was horribly murdered; Blanchelande, the Governor General, was compelled to fly from Port-au-Prince, and the colonists there usurped independent powers. Cape Francois, actuated by rivalry with Port-au-Prince, received the Governor General with open arms; but everywhere else the wildest anarchy prevailed.

"Amid all the varying animosities of party warfare," says Brown, in his History of St. Domingo, "on one subject the unanimity was perfect. This was the doggedness of creole prejudice when the question was brought up to establish the political rights of the mulattoes." Up to this moment, despite all the measures of the Home Government, these people had been excluded from their rights. The Constituent Assembly at Paris, to obviate all doubt, and settle the question, decided (May 15th, 1791,) that "all people of color residing in the French colonies, and born of free parents, were entitled to the same privileges as French citizens, and, among others, to the right of voting at elections, and to seats in the Provincial and Colonial Assemblies." The violence of the colonists now overleaped all bounds. The Constituent Assembly was execrated; France was abjured; every French resident was menaced; the parties swore to resist

force by force. The Governor General, in consternation, ventured to announce that he would suspend the operation of the decree until he could receive the reply to a remonstrance he had just addressed to the Minister of Marine.

All this time the free people of colour were quiet, carefully abstaining from violence, relying upon the energy and good faith of the Home Government. An influential member of their class wrote to a friend in Paris: "The punishment of Oge has only served to make us more than ever resolved to conquer, or perish in the struggle which is to decide whether we shall enjoy the rights offered to us by the restorers of French Liberty. We have never been guilty of murdering any one, or of intending any one's death; yet our own blood has been poured out like water. We could retaliate, but we refrain. The idea that the negroes might take advantage of such hostilities to desolate this beautiful country is enough to make us renounce the thought."

(To be Continued.)

From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter.

House of Lords.—Feb. 7.

STATE OF THE WEST INDIES.

Lord Stanley opened the debate.—In 1841 the House of Commons came to the decision not to admit sugar the growth of slave-labour; a general election ensued, and the vote was confirmed by the great majority of the country. Hopes of present support and future protection thus encouraged, they relied upon Parliament to maintain their interests against unjust competition, while they boldly buckled on their armour to compete on nearly equal terms with our own rival colonists. In 1844 and in 1845, when the subject was under deliberation, the principle was laid down on all sides in Parliament that the slave-grown sugar should be for ever so far prohibited as to prevent its interference with the ordinary and regular supply from those countries where free-labour only was employed. It was under these circumstances the faith of Parliament was pledged, and these efforts made; yet, after all this, by a sudden and rapid change in your policy in 1846, not only was slave-labour introduced and brought into competition with British labour, but was introduced without that discriminating duty which, in 1840, the same ministers deemed to be indispensable to the protection of our colonies,—without that duty of 12s. which, a few years before, was thought the very minimum which could safely be resorted to,—with a duty of only 7s., that 7s. duty being, year

by year, reduced, and so far reduced in the course of six years, that our colonies were put eventually on precisely the same footing as Cuba and Brazil, although we, from motives of humanity, and at the dictates of religion, prohibited to our own countrymen that species of labour by the means of which alone they could carry on a fair competition. Under these circumstances, then, I say, the act of 1846 was a bounty on, and a bonus to, slave-labour. With a degree of infatuation which appears to me to be monstrous, you waste the lives of your subjects, the wealth of the country, and the energies of your seamen, on the pestilential coast of Africa, in an attempt which you confess yourselves to be hopeless, and not only hopeless, but so utterly unsuccessful as to tend rather to increase than diminish the evil you are seeking to put down—and you go to all this expenditure of life and money for the purpose of eradicating on the coast of Africa, that very trade which, in Cuba and Brazil, you are doing all in your power commercially to foster. The noble lord, after briefly recapitulating some of the main points of his speech, proceeded to say, that upon the whole question his opinion was firm and decided, and that, do what they would, apply what palliatives they might, it was impossible—that, in the present state of the West Indies, in the present state of our colonies in every part of the world, it was impossible that the proprietors could, on equal terms, compete with slave-grown produce. There was now a larger stock of sugar on hand than had ever been known—a stock equal in amount to all the slave-grown produce that had ever been imported. The competition of the slave grown sugar had supplanted and thrown out of the market the produce of our own colonies to the extent of 36,000 tons, while the houses connected with the trade had been ruined. If they persevered in that course they would find, when by the encouragement they had given to Cuba and the Brazils, they had transferred slavery from their own possessions to those of other countries; when, with all their vaunted notions of humanity and love of freedom, they were lured by the temptation of a reduction of one penny a pound on the price of sugar,—and a "penny wise and a pound foolish" act it was;—when they found, that after all their inconsistency, folly, and crime, they had really encouraged slavery,—and, in God's name, if that was their intention, why not withdraw the squadron from the African coast?—when they had done all this, they would discover that the result was not even the miserable boon of cheap sugar, so eagerly sought, and that

they had not only failed in stopping slavery and the slave-trade, but had effected the ruin and destruction of our colonies.

The Bishop of Oxford said—

I hold in my hand a petition, the prayer of which is nearly the same as that of others which have been laid on your lordships' table. It is a petition from the Council and Assembly of the island of Barbadoes, complaining of the same disasters, and pointing to the same cure as the others I have referred to. Important as I have felt this petition to be, on account of the source whence it comes, I should have begged the parties who committed it to me, to commit it rather to some other person, if I felt that this question could properly be considered a mere fiscal question. I should be glad to leave that subject to be discussed by the lay lords I see around me. But I think this question is drawn up into a much higher region, and must be judged on higher principles than a mere fiscal question. This is at once my excuse for addressing you on the subject, and the reason why, not viewing with the same dread as others do the principle of abolishing protection generally, I think, in this instance, protection ought not to be abolished. There are circumstances in which the warmest advocates of free-trade would at once allow that the principle ought not to be applied. The man would be thought insane who should claim a liberty to introduce infective bales of goods to spread death and desolation around, on the principle of establishing an open market; and he would be thought almost equally mad who should deny the legality of a national blockade for the same reason, or who should say that a nation ought to allow its subjects to give pirates firearms in exchange for food, because firearms were dear, and nowhere else could goods be got as cheaply. Any man would be held insane who would speak of this as a free-trade argument. What has been the argument of the noble earl? This—that the depreciation of the produce of the West Indies is the result, not of the competition of slave produce of Cuba and Brazil, but the general depreciation of all mercantile affairs. But the noble lord did not answer, because I believe it was unanswerable, the argument of the noble lord (Stanley,) that if the general depreciation of mercantile affairs sank the price of West Indian sugar, how is it that the price of Cuban and Brazilian sugar has risen during the same time? This argument is, I think, unanswerable. The produce of Cuba is just as much exposed to the general depreciating causes which the noble lord says have operated against West Indian

produce; but the fact is, the sugar of the West Indies is now, for the first time, brought into ruinous competition with sugar that can be produced more cheaply. What was the only other argument used by the noble lord? He told us, that just as the protective duties sank the price of labour sank, and that therefore the West Indian proprietors, no longer obliged to give extortionate wages, could produce sugar with gain to themselves. What did the argument go to prove? Nothing more than this—that it is necessary the West Indian proprietor should never know anything like prosperity; that he should always be kept on the verge of ruin in order to make his plans work well. We do not deny the difficulty the planters have to contend with in dealing with men who are every year more aware of their value in the labour market. A prompt command of labour is an absolute necessity in the tropics. Every one knew the importance of a full command of agricultural labour at certain times of the year in England; among the vegetation of the tropics that necessity is increased tenfold. He then went to show that by the Act of Emancipation a pledge was given that free labour should be encouraged and supported. That pledge was not a mere question of how far you were bound by acts and treaties; it was a pledge founded on the labours and sacrifices of all the great men of successive ages—the cautious preparations of Pitt, the zealous exertions of Fox, the labours of those who devoted their whole lives, not to building themselves a great name or vast fortune, but to wiping away a stain from England—to giving a pledge that she as a nation would never more have anything to do with the accursed slave-trade. This is a bond stronger than a parchment deed, an engagement more binding than the promise of any minister. I say you are now sinning against these great men; let the argument be drawn out as finely as you will, you are, in plain English, sharing a future profit with the planters of Cuba. The noble earl tells us it is in vain to exclude slave-grown sugar—that we shall but drive it to the continent; and it comes to the same thing whether the 150,000 tons are sold there or in England. All the same, my lords? Is it the same thing whether I buy stolen goods or know that another man does it? Is it the same thing whether I keep my hands clean of such an enormity, or commit it because if I do not another man will? Surely this is an argument we ought not, as a nation, to tolerate; it does not agree with that high tone which broke out in many parts of the noble earl's speech. It seems to me an argument the people of this

country will not endure to have urged upon them : I answer it by saying, even if the evil be done we must not be the doers of it. Let us remember what the noble lord stated at the close of his speech, and it may be a prophetic truth, that if we first ruin the sugar growth of our West Indian islands, we shall give over to the planters of Cuba and Brazil, not only the supply of our own market, but of all the markets of the world. It is a peculiar attribute of slave produced sugar that it is easily cheapened suddenly, and for a time, by an increase in the importation of slaves. The planter has only to give an order to the slave dealer on the African coast, a large number of full grown negroes are imported, a great quantity of virgin soil is broken up, the market is filled with slave sugar to the ruin of the competitor, according to a well known plan of trade. Men say they are prepared to undersell a rival for a few months, drive him out of the market, then raise their prices and pay themselves abundantly. This is what we shall do by putting it in the power of the importer of slaves to ruin our own slower and safer production. Remember another point bearing closely on this subject. The noble earl has told us it was an old abolition argument, that free is cheaper than slave labour, and that it was altogether inconsistent in us to urge for an instant the supposition that the West Indies could not compete with Cuba because it is supplied with slave labour. This is entirely a misstatement, though an unintentional misstatement, on the part of the noble earl. It was not an abolition argument that free is cheaper than slave labour, but an emancipation argument. It was always admitted that it was cheaper to import slaves full grown, without the expense of their youth or age, and work them to death in the sugar plantations, supplying their places with others. The argument was first used by (we understood) Mr. Croker, of Liverpool; he said, as the slave-trade was abolished it would be cheaper to prepare the slaves for freedom by working them as a black peasantry. I believe free labour is cheaper than slave labour. I believe that Providence has so ordained things that what is wrong cannot be really profitable. But what is the measure of profit? It is the greatest amount of money got in the shortest given time by the least given quantity of labour. If that is the true value of profit, we ought not to hold up as crimes the acts of the pirate and robber who by piracy and robbery makes himself suddenly rich. But in the long run God sets his hand against wrongdoing; not by such a suspension of ordinary laws as would make six hours of a freeman produce as much as eighteen of the tasked slave; but by filling the heart with such terrors as those felt by the rich Cuba planter, who trembles, knowing that his wealth to-day may be lost in an outbreak of his slaves to-morrow, by breaking down all the fabric of morality, peace, and happiness, which alone makes life dear and wealth worth having. These are the ways in which God testifies at last against the infraction of such laws as this. The question returned simply to this—shall we, as the English nation, after so many sacrifices to abolish the slave-trade, for the sake of one penny in the price of a pound of sugar, content ourselves to share the profit of the Cuba planter? Let the house and the country remember, that great as were the abominations of the slave-trade, they are now still greater. If the blockade does nothing else, at least it does this, it aggravates a thousandfold the sufferings of these wretched victims of man's cupidity. You have attempted with your war vessels to close the ports of Africa, and in thus rendering exportation more dangerous and hazardous you have made it the interest of the exporter to cram his victims still closer than before in those ships which are now constructed with the one regard to speed, and in this way you but increase the agonies and add to the deaths of those whom you strive to save and to preserve. And when they reach Cuba, how, again, do they fare? I am ready to admit that there is no code of slave-laws in the known world which contains, on paper and parchment, so many securities for the life and protection of the slave as the code of Cuba; but in such a state of society as is there presented, that code is a dead letter, and an unobserved document merely. There is no safety, no law for the slave, and I believe there never was a country where the sufferings of the slaves were greater than they are at this moment in Cuba and in the Brazils. Every horrible feature which has been marked in the history of the enormities of the field slave system of the olden time, is found to be exaggerated fourfold in the unhappy land of which I speak. Things which were never known, never heard of, in the worst days of slavery in our own West Indian colonies, are there taking place unconcealed in the face of day. The professed importation of the one sex alone, the evident intention to work them, and not to reproduce them, the invariable use of the lash to compel to labour, and the presence of bloodhounds in the plantation by the side of the miserable driver—these things are evidences of the horrors of the system. As one of these

drivers said, when the question was put to him, "Do you think I could trust my life in the field if I had nothing more than this lash to defend myself? I must have these brute animals for guardians, and I must have these weapons in my belt, and by these only could I compel the code under which my victims are to live." And this, observe my lords, is the system which, as I contend, you are called upon to support and perpetuate. Most truly do I, in my conscience, believe that if these truths, in all their revolting aspect, were made manifest—if the English people would but recognize these facts, and see that it is not a question of protection, one way or the other, but whether or not they shall have sugar cheaper by the sufferings of these slaves of Cuba, the settlement of this discussion would be certain and immediate. Let the principle be comprehended, and the mind of the people will insist upon morality and honour; they will dash at once from their lips the chalice you offer them, tinged, as it is, with the blood of fellow-creatures sacrificed to economy. I am convinced that the people have been misled, and that they are ignorant of the inevitable truth, that if they violate their most sacred duties and the holiest feelings, and become abettors in the guilt of others, they will be condemned in some way or other, to be partakers in the punishment; for, as the noble lord has eloquently remarked, it is impossible that any nation can continue long to set at defiance the plainest laws of God without some corresponding suffering accruing to the sinners. You cannot share the Cuba profit without incurring your share of the Cuba guilt; and you cannot incur the Cuba guilt without having recorded against you the Cuba chastisement. Let, then, this question, in all its forcible simplicity, be stated in England, and I doubt not of the result. It may be a little sooner or a little later; but I hope, as ruin to the West Indians is impending, and we may shortly be called upon to abandon ourselves to new treaties with other states, the present moment will be made available to our purpose. I have ventured to press this matter upon your lordships once again, because I feel that it is a question of the deepest national prosperity. I have endeavoured to state the argument fairly, and I cannot believe, if the subject be but viewed in a clear light, that after all our anti-slavery labours we will now consent thus palpably to frustrate our own designs, and contradict our own principles. I, for one at least, do declare, if we barefacedly admit this produce of slave labour, on the single ground that sugar will be one penny

per pound dearer if we do not admit it,—that it is, in point of fact, to make our abolition struggle a deep and indelible disgrace to this country, to convert our cordon of ships on the coast of Africa into a glaring piece of hypocrisy, and to render our treaties with neighbouring states an insulting and degrading mockery.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The question of the African slave-trade is again, we are happy to say, attracting public attention. Recent facts show clearly that it is on the increase; and that instead of an abatement, there appears to be an augmentation of its horrors. The increase in this horrible traffic is to be attributed to the Sugar Act of 1846, which permits the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil to enter the British markets for home consumption.

In reference to Brazil, no one will be found hardy enough to contest the fact, that since the passage of that fatal measure, a vast impulse has been given to the slave-trade, and a corresponding extension to slavery. Sugar cultivation in that country is now all the rage, new plantations are being laid down, and new capital is freely invested in the blood and sinews of the African. It may be affirmed, on good authority, that the number of slaves imported into the Brazilian empire in 1846, was between 50,000 and 60,000; and in 1847, upwards of 70,000. In fact, from the impunity which is enjoyed, and the vast profits realized in slave-dealing transactions, it is no longer a question in Brazil, whether the supply will be equal to the demand.

By those who are unwilling to give up the idea that it may be destroyed by force, we are constantly told that the number of captures increases every year, and that they never were so numerous as at present. But, in our opinion, this only proves the fact of the increased activity of the slave-trade. Those who reside on the Western coast of Africa, or who are engaged in its suppression, tell us that for every slaver captured, from seven to eight escape, and that the united action of the three fleets of France, England, and the United States, is powerless to put it down. A few captures have been made by the United States squadron, but it has led to no useful result. The skill with which the enterprises are planned, the secrecy with which they are conducted, and the daring energy with which they are executed, are more than a match for the activity of the cruisers. The last accounts we have seen of the French squadron, state that it has captured about a dozen slavers, but on

their being brought for trial before the French Courts, every one of them escaped condemnation. Our own squadron has been more successful, because it has had a wider field of action, and greater power under treaties, but the great bulk of the slavers captured have been under the equipment-article, without slaves.

To show the vast benefits which Cuba has derived from the Sugar Act of 1846, we give the following facts, from Drake, Brothers & Co.'s Havana Price Current of the 8th January last, from which it appears that the exports of sugar from that island in 1845, was only 135,407 boxes of four cwt. each, whereas in 1846 it amounted to 353,185 boxes, and in 1847 to 415,405 boxes. In making this statement, Drake, Brothers & Co. observe, "The production of 1847 has far exceeded that of any previous year, and the prices obtained by the planters have been so HIGHLY REMUNERATIVE, that they are enabled to adopt every means for the further extension of their crops." In a subsequent price current, dated Havana, the 23d of January, we learn, that "During the past year, the prices of sugar in our markets were supported at high rates, with but slight and temporary fluctuations, notwithstanding the large crop. This was mainly owing to *unprecedentedly heavy shipments to the United States and Great Britain*, aided by a well-sustained enquiry for Spain, with a fair demand for other parts. The shipments for British ports comprised 167,000 boxes from hence and Matanzas, with an addition of some importance from other parts of the island. The bulk of the exports went forward in the early part of the season, *when there was not only the stimulus created by the admission of our sugars for English consumption, but also a general expectation that a large quantity would be required for the use of breweries and distilleries.*" Thus we perceive that, notwithstanding the unusual supply of sugar imported from all parts of the world, into this country last year, which reduced its price so low, that the British growers of the East and West Indies suffered frightful losses thereby, it was nevertheless sufficiently good as to be "highly remunerative" to the Cuban planters, and to afford them the means of extending their cultivation.

The quantity of sugar imported into Great Britain during the year 1847, from British India, Mauritius, and the West Indies, was about 280,000 tons—the whole quantity consumed was 290,000 tons; of this latter quantity, about 50,000 was foreign. This year the quantity of British sugar imported will be probably one-third less, which will afford Cuba and Brazil still further scope for

their produce, and give additional stimulus to the slave-trade. The following year, unless some marvellous change takes place, which we do not expect, the quantity imported from British possessions will not be one-half the quantity sent home in 1847. We confess we cannot contemplate so frightful a result, with the ever growing demand for sugar in this country, and the extension that will be given to its use in breweries and distilleries, without feelings of the greatest distress. Alas for Africa, when political economy is armed against the liberty of her children, and the insatiable spirit of commerce is fed with the bitter tears and the life's blood of crushed humanity!—*A. S. Reporter.*

DIFFICULTIES.

Milton tells us that he dared be known to think the poet Spencer "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas;" and it is true that the poets, while they present to us "truth severe in fairy fiction dressed," often give us more impressive lessons with regard to the duties of life, than the professed teacher does. An incident in Tasso shows us in the most striking manner, how to deal with difficulties. We give the passage in Hoole's version, a friend having borrowed our Fairfax. When Alcasto offered to enter the Enchanted Forest—

"To oppose
His further way a mass of flame arose;
Wider each moment it expands, and higher,
And seems one lofty wall of solid fire,
Which round the wood a wondrous bulwark
stands,
To guard its treasures from intrusive hands.
Part high above the rest aspiring grew,
And seemed a towering castle to the view.
The ramparts of this new-made hell to guard.
Vast stores of warlike engines were prepared;
And oh! in what dire crowds the infernal brood
To guard the castellated barrier stood!
Some eyed the chief with stern and withering
look;
Their weapons some with threatening gesture
shook."

Alcasto was alarmed and retired. When Tancred undertook to enter, the same wall of fire was there to oppose him. But he was not to be daunted by difficulties, and determined to make them give way—

"If boldly I advance, the fires I see
More fierce in aspect than in fact may be;
But come the worst! As thus the hero spoke,
A desperate leap among the flames he took;
Boldness unmatched! Yet did no heat intense,
As of surrounding fire, affect his sense;
Nor rightly, in a space so brief, he knew
If fancied were the flames he saw, or true;
For hardly touched, the baseless phantom fled."

This is the way to meet difficulties. Plunge into them, and they are gone. There are always lions in the way, but if you march up to them boldly, they growl and retire. "Madame," said one of the ministers of Louis XVI. to Marie Antoinette, "if the thing is only difficult, it is done; if it is impossible, it shall be done." The boasting Frenchman, without knowing it, expressed a great truth. The true principle is to act as if nothing were impossible which it is our duty to do. Where there is a will there is a way. The great Disposer of events seconds the efforts of those who resolve to accomplish noble ends, and our duty is to

"Act, act in the living present,
Heart within and God o'er head."

There is a class of men who, when any course of conduct is proposed to them, see nothing but difficulties in the way. Though blind before, they instantly acquire a supernatural intensity of vision. They are surrounded with horrors. In whatever direction they turn, awful phantoms rise before them threatening destruction—lions roar, tigers growl, jackals scream, thunders below and lightnings flash. Urge them to advance, and the wall of fire before them burns to the very heavens.

The story in the Arabian Nights of the Princess Perizadeh and her two brothers, furnishes a beautiful illustration of the effects of fear upon the accomplishment of great enterprises. When Prince Bahman began to ascend the mountain that he might get the speaking bird, the singing tree, and the wonderful gold-coloured water, immediately he heard voices around him calling out, "Where is the fool going? What would he have? Do not let him pass." Others cried, "stop him! catch him! kill him!" Others in tones of thunder exclaimed, "Thief, assassin! murderer!" Others ridiculed him, and said, "No, no, let the pretty fellow pass! the cage and bird are kept for him!" The Prince was at last filled with terror, and turned to run down the hill, when he was instantly changed to a black stone. Prince Perviz next undertook the exploit and met with the same fate. The Princess followed them, determined to succeed or perish. Before commencing the ascent, however, she took the precaution to stuff her ears with cotton, that she might not hear the sounds which had been so fatal to others. The higher she went, the greater the number of voices that attempted to intimidate her; but the cotton prevented them from penetrating her ears in such thundering tones. Every opprobrious epithet was heaped upon her; but she pressed on undaunted,

till at last she could perceive the bird in its cage. The bird itself now joined in the effort to drive her back, and cried out in a voice of thunder, "Go back, fool!" The Princess rushed on, laid her hand upon the cage, exclaimed, "Bird, I have you!" and the enterprise was achieved.* We may see in this an illustration of the history of every great undertaking. Most men listen to their fears, and are turned to stone—to mere lifeless masses. It is only those who stop their ears, and determine not to listen, that succeed. "Abstain from entering Worms," said Spalatin's messenger to Luther, as he approached the city. "Go tell your master," said the intrepid man, "that though there should be as many devils at Worms as there are tiles on its roof, I would enter it." This is the spirit that *commands* success. There are difficulties in the way of accomplishing any thing great; but the brave man never stops to count his foes. "The less fear, the less danger" is a very old adage whose truth has been proven by the experience of every age. When satisfied that a thing ought to be done,

"Steel thy fearful thoughts,
And change misdoubt to resolution."

We have been led to make these remarks by observing the disposition in the minds of some to consider slavery an *incurable* evil. They acknowledge the system to be a dreadful wrong—a wrong to both master and slave—one of the greatest evils that has ever cursed the human race; and, yet they say there is no remedy; we must submit; the subject must not be discussed, there is a wall of fire before them defended by innumerable devils; voices are crying all around them, "Stop, fool! rascal! murderer! go back! die! perish!" It seems to us that such a course is worse than that of those who contend that slavery is a blessing. What! shall our enemy stand with his foot upon our neck, and we make no attempt to rise? Shall we, like cowards and sluggards contend that it is useless for us to make any efforts? Who that calls himself a man should not be ashamed of such a degradation? The very ground ought to shrink from permitting such cowardice to lie upon it. This conduct seems to us not only dastardly, but cruel. We not only tamely submit to the evil that is crush-

* An incident similar in some respects to this in the Arabian legend is related by Apuleius in the story of Cupid and Psyche. Psyche is ordered by Venus to bring her an urn of water from the black fountain. When she arrives near the top of the mountain, and sees the terrible dragons, and hears the black waters themselves warning her to retire, she is overwhelmed with terror, *impossibilitate ipsa in lapidem mutata*, turned to stone by the very impossibility.

ing us down; but to avoid a little exertion, we throw it doubled in weight upon the shoulders of our children. Cowards that we are, we fear to kill the wolf that we "hold by the ears," and when it has grown to be a monster, and our own strength is exhausted, we give it infuriated into the hands of our innocent offspring.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.

Citizens of France, Friends and Brethren.—Assembled in a great public meeting in London, as the conclusion of a Conference of Delegates from various parts of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of opposing any measure of the British Government designed to increase the Military expenditure of the Nation, or to give a single aspect of hostility or distrust to its attitude towards other countries, and recognizing the great truth, that "God has made of one blood, all nations of men," we have deemed it a fitting occasion to tender to you an expression of our fraternal sympathy and unfeigned esteem.

Brethren of France! The sentiments to which we now give expression, are not the offspring of a few hundreds of human hearts, touched with a momentary inspiration of kindly feeling toward you, our nearest neighbours. They are not the offspring of an evanescent wish to make you feel that we indeed are your brethren in the truest sense and sympathies of that relation: they are the sentiments of the people of England; of millions of hearts in these Islands, that beat kindly and warmly toward the people of France: they are sentiments which have been uttered and received with enthusiastic acclamations in great public meetings recently held in nearly all the large towns in this Kingdom. Many communities in England have sought to convey these sentiments to communities in France, through the medium of friendly addresses. Manchester has sent its fraternal greeting to Lyons; Liverpool to Marseilles; Birmingham to Bordeaux; Leeds to Lisle; Bristol to Brest; York to Rouen; Norwich to Nismes. Twenty other large towns in England have already addressed these friendly overtures to the same number of towns in France. These interesting communications will testify that we speak the language of England to France, in wishing that your great nation may soon realize all its aspirations, and the richest reward of all its magnanimous efforts for the acquisition and uninterrupted enjoyment of all the civil, religious and commercial freedom which can conduce to the progress, peace, prosperity and true greatness of any people.

Brethren of France! But a few weeks ago, we were watching with fraternal solicitude and sympathy, the great moral struggle in which you were engaged against restrictions imposed upon those vital and inalienable prerogatives of the human conscience and public opinion, which are so essential and dear to a nation of freemen. Through all the phases of this struggle, we believed that victory would decide for the right, if the wronged would adhere to righteous means. We believed that all the political changes which you sought, might be secured without the perpetration of a single crime, or the shedding of one drop of human blood, on the part of an aggrieved people. A few days of mighty consequence have come with their wonderful events, and France has burst the bonds that fettered her energies, and now stands before us in the noble promise of a new career. If, in the sudden conflict, some few drops of blood have been shed, we would rather wash them away with our tears, than attempt to conceal their stain from our eyes. Most earnestly do we desire that the watchword of her new sovereignty, "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*," may become a practical and permanent reality to all her children, and signify to the surrounding world, *peace, prosperity and progress*, as the perpetual condition of the French people.

Brethren of France! From all your borders we hear the acclamations of joy over your glorious Revolution;—and in that joy we deeply participate. Whilst this Revolution plucks up by the roots, from the soil of France, systems that impeded the development of her destiny, let it also eradicate from the heart of the nation, every thought which can germinate into a sentiment of distrust, jealousy or unfriendly feeling towards the people of England. Let the mutual alienation of past times be swept from the records of memory, and let nothing hereafter be remembered between us which shall not tend to strengthen the bonds of our fraternity, and beautify and illustrate the spirit of our fellowship. In whatever France may do peacefully, in the unfettered energy of her moral power, and fertile genius, for the elevation and happiness of mankind; for the abolition of war in all its manifestations; of human slavery in all its forms; of restrictions upon international correspondence and commerce, in all their ramifications; in whatever she may do legitimately and morally, for the development and extension of the principles and privilege of civil, religious and commercial freedom through the great brotherhood of nations, she will find England not only her compeer in progression, but also her co-partner in humane and heroic activities; ready to

sympathize with every magnificent enterprise of philanthropy which her enlightened genius may devise; ready to give her a sister's hand in all her paths of peace and progress; ready to mourn in her sorrow, and rejoice in her joy: thus traveling together through the remaining years of time, an example to the world of the exceeding beauty of peace and international amity.

Signed on behalf of the Delegates, and of the Public Meeting held in the Hall of Commerce.

JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman.

London, 3d March, 1848.

SLAVES IN THE DISMAL SWAMP.

This gloomy swamp is not without its interest; for it serves as a hiding-place, a "city of refuge," for the poor slave. I am told that there are hundreds of fugitives who have sought an asylum from oppression in this damp and dreary region, and here they have hitherto been secure. So extensive is this place, and so inaccessible to the population, that many of its inhabitants have never seen a white man. Many of them receive their sustenance by labouring for slaves who have their tasks in parts of the swamp. A planter sends a faithful servant to get out shingles, and gives him his task, and promises to give him so much for every task, and not unfrequently the slave takes once in two weeks, a barrel of pork, and two barrels of flour, etc., etc., and at the end of the two weeks his rations are gone, he has performed so many tasks, and his master pays him as he promised, thus encouraging secretly the runaways. But recently, parties of young men with dogs, have hunted out these poor creatures; and, to use the expression of my informant, have "shot them down like partridges." A few weeks since, a company of them were discovered, and made resistance, as they were armed with pistols; they fired, without effect, and then were fired on by these man-hunters, with their longer and heavier guns, and four of them shot, and others wounded so that they could not retreat. One of them in particular, was shot in the knee, which was badly shattered. He was then brought out to a place near where I am now writing, when a surgeon dressed his wound, and placed it in a box prepared to keep it straight and still. When his master arrived, he was so enraged at seeing him, that he stamped on the poor man's face where he was lying, in a most shocking manner. My informant was a witness, and is a respectable man. So many of these poor wretched fugitives have been shot and wounded, that others have become so alarmed that they have come out and returned to their former masters. Query—if the

slaves are happy in their present condition, would they prefer a residence in the Dismal Swamp?—*Cor. Zion's Herald.*

FROM WHAT COMES THE WAR SPIRIT?

If from our Father in heaven, the fact should be generally known, and the principle universally cherished.

But according to the Scriptures, man was created upright; in the image of God—a stranger to the spirit and art of war.

And although we have by transgression lost this image and rectitude, yet God is unchanged. It is true, 'twas said in "old times," that idolators should be destroyed. And when the iniquity of the Amorites was full, they were dispossessed by the descendants of Jacob. Yet when this same Jacob called his twelve sons around him to receive his last blessing—he said nothing to two of them, but to rebuke and curse something that was about them; and that something was the WAR-SPIRIT!

In vain do we search the New Testament for this spirit, unless we take the example of Herod, or those who crucified the Lord of glory. The example and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, are the very opposite of this spirit. Is it not so? "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil. A new commandment I will give unto you, That ye love another. Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you," &c. And James says, "From whence come wars and fightings among you?" And he answers the question himself, by plainly showing not only the origin of the war-spirit, but also the fruits.

The question, where does this spirit come from?—I have only answered negatively. But if it lead all who are concerned to enquire, to "search and look," my object will be gained.

Watchman.

AN OUTRAGEOUS CASE OF KIDNAPPING.

We learn that a worthy and industrious man by the name of Henry Williams, while within a few rods of his house, on Wednesday evening, was seized by a gang of men, and carried across the river into Kentucky, and was lodged in the Covington jail, as a runaway slave. He was taken from a wife and family, who are deeply afflicted at the brutal outrage that deprives them of a husband and father. The man has lived in this city for some time—came from Pittsburg, and is said never to have been a slave. The responsibility of these atrocities, by far too common, rests, in a great measure, upon the people of this State. Their authorities provide no suffi-

cient guards to secure personal rights, while our Black Laws, and the pro-slavery party connections of a majority of the people, invite and sanction such aggressions. It is our business to set the example of justice to the coloured man. We cannot otherwise expect to have the peace and dignity of the State respected.—*Cin. Herald.*

LETTER FROM WILLIAM JAY.

BEDFORD, 9th October, 1847.

DEAR SIR:—You inquire what course in my opinion should be pursued by the friends of liberty, humanity and religion, when an attempt is made in their presence, or neighbourhood, to seize an alleged fugitive from the house of bondage?

If a slave is in fact what the southern law regards him, a beast of burden, a mere chattel, an answer to your question is furnished in Exodus, xxiii. 4. "If thou shalt meet thy enemy's ox or his ass *going astray*, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again." But if the slave be a fellow man, then we may learn our duty towards him in Deut. xxiii. 15. "Thou shalt not deliver to his master, the servant who hath *escaped* from his master to thee."

It is clear to me that the whole spirit of the Bible, and the example of prophets and apostles, absolutely forbid us to perform any act we believe sinful, although it may be required by the laws of the land. Nevertheless, we are commanded to *submit* to the Powers that be, by which I understand we are not *forcibly* to resist the execution even of wicked laws. The contrary doctrine strikes at the root of all civil government. The apostles resolutely persevered in preaching in the name of Jesus Christ, although such preaching was illegal, but they *submitted* to the penalties of the law they deliberately and conscientiously violated, and never made battle with the officers who led them to prison or to execution.

Not merely is the slave code an accursed code, but the act of Congress, and many of the laws in the free States, relative to the seizure of fugitive slaves, are a burlesque alike upon Christianity and Republicanism. Shall we in obedience to these laws refuse to the wretched fugitive the common offices of humanity and Christian kindness? Will acts of Congress and State laws exempt us at the great day of account from the awful charge, "I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink, I was a stranger, and ye took me not in, naked and ye clothed me not, for inasmuch as

ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me."

As we fear God and hope for his favour at the last day, let us harbour, succour, secrete, and aid with food, clothing, money and advice, every fugitive who seeks our protection, regardless of the statutes which make such acts of mercy penal offences; and then let us unresistingly enter the dungeons to which sinful laws may consign us.

By the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the master may in his own person, or by his agent, without warrant, seize and carry away his slave, wherever he may find him. Of course there must be some limitation to this terrific privilege accorded to Southern gentlemen. They may not take at pleasure any man, woman, or child, they may happen to find in our streets. They may take *their slaves*, but they have no right to take any who are not *slaves*, or who are not *their slaves*. Hence it follows that when our fellow citizens and neighbours are thus seized, we may demand of the captor proof of his right to make the seizure. This surely is not an unreasonable demand, and northern servility has taken care to make it as little inconvenient as possible to the slaveholder. Should a Virginian claim my horse, before he can take possession of it, he must bring his claim before a court, and obtain the verdict of twelve men selected by lot. But should he think proper to claim me as his property, the act of Congress affords him very great facilities. Instead of going before a Court and Jury, he may *select* any Justice of the Peace he may think most obsequious and accessible, and if he can succeed in prevailing on this Justice to declare me his slave, I may be torn forever from my wife and children, and sent bound and fettered, a vendible commodity, to a southern market.

Think not this is idle declamation, or that a *white* man cannot be claimed as a slave. A little reflection will convince you that southern slaves *must* be of every shade of complexion; and the frequent advertisements in the southern papers for fugitives having "blue eyes, straight hair, and fair complexion," prove that *white* as well as black slaves run away.

A few years since, a Maryland gentleman seized a *white* girl, 14 years old, in Philadelphia, as his slave. The case was investigated not by a Court and Jury, but by a single Judge. It was proved before him by the most abundant and incontestable evidence, that the alleged slave was born in Philadelphia of poor Irish parents. The father had absconded while the daughter was an

infant, and the mother had died about the same time in the hospital. I allude to the well-known case of MARY GILMORE.

Surely, then, it is right, and just, and proper, that the kidnapper should be compelled to prove his title to the prey he had seized, before he is permitted to carry it off. Against these men, we are denied the protection of TRIAL BY JURY. Let us avail ourselves of such means of defence as are still left us.

When these hunters of men appear in our neighbourhood, let them be closely watched, and let every magistrate, officer and lawyer, who voluntarily aids them, be held infamous. As soon as a seizure has been made, let the captor be compelled by a writ of Habeas Corpus, to show that he had a right to make it. If from any circumstance the writ cannot be served in time, let the kidnapper be arrested on a Justices' warrant for assault and battery, and required to enter into a sufficient recognizance for his appearance at the next court; and in default of bail, let him be committed to the county jail. If he satisfies the Court that he has acted legally, his recognizance will be discharged, if not, let him be indicted, tried, and sent to the State Prison.

This course appears to me to be legal, constitutional and righteous. There is not one of our base, cringing demagogues, ever trafficking northern rights for southern votes, who would not, if seized as a slave, be more disposed to rely on his pistol, than on a Habeas Corpus for his protection.

We are horrified at the idea of a poor Irish orphan girl being kidnapped as a slave. Is the outrage on justice and humanity less, because the complexion of the victim is dark? Are the rights of man and the laws of God founded on "the tincture of a skin"? Such would seem to be the opinion of our politicians, whose "end and being" are to court the favour of the slaveholders. But those who fear God have a very different standard of right and wrong.

If, through the wickedness of our laws, the unhappy slave must be torn from among us and returned to bondage, we must submit, but let us be careful not to be partakers of other men's sins. The laws, bad as they are, do not authorize the Southerners to convert our inhabitants into slaves, and we owe it to our country and our God to use all lawful means to prevent the perpetration of such iniquity. I am, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM JAY.

Mr. Moses Pierce.

From the Western Friend.

"THE BLACK LAWS OF OHIO."

Below will be found all the enactments that we are aware of in the Statutes of Ohio, imposing disabilities on the Coloured portion of our citizens, now in force. They are mostly inoperative, on account of their unreasonable requirements; but sometimes, in cases of great excitement among the people, they have been productive of mischief.

An Act to Regulate Black and Mulatto persons.

[Passed and took effect, January 5, 1804. 29 v. Stat. 439.]

1. SECT. I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That from and after the first day of June next, no black or mulatto person shall be permitted to settle or reside in this state, unless he or she shall first produce a fair certificate from some court within the United States, of his or her actual freedom; which certificate shall be attested by the clerk of said court, and the seal thereof annexed thereto by the said clerk.

2. SECT. II. That every black or mulatto person residing within this state, on or before the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and four, shall enter his or her name, together with the name or names of his or her children, in the clerk's office, in the county in which he, she or they reside, which shall be entered on record by said clerk; and thereafter the clerk's certificate of such record shall be sufficient evidence of his, her or their freedom; and for every entry and certificate, the person obtaining the same shall pay to the clerk twelve and a half cents: provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this act contained, shall bar the lawful claim to any black or mulatto person.

3. SECT. III. That no person or persons, residents of this state, shall be permitted to hire, or in any way employ, any black or mulatto person, unless such black or mulatto person shall have one of the certificates as aforesaid, under pain of forfeiting and paying any sum not less than ten, nor more than fifty dollars, at the discretion of the court, for every such offence; and one-half thereof for the use of the informer, and the other half for the use of the state; and shall moreover pay to the owner, if any there be, of such black or mulatto person, the sum of fifty cents for every day he, she or they shall in any wise employ, harbor or secrete such black or mulatto person; which sum or sums shall be recoverable before any court having cognizance thereof.

4. SECT. V. That every black or mulatto

person, who shall come to reside in this state, with such certificate as is required in the first section of this act, shall, within two years, have the same recorded in the clerk's office, in the county in which he or she means to reside, for which he or she shall pay to the clerk twelve and a half cents; and the clerk shall give him or her a certificate of such record.

5. SECT. VII. That any person or persons who shall attempt to remove, or shall remove from this state, or who shall aid and assist in removing, contrary to the provisions of this act, any black or mulatto person, without first proving, as hereinbefore directed, that he, she or they is, or are legally entitled so to do, shall, on conviction thereof, before any court having cognizance of the same, forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars; one-half to the use of the informer, and the other half to the use of the state; to be recovered by action of debt, quitam, or indictment; and shall moreover be liable to the action of the party injured.

An act to amend the last named act.

[Passed January 25, 1807. Took effect April 1, 1807.
29 v. Stat., 440.]

6. SECT. I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That no negro or mulatto person shall be permitted to enter into, and settle within this state, unless such negro or mulatto person shall, within twenty days thereafter, enter into bond with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, before the clerk of the court of common pleas of the county in which such negro or mulatto may wish to reside, (to be approved by the clerk,) conditioned for the good behaviour of such negro or mulatto, and moreover to pay for the support of such person, in case he, she or they should thereafter be found within any township in this state, unable to support themselves. And if any negro or mulatto person shall migrate into this state, and not comply with the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of the overseers of the poor of the township where such negro or mulatto person may be found, to remove immediately such black or mulatto person, in the same manner as is required in the case of paupers.

7. SECT. II. That it shall be the duty of the clerk, before whom such bond may be given as aforesaid, to file the same in his office, and give a certificate thereof to such negro or mulatto person; and the said clerk shall be entitled to receive the sum of one dollar for the bond and the certificate aforesaid, on the delivery of the certificate.

8. SECT. III. That if any person being a resident of this state, shall employ, harbor or conceal any such negro or mulatto person aforesaid, contrary to the provisions of the first section of this act, any person so offending shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, the one-half to the informer, and the other half for the use of the poor of the township in which such person may reside; to be recovered by action of debt, before any court having competent jurisdiction; and moreover be liable for the maintenance and support of such negro or mulatto, provided he, she or they shall become unable to support themselves.

9. SECT. IV. That no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn or give evidence in any court of record, or elsewhere, in this state, in any cause depending, or matter of controversy, where either party to the same is a white person; or in any prosecution which shall be instituted in behalf of this state against any white person.

10. SECT. V. That so much of the act entitled "an act to regulate black and mulatto persons," as is contrary to this act, together with the sixth section thereof, be and the same is hereby repealed.

This act shall take effect and be in force from and after the first day of April next.

An act to amend the act entitled "an act to regulate black and mulatto persons," passed Jan. 5, 1804.

[Passed and took effect, Feb. 27, 1834. 32 v. Stat., 22.]

11. SECT. I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That in all cases wherein a certificate is granted to any black or mulatto person, resident within this state, agreeably to the second section of the act to which this is an amendment, the clerk of the court issuing the same shall make or cause to be made, a record of the same, in a book provided for that purpose, and carefully preserved in said office; and on such record of the same being made, the said clerk shall endorse thereon the number of the same, the book in which, and the page or pages where such record is made; and shall forthwith, if required, deliver over the same to the individual for whose benefit it was intended. And it shall furthermore be the duty of the presiding judge of such circuit in which said certificate may be issued, on application being made to him by the holder of the same, to endorse thereon his certificate of the genuineness of the same: provided, that nothing in this act contained shall be so construed, as to bar the lawful claim

to any black or mulatto person thus obtaining a certificate within this state.

BLACK LAWS IN OHIO.

The Legislature of Ohio has refused to annul or amend her black laws.

Not one of the members of that body would hesitate about denouncing Slavery generally.—Very few of them who do not condemn the South for holding on to the institution. Yet they deny justice to the negro, and refuse to take his testimony in any of their courts.

There are hundreds of planters in this State who refuse to emancipate their slaves—and who oppose emancipation because of free State legislation of this character. They ask—"What can the slave do if he be set free? Where can he go?" And fearing that he may be worse off, they conclude to do the best they can with him, and for him!

Most of the free States deal shamefully in this matter. The majority of the Ohio Legislature, certainly, merit a rebuke for their inhumanity in sustaining laws which a Kentucky Statesman calls "atrocious," and most men admit to be disgraceful.—*Louisville Examiner.*

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

The great revolution which has recently been accomplished in Paris, deeply as we may lament the loss of life which accompanied it, will, we have no doubt, be the means of speedily securing to the slaves in the French colonies, their long-promised and long expected liberty. In the distinguished men who now form the Provisional Government of the French Republic, we have a sure guarantee that not a slave shall henceforth breathe where her dominion extends. The venerable Dupont, Arago, Lamartine, Carnot, Ledru Rollin, and Cremieux have nobly and eloquently advocated the rights of the slave; and they will not now be unfaithful to the lofty principles and generous sympathies they have so often displayed at the tribune. But not only do we cherish this confidence in the great men we have named, but we are satisfied that negro emancipation will be one of the first acts of the government when it shall have received the sanction of the nation, and shall be fully installed; because the men, the high-minded and generous workmen of Paris, have already willed it. In a remarkable document which they have issued, they not only point out, with great talent and temper, the measures which they deem necessary to secure their own and their fellow-citizen's rights, but they cry with one voice and one heart, "No more slavery

of our brethren of the negro race!" In these words the death-knell of slavery is rung; and soon that hateful and atrocious system, with all its abominations, will disappear from every part of the French territories. As a prelude to this great act of national justice, we give the following translation of an address which has been transmitted to the colonies. The planters will, we trust, listen to the eloquent voice which addresses them; and even anticipate the government and people of France, by voluntarily, immediately and completely emancipating their slaves. An act of this kind will secure for them not only the applause of their fellow-citizens, but the good-will of all civilized and christian men.

A. S. Reporter.

"TO OUR BRETHERN IN THE COLONIES."

"In presence of the noble and generous victory of the people, whence will spring liberty for all, we recommend our brethren in the colonies to remain calm and tranquil. They will thus give to the Provisional Government, which is composed of citizens devoted to the cause of emancipation, that power and liberty of mind which is necessary for the preparation of this great and humane measure. Soon there will be neither masters nor slaves in the colonies. The republic will give the latter to France as new citizens. But it is necessary that each should well understand the rights and duties conferred upon them by the name of citizen. We must all, by our love of order, labour, and true liberty, prove ourselves equally worthy of that name with the heroic people of Paris. We must, by our calmness and moderation, teach not merely France, but the whole world, that we are capable of making the greatest sacrifices, and exercising the greatest self-denial, in order to obtain liberty. Impatience would spoil everything.

"We recommend the negroes to put confidence in the whites; the whites to trust the negroes; and all classes to put confidence in the government. We advise the former to consider it their duty, as good citizens, to forget the past, and the latter to make the most sincere and loyal preparation for the new era on which we are about to enter.

"Let us hope that the free-will of the planters will cause the whip to disappear from all the plantations. A generous beginning alone can assure gratitude.

"We must facilitate the task of government by making large concessions to the labourers, and employ ourselves diligently and without delay to the organization of labour.—This great and noble problem, which it will be the endeavour of the

republic to solve, is much more easy of solution in the colonies than in France. The intelligent men of the country would, therefore, be wanting in their most important duty as citizens, if they did not hasten, from this time forth, to devote themselves frankly and legally to the task, in order that the most important element of universal happiness may result therefrom.

"Let this grand device of civilization, order, liberty, and brotherhood include all men of all complexions. Let every one well weigh its terms in his conscience, and consult his heart, in order to pursue its realization with all the force which he has at its disposal. Order leads to liberty, and liberty conducts to universal brotherhood.

"Let us chase from our minds the evil passions which might lead us away from the pursuit of this great object; we have no longer to fight for or defend liberty, but rather to prepare and to organize it.

"To work, then, without further delay! but to work with proper tools. We know of no sacrifice too great for obtaining this end, and if, hitherto, we have made some little progress towards it by our efforts, the only recompense which we ask from our compatriots is, that they should not act precipitately, but should place implicit confidence in our devotion, which will never fail them.

"To conclude, we have no right to carry the flag of liberty to the colonies; no more has the Provisional Government. But we feel convinced that this will be one of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly. We therefore recommend to all, patience, hope, union, order, and labour.

"A. F. PERRINON,
Captain of the Marine Artillery."

POETRY.

ABOVE AND BELOW.

BY JAMES R. LOWELL.

I.

O dwellers in the valley-land,
Who in deep twilight grope and cower,
Till the slow mountain's dial-hand
Shortens to noon's triumphal hour,—
While ye sit idle, do ye think
The Lord's great work sits idle too?
That light dare not o'erleap the brink
Of morn, because 'tis dark with you?

Though yet your valleys skulk in night,
In God's ripe fields the day is cried,
And reapers, with their sickles bright,
Troop, singing, down the mountain side:

Come up, and feel what health there is
In the frank Dawn's delighted eye
As, bending with a pitying kiss,
The night-shed tears of Earth she dries!

The Lord wants reapers: O, mount up,
Before night comes, and says, "Too late!"
Stay not for taking scrip or cup,
The Master hungers while ye wait:
'Tis from these heights alone your eyes
The advancing spears of day can see,
Which o'er the eastern hill-tops rise,
To break your long captivity.

II.

Lone watcher on the mountain-height!
It is right precious to behold
The first long surf of climbing light
Flood all the thirsty east with gold;
But we, who in the shadow sit,
Know also when the day is nigh,
Seeing thy shining forehead lit
With his inspiring prophecy.

Thou hast thine office, we have ours;
God lacks not early service here,
But what are thine eleventh hours
He counts with us for morning cheer;
One day for Him, is long enough,
And when He giveth work to do,
The bruised reed is amply tough
To pierce the shield of error through.

But not the less do thou aspire
Light's earlier messages to preach;
Keep back no syllable of fire,—
Plunge deep the rowels of thy speech.
Yet God deems not thine acried sight
More worthy than our twilight dim,—
For meek obedience, too, is light,
And following that is finding Him.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

New Free Labour Goods.

The friends of the cause will learn with satisfaction that the Committee on Manufactures are increasing from time to time the variety, and improving the quality of their Goods. Just received new styles of fine 4-4 Prints; fine Imitation Scotch Ginghams, neat and lively styles. Also, new styles Manchester Ginghams; heavy Brown Muslins, from a new manufactory, at greatly reduced prices; a variety of other new goods; Single and Double Refined Sugars, at reduced prices, &c. &c.

GEO. W. TAYLOR,
Fifth and Cherry sts., Philada.

Fifth mo. 1st, 1848.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. III.]

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 1843.

[NO. 8.]

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DISMEMBERMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES—CAN FRIENDS CONSISTENTLY VOTE FOR A PRESIDENT.

Amongst the remarkable events of the present year is to be numbered the extraordinary dismemberment of the two great political parties—the Whig and Democratic. Taking no part myself in political agitations, and not expecting to vote for any candidate who has been or may be nominated, I nevertheless feel a deep interest in the movements relating to the Presidential election—especially those which are intended to prevent the extension of slavery into the vast territory recently obtained by conquest from Mexico. Already has a large section of the Democratic party in New York, nominated a popular statesman as a "Free Soil and Free Labour" candidate. Another Convention, to nominate a "free soil" candidate is to assemble at Buffalo on the 9th inst., to be composed of delegates, without distinction of party, from several States. It remains to be seen whether the Buffalo Convention will go so far in its disregard of old party feelings as to unite in the nomination of Martin Van Buren, or whether it will adopt the candidate of the Liberty Party, John P. Hale, who has nobly sustained his principles, and shown himself eminently qualified to enter into the discharge of the civil duties of first magistrate of the nation.

If the suffrages of all who are disposed to vote for a free soil candidate, could be concentrated on an individual, there can scarcely be a doubt that he would be elected, or the election thrown into the House of Representatives. Whatever may be the immediate result of the disorganization of the two old parties, I am inclined to regard it as a prelude to a more general and decided opposition to the encroachment of the slaveholding power, and the extension of slavery. Some of the cords by which the slaveholders have so long

bound the people of the free States, seem to have given way under the extreme tension to which they have been recently drawn. The newspapers teem with accounts of meetings held throughout the northern and western States, and the feeling which animates them generally, is well described in the following extract of a letter from a western correspondent:—"The West is all astir on politics. There seems to be a determination throughout the country, to resist the further extension of slavery. I was at an enthusiastic meeting in _____, on the 8th inst., on the free territory question. It was got up and conducted for the most part, by hitherto leading Whigs and Democrats. A string of resolutions was passed, declaring both Cass and Taylor to be unfit for the Presidency, because the former had been 'bought by the South,' and the latter had nothing to recommend him except that he was 'fresh from the fields of blood and victory,' and had 'proved himself a brave and sagacious warrior, well skilled in the art of human butchery.' There was thought to be one thousand persons present, though it was only a county meeting. Another meeting is to be held in Eaton, Preble county, Ohio, on the 25th inst. If slavery can be kept within its present bounds, it will undoubtedly be vastly better for the country and the slave, than to have it extended over all that wide scope of country acquired from Mexico. To effect this is the object of the present movement in the North. If the Buffalo Convention shall nominate the right kind of a man, the vote at the Presidential election will tell the South that there is a determination, far more powerful than it imagines, in the North to resist the extension of slavery."

My friend adds:—"Are there any *Friends* in Philadelphia, advocating the claims of Taylor to the Presidency? I am ashamed and mortified to acknowledge that we have such here, though I believe the number is extremely small, and I hope it will diminish. There seems to be an increasing opinion here that *Friends* cannot consistently vote

for slaveholders, or for men who have made themselves notorious by deeds of 'human butchery.'"

Is it not, however, a question, whether a *due* observance of the acknowledged principles of the religious Society of Friends, would not prevent its members from being "accessary in electing" any man to the office of President of the United States? Without entering now at much length upon the subject, I shall make a few remarks for the consideration of your readers. The United States Constitution declares that "Congress shall have power to declare war; grant letters of marque and reprisal; and make rules concerning captures on land and water. To raise and support armies. To provide and maintain a navy. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union; suppress insurrection and invasions. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, &c."

This power has been exercised by Congress; an army and navy have been raised and maintained, and of this army and navy the President of the United States is Commander in Chief, under the provisions of the Constitution. The oath or affirmation of the President binds him to perform his military duties no less than those which are civil.

Now, the principles of the Society of Friends are entirely and exclusively pacific; they believe *ALL* war is contrary to Christianity. In the application of these principles, the Discipline "advises and exhorts all in profession with us, to decline the acceptance of any office or station in civil government, the duties of which are inconsistent with our religious principles." Again, it says: "It is also the sense and judgment of this meeting, that Friends ought not, in any wise, to be active or accessary in electing, or promoting to be elected, their brethren to such offices or stations in civil government, the execution whereof tends to lay waste our Christian testimony, or subject their brethren or others to sufferings on account of their conscientious scruples." p. 33, 34.

I presume no one will deny that the duties of the office of President are inconsistent with our religious principles, or that the execution of these duties tends to lay waste our Christian testimony against war. It is clear then that no Friend could accept this office, or aid, by his vote or otherwise, in electing one of his brethren to the station.

If we enter into an examination of the ground or primary reason of these inhibitions, we shall find it is the nature of the duties appertaining to the office. If, therefore, it be wrong to be active or accessary in electing a *Friend* to perform these duties, it necessarily follows that it must be equally

wrong to elect any other person to perform them. Is not the conclusion irresistible, that no Friend can consistently aid in electing another to an office which he could not conscientiously fill himself?

L. S.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DISHONESTY OF SLAVES.

The enemies of the poor slaves often complain of their dishonesty, totally forgetting that the slaves are robbed of all their rights, and that, feeling this, they, in their ignorance, naturally conclude it to be only reasonable that a portion of the fruits of their labour should justly belong to them. It seems, however, from an anecdote which I heard on board a steamboat when going down the Mississippi a few months since, that honour may be found amongst slaves as well as among other thieves. One of the passengers was a Virginia tobacco planter, who made himself popular on the boat by his social chat. During a conversation respecting the dishonesty of slaves, he related the following circumstances to illustrate the subject:—

"I had an old nigger," said he, "who was as great a rogue as I ever saw. He stole things merely to keep himself in practice. I tried many ways to break him, but in vain. At length I put my potatoes under the floor of the old nigger's cabin, and, the boards being loose, I told the old rascal to steal as many as he wanted. They remained all winter, and the — old rascal never took a potatoe! The next winter, my wife and I, on going South, concluded to try him further, and gave him the keys, and left all our household concerns in his charge. On our return, we found everything in order, and in its proper place! He was the only sufferer—from sleeping on a good bed, to which he had not been accustomed. The next winter I went from home, leaving the care of my concerns with my wife, and the — old rascal had like to have stolen all my meat!"

T.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.

It was under feelings of deep depression, that we prepared our last year's report, and we then ventured earnestly to appeal to the members of our Society for their countenance and support, in

our endeavours to carry out the views adopted and recommended by our Yearly Meeting.

The first object was to procure, by subscription, funds sufficient to establish a store for free labour goods exclusively. A number of Friends have liberally responded to that appeal, and it is with much satisfaction that we can now report that object at length accomplished.

The interest manifested at our last annual meeting, clearly showed that funds could be raised sufficient to establish a store on a small scale, and under that belief, the Board immediately took into consideration the best means of accomplishing the desired object. From the difficulty of procuring a large amount, the managers concluded to commence with the small sum of four thousand dollars.

After diligent inquiries for many months by the Committee appointed to select a suitable person to conduct the business, on the first of Sixth month they reported that Lindley M. Hoag had expressed a willingness to engage in it.

Believing the well known character of this Friend would give general confidence in the store, and overcome that feeling of skepticism and doubt with which many regard all articles alleged to be the production of free labour, a correspondence was opened with him. Several months, however, elapsed before any definite arrangement could be made, and it was near the close of the year before the existing agreement was entered into with Lindley M. Hoag and his partner, George Wood, whom he had introduced to the Board of Managers.

This desirable object, for which we have so long and so preserveringly laboured, is now attained. But if the store is to be continued it must be made to pay its expenses, and also to afford a fair remuneration to those whose time and energies are devoted to it. The Board of Managers have now nothing to do with it, further than to know that it is properly carried on. The conditions upon which it has been established, necessarily place it under great disadvantages when compared with those stores which make no distinction between the products of slave and of free labour. The market from which it is supplied is very variable. Sometimes large quantities of free goods arrive and are immediately sold at auction upon terms of which it is impossible for the proprietors to take full benefit, owing to the limited amount of their capital.

Hitherto the prices of many of their goods have been much lower than we had reason to anticipate. The article of sugar has been sold, at very little, if any, above the cost, owing to the general

reduction in the price, since the store was established.

A little reflection will show that the very existence of the store must depend upon a general and liberal support; not only by the purchase of those articles of free labour, which from peculiar circumstances yield but little profit, but also of all those various and useful articles with which it is liberally supplied. If the demand be general, we may expect to procure many even of the articles competed with by slave labour, at about the prices of the latter; but if it be confined to sugar, molasses, cotton goods, etc., then it will be necessary to pay more for them, or the store cannot be maintained.

We have, however, established this store upon principle, and we must support it upon principle, and with that liberality which will ensure success.

The example of our forefathers in the church is worthy of emulation. Every line of their history speaks of the boldness with which they adhered to their principles. The scorn of the world, the insult and outrage of their persons, the spoiling and sacrifice of their worldly goods, even threatenings against life itself, were powerless to swerve them from apprehended duty. And shall we, their descendants and bearers of their name, hesitate and count the cost, when principle is at stake?

Our principles forbid the countenance of *all* injustice, extortion and oppression. The dealer in goods which are *stolen* may offer them to us at a much less rate than he can who procures them by honest means. But can we, therefore, feel at liberty to purchase them? No! we shrink from the idea. Shall we then purchase the fruits of unremunerated toil, simply because they are lower than those from which the price of labour has not been withheld? It appears to us there is no difference between the two cases; for why is slave grown produce cheaper than the free, unless it be that one is paid for and the other is not?

It is not only the *injustice* which we deplore, in contemplating the lower prices of slave produce: sacrifice of life in every stage of slavery, murder, rapine, and iniquity of all kinds are inseparable from the system; and it seems to us as if every day's report only renews the call upon us, to withdraw as much as possible from its support, and to cleanse ourselves from its pollutions.

In our last year's report, particular attention was called to the act of the British Parliament, reducing the duties on slave grown sugars, and to the effects which it immediately produced upon the slave trade. We are now informed by the highest authority, of the further effects of that inconsistent act. It has, by opening a vast market

for slave sugars, given a fearful impetus to the slave trade, and caused a deplorable increase of all its horrors. We would invite the attention of all interested in the subject, to the information contained in recent numbers of the "Non-Slaveholder," and we have no hesitation in recommending this valuable paper as the most effective advocate of the cause which binds us together as an association. It abounds with information upon the subject, and depicts in truthful colours the evil effects which have followed the increased demand for slave sugars.

Though the continued use of the products of slavery lulls the conscience, and deadens the sensibilities, yet if honest-hearted men, who, without reflection, consume them, could but be shown that they are indeed the supporters of the system, we believe they would abandon without delay so inconsistent a course.

Recent events in Europe give hopes of better times. France, Sweden, and Denmark have decreed the abolition of slavery in all their colonies. Peru and New Grenada also promise freedom to the slave. Our country resounds with rejoicings over the progress of political freedom in Europe; and yet, strange as it must appear to all, the same voices which re-echo the cry of liberty there, are raised in support of slavery at home. The representatives of the people at Washington send congratulations to the people of France for the spread of liberty, at the same time that the legislature of our country is under the control of the slave interest, and every act of the government upon the subject appears designed still more deeply to involve us. The present war with a sister republic is one of the fruits of slavery. Innumerable evils are forced upon the people of the North to uphold the "peculiar institution" of the South, and yet we are told that slavery is no concern of ours. It is time that the true supporters of slavery were known to the world. It is not a time for us to go backward nor to stand still. We are called upon louder than ever to maintain our principles to the utmost. When the slaveholder shall think it *his interest* to abandon slavery, he will no longer hold the chain that binds his captive. With these feelings, and this belief, it behoves us to withdraw our support from the system, and to refrain from countenancing it in the least degree.

"Happy is that man who condemneth not himself in the thing which he alloweth." If the Society of Friends, as a body, were to clear themselves from the support of slavery by refusing to partake of its products, it would be a standing, striking, practical testimony against this unchristian

system, and could hardly fail to promote its ultimate removal.

Signed on behalf of the Board of Managers.
BENJAMIN TATHAM, Secretary.
New York, 5th mo. 19, 1848.

MINUTES OF THE NEWPORT MEETING.

At a very numerous meeting of Friends, held at their meeting-house in Newport, R. I., 6th month 14th, 1848, for the purpose of promoting the use of the productions of free labour in the place of those of slave labour now in use,—

The meeting was opened by some remarks on the right feelings in relation to the use of the products of slavery, so increasingly prevalent amongst Friends in New England, and so pleasingly manifest in the coming together of so large an assembly. It was suggested that the objects of the meeting might be promoted by presenting some of the leading measures adopted by our friends in other places, in promotion of the same benevolent object; and particularly by the Free Produce Association of Friends in New York and Philadelphia; and those present, both from the New England and several other States, were invited to a free expression of their sentiments.

A member of the Free Produce Association of Friends in Philadelphia stated, that that body had, in the prosecution of its objects, opened a correspondence with planters at the South whose estates are cultivated by hired free labourers, by which they have received and are receiving supplies of cotton sufficient for their present demand; and they reasonably hope that with an increasing demand an increasing supply will be found. They purpose to prosecute their correspondence as they have done, by prudent and conscientious agents, who shall visit such places as can furnish the articles required, and who shall personally make such arrangements as will exclude all probability of deception. The Association have on hand a considerable stock of such cotton goods as are most needed for family use, manufactured from such cotton, under their own direction. They are extending their efforts for an increased supply of rice, sugar, and such other articles as are usually dependent on slave labour, but which may be procured free from that corrupt origin. It was also observed that the agent employed had generally met with a kind reception, in neighbourhoods of slaveholders; the consistency of the Association in withdrawing its support being too apparent to admit of censure; and its kind but steady and undeviating course, tending to enlighten them to their own interests.

By a unanimous expression of sentiment the meeting determined to appoint a committee, consisting of several Friends in each Monthly Meeting of the Yearly Meeting of New England, who are requested to use their efforts in encouraging the use of free labour productions in their respective neighbourhoods, and to facilitate the introduction of them to places where they may be accessible to Friends generally. The committee were requested to prepare a Constitution for an Association, on a plan similar to those of New York and Philadelphia, and present the same to an adjourned meeting to be held at this place next year, with such other information as may promote the objects in view.

The following friends were appointed to that service: [129 names.]

The meeting then adjourned to meet at this place at half-past seven o'clock, in the evening of second day of Yearly Meeting week, next year.

SILAS CORNELL, Clerk.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE AGENT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.

(Concluded.)

We sailed from New Orleans on the 4th; the weather being boisterous we did not arrive at Galveston until the 8th. This is a handsome little city, settled with many northern people. We tarried here till evening, then took steamboat for Houston, and arrived there the morning of the 9th. Houston is a flourishing town, of about 5000 inhabitants, mostly northern men. It is thought near one-fourth of the population are Germans. I had a short acquaintance with two Methodist ministers, and three of the editors. Some of them expressed their feelings to be with the North on the slave question, and all approved of the emigration of foreigners into Texas, except one, and he did not express an opinion.

On the morning of the 10th we made preparations for our overland journey on horseback, and purchased two Mustang ponies. We started in the direction of Montgomery, and travelled through a level prairie with narrow skirts of timber, mostly pine; a beautiful grazing country, with large herds of fat cattle. Continued our course through this level prairie, which is thinly settled; the land is better adapted to grass than anything else. This country, from what I could learn, is similar all along the coast—low and level—large prairies and occasional cane brakes. This level extends forty or fifty miles wide, and is not much settled, except on the water

courses. A large portion of the prairie is over-spread with fine grass, affording an almost inexhaustible pasturage. Timber is mostly confined to the water courses, and chiefly of the pine, with occasionally an oak grove and but little underbrush. This vast plain is but a few feet above the level of the sea, the soil rather poor, except near the water courses; there the health is in danger, though the soil is remarkably fertile, but subject to inundations at times. Cistern water is best for family use; wells are shallow, and the water in them often brackish. The sea breezes extend far into the interior, there being but little obstruction from high lands or timber.

Next adjoining this extensive level country the lands are gently undulating, increasing as we receded from the sea until it becomes rolling or tumbling lands, wearing a magnificent appearance; the brakes large, frequently forming one or two hundred acres in one gentle slope, seldom so steep as to be in danger of washing, and still more seldom too broken for cultivation. In many places the prairie is of a black rich mould, from two to five feet deep, with clay foundation, while the timber adjoining is on sandy soil, apparently so much so as to render it useless for cultivation. Indeed, was it not for the absence of houses, the traveller would fancy himself in some old, highly cultivated grazing country. Here are two kinds of grass; one is the sedge, resembling our timothy, adapted to the summer season, it grows about two feet high, and covers the whole face of the country, except in the tall timber on the creeks and rivers, there the wild rye grows in abundance in the winter. The other kind is the Muskrat grass, which grows in abundance, and is adapted to the winter and spring, resembling our blue grass, and equally nutritious.

Water is better than near the coast, occasional springs and good wells, seldom more than twenty-five or thirty feet deep; yet in this there is a variety. The free stone, the blue lime, the rotten lime (which is bad,) the slate and soap stone water.

Water power for machinery is scarce, except in the north or north west parts near the mountains—there it is said to be plenty, with great advantages for improving it.

Navigation is poor in all parts of the interior. We were much on the three principal rivers. The Trinity is a deep, narrow, crooked stream; it is thought when it is cleared of the logs and snags, it can be navigated by small steamboats to the forks one-fourth of the year.

The Brazos is larger, and runs more rapidly; many places stoney, with rocky banks, which in

all probability will be so cleared as to permit small steamers to go to the falls during the winter and spring.

The Colorado is larger than either of the others; the greatest obstacle in the way of navigation in it is the Great Raft at the mouth, which it is believed may be removed.

Thus you see Texas must remain some years yet without any considerable navigation in the interior. Indeed, the permanent outlet must be by railroads, as there cannot be constant steamboat navigation there on any of the rivers, except the Rio Grande.

As a grazing country, perhaps Texas is exceeded by none. Cattle, sheep, horses and hogs, live well without being fed the year round, and in the southern part particularly nothing is necessary but to keep them gentle by herding them. The sugar cane does well in the south of Texas; in the bottom lands it is thought equal to Louisiana. The low lands produce rice well, it is said, though not much has yet been grown.

Cotton grows well in Middle and East Texas, where it has been tried. In many neighbourhoods the people are just commencing its cultivation. The want of navigation is holding them back. Wheat is doing well in East Texas, perhaps the best of any place in the same latitude. Indian corn grows well in all parts; the only difficulty is in the weavils destroying it, which they are apt to do in the southern parts, but not so in the north. The sweet potato grows in abundance, likewise the Irish potato by procuring new seed from the North each year; every kind of pulse grows well. Those fruits peculiar to that latitude may be raised by attention. Game is plenty.

Previous to annexation the people had become so much harassed with their protracted wars, that the spirit of enterprise among them was broken down. The uncertainty of farming had turned them to getting their living on game in a great measure, not raising more grain than would just bread them. Of late some enterprising men have gone in among them, and they are now trying the virtue and strength of the soil in the various productions adapted to that climate.

The inhabitants are from many parts of the world, perhaps more from the Southern States than any other quarter. They are mostly of the poorer order, whose chief object in going is to get cheap lands, which have been given them for settling in certain places; 320 acres for a man, with a family, and 160 for a single man—the settler only having to pay the surveying fees. If they do not wish to settle in those places, they

can purchase good situations of timber and prairie adjoining, for 25 cents to \$1 per acre, in any part of the country.

There are many northern men settling there, perhaps more Germans, for the last year or two, than all others. It is said that 12 or 15,000 Germans have settled in West Texas, forming a large colony on the Gaudaloupe, but too far from navigation to do much for a few years in raising such free labour productions as we wish. Many others have formed settlements in various places, one of which we passed through on the Colorado, a good sugar growing region. They informed us that they wished to engage in the cultivation of the sugar cane, but as yet none of their company were able to erect a mill. We were informed when in East Texas that they were looking for 20,000 of them there to settle this season, on the head waters of the Trinity or Red river, which is the best cotton growing part of the State.

A few weeks before we passed, an agent for a company of French made a purchase of a large tract of land, through which we travelled on the waters of the Sabine. It is a beautiful country, and if they turn their attention to cotton raising, it will be a good opening for us. The cotton can be hauled to Shreveport, Louisiana.

On the waters of the Sabine we stopped in a neighbourhood of emigrants from Indiana, who are about commencing the cotton growing business. One of their number said he was anxious to sell his cotton to us, and he thought all the settlements would be when they got to business. His address is Tount, Hopkins county, Texas. A large settlement is forming there from Indiana and Illinois. It is near this place that the large body of Germans are expected to settle.

We passed a large settlement on the Trinity, of free labourers, who are about commencing cotton raising. They can float a boat down the Trinity. ——— was particularly delighted in hearing of our arrangements, and promised to write when they got to business. His nearest post office is now twenty miles distant, but they are about having one established near, the name of which he will send when he writes. The people will not raise much cotton until they become more numerous; they can make more by raising provisions to sell to new comers. The settlements are too few and small to justify the erection of gins. I look upon Texas as presenting the best opening for collecting free labour productions, in a few years, of any place in the United States. There are but few slaves yet introduced, from different reasons. 1. The want of navigation to transport the produce to a market

has operated against it. 2. The uncertainty of establishing the Republic. In case they failed, the slaves would be free under the Mexican law. 3. The thinly settled country in the west and north afforded the slaves greater facility in escaping to the Mexicans or Indians. The continual disagreements between the Texans and these prevented the latter from feeling under any obligations to return the slaves when they escaped, but the reverse. With these barriers there appears not to be any slave market yet opened; the slaves that are there having been carried in by emigrants from the Southern States. With the number of northern emigrants that have settled in Texas, the great emigration already from Europe, and the large number of the southern emigrants who own no slaves, it would be no hard matter, if the subject was properly agitated amongst them, to make a law preventing all slave emigration into the State.

With the great facilities for emigrants in many parts of Texas, would it not be a prudent step to turn the tide of emigration from England and Ireland in that direction, where they would have no winter to provide for, and with a few hours labour each day they might make a comfortable subsistence, greatly benefitting themselves, leaving a vacancy behind for those that cannot, or do not wish to leave, filling our country with useful citizens, and assisting in restoring long withheld rights to three millions of our fellow citizens.

After saying thus much about Texas, we will turn to Arkansas, the next place of our visit. We crossed Red river, near the corner of the State, in the Indian Territory, and kept down the river some sixty miles or over, and heard of considerable free cotton, but it is raised so scattering that there appeared no opportunity at present of getting a free labour gin established. The character of the Red river cotton has stood so high, that the slaveholders have pretty well filled up that portion of the country best adapted to the cotton culture. Despairing of getting much free cotton there, and my health being poor, we shaped our course directly for Little Rock. When we got on the waters of the Wachita, we heard of some strong free labour settlements; we visited them, and made two good arrangements, one with ———, who has a good gin, and is quite willing to arrange with us. There are but few slaves in his settlement, and not more than four or five in that portion where he gets his cotton. The other arrangement was with ———, about fifteen miles from the first. Here is a large settlement of free labourers, and but two slaves in the whole neighbourhood, and they not field

hands. The people are just commencing the cotton raising business, and it bids fair to be good opening for our operations. ——— is a man of great influence among his neighbours, and we think him a worthy man. He will gin all the cotton in his settlement, as there is no other within ten miles of him. His principles are settled against slaveholding, and he is anxious to have an arrangement with us, appearing fully convinced of the consistency of our course. The names of the free laborers with their address will accompany this.

By the accounts forwarded, you will perceive we made arrangements whereby there may be about 2100 bales of free grown and free ginned cotton procured the next year, and with proper encouragement the amount may be increased from year to year as the demand increases. It was the opinion of nearly all that we talked with that it would increase. Gins will be erected in many settlements for the purpose of ginning free labour cotton, if those that have made conditional arrangements should succeed well.

In many settlements that we passed through the largest portion of cotton is cultivated by free labour, but the gins being owned by slaveholders we could not make arrangements to procure it. We received information of many other settlements beside those we visited, that are now in a situation to furnish a quantity of free cotton.

Jackson county, Tennessee, was often spoken of as one of the best openings; some of the adjoining counties were also recommended. From what we heard I have but little doubt there may be several hundred bales collected in that section of country. In many parts of Florida there is said to be a large quantity of free labourers. So of the lower parts of North Carolina, and some in Georgia.

I hope you will bear with me. I have extended this document far more now than I expected, and left off many small items that I had intended to have mentioned, but the length of this forbade. I can't feel satisfied without hinting at one point that I wish to see touched on in your valuable organ, the Non-Slaveholder, by those that are able to do it justice, that is, the expediency of the free labour enterprise, with the right and justness of the cause, of which there has been so many valuable articles written, seemingly enough to convince the judgment of any man that was not interested in it in some pecuniary way. And in doing it, I will simply refer to some of my discoveries in the south. It may be recollected that there is a majority of non-slaveholders in all the States, and they only need arousing to a sense of

their misery to cause them to act. The state of society is such, that there is no particular alliances to cause them to cling together, but the reverse. Society may properly be divided into three classes—the high, the middling, and the low—each moving in its respective sphere. The first consists of the wealthy slaveholder, who looks upon all who labour as below his notice as an associate; the second, of those who own a few slaves, but not enough to take off the disgrace of labour, most of whom are in full pursuit of the first class, hoping to arrive at the point where they can dispense with labour, and take a higher stand of respectability; the consequence is that many of them commence too soon, and the result is an early bankruptcy. The third class are those who are not able to own any slaves, but are compelled to labour for all they get. This class are more in numbers than both the others, and are by some denominated poor white trash. Many of them are truly miserable; destitute of many of the comforts of life. Schools are scarce, and far between. Few of this class can read, and being deprived of the common social visits we have in this country, often too poor, if they could read, to take any paper, they can know but little about anything beyond their own observation. They feel themselves oppressed; they know the prejudice that exists against them. The consequence is, when they can find portions of country where they can form society of their own, and enjoy equal liberties, they congregate in such places, which is the case in most of the settlements where we have made our cotton arrangements.

Now our efforts afford an opportunity for the friends of equal rights to go among them; and in explaining the nature of the testimony to them, it unfolds the cause of their oppression, and they rejoice to find a people who can sympathise with them, and look upon labour as honourable and right, which causes them to embrace our sentiments with joy and gladness. They only need to have this testimony discussed among them, and we will have a host of efficient labourers in the midst of the system who will speak and act from experience. They only have to demand justice and it will be granted: their numbers are too numerous to be denied.

I have endeavoured to give a faithful account of my proceedings in all essential parts. It has been a laborious travel, but in this we do not complain. We can truly say it has produced the reward of peace to us in doing what we considered duty.

The difficulty of getting directions from you

through the mail placed us measurably under the necessity of directing our course, which we have endeavoured to do to the best advantage of the cause in which we were labouring, irrespective of difficulties and dangers to ourselves. We now return with gratitude to our Preserver whose hand has been extended over us.

I am your friend,

NATHAN THOMAS.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH 1, 1848.

LONDON YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.—The intelligence we communicated last month, respecting the lively interest manifested by the proceedings of Friends in New York and New England, in relation to slavery, and their duties in connection with it, must have been, we are sure, highly gratifying and strengthening to many of our readers. They will see in this movement, not only the dawning of a brighter day to the stricken slave, but the prospect of increased strength to our religious society, inasmuch as "he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger."

We are now enabled through the kindness of our English correspondents, and some printed reports, to give an account of the proceedings of London Yearly Meeting on the same subject. "After the reading of the Epistles from America," says one of our letters, "William Forster addressed the meeting on the subject of slavery, and the slave-trade, in the very spirit of a Woolman and a Benezet; stating that at times it weighed down his spirit in a manner almost more than his nature could bear, and exhorted us to faithfulness in maintaining our Christian testimony against the cruel tyranny which these systems involve and uphold."

This beloved friend and his wife, who is also a minister of the Gospel, and a sister of the late Sir T. Fowell Buxton, have long been concerned to exclude the productions of slavery from their table, as the senior Editor and his wife had the satisfaction to learn whilst enjoying their kind hospitality for a few days last autumn.

At a subsequent sitting of the Yearly Meeting, a Minute of the Meeting for Sufferings on the slave trade and slavery was read, from which it appeared that the latter meeting had preferred leaving it to the Yearly Meeting to petition Parliament upon this subject, if the way should open. A proposition was accordingly made, that the Yearly Meeting should petition the Government

for the entire exclusion of slave grown sugar from the Kingdom. "An animated discussion," says the London Friend, "ensued, on the nature of such petition. The Meeting was united in a strong feeling of duty in regard to the public expression at this time, of our convictions against the sin of the Slave-trade and of Slavery; but considerable diversity of sentiment was exhibited, as to what we ought to ask the legislature to do in the matter. The object proposed by the Meeting for Sufferings, viz., the prohibition of sugar from Cuba and the Brazils, did not meet with general concurrence; some regarding it as a compromise of principle, to ask for the exclusion of one article of slave-produce only; and others maintaining that the legal prohibition of slave sugar would be wholly inoperative towards the end in view, namely, the extinction or diminution of the slave-trade. An appeal was made to Friends to abstain from all articles of slave-production, and forcible reasons were advanced for this sacrifice. It was thought too by some who spoke, that we cannot consistently approach the legislature, for the exclusion of any unrequited labour, until we have done all in our power, as individuals, to substitute for them free-labour articles. A Committee was eventually appointed to consider the subject, and if they should see fit, to bring in the draft of a petition to the House of Commons on the general question, care being taken in praying for legislative interference, that our testimony against the use of armed vessels should be fully set forth. The Committee made report to a subsequent sitting that they were not prepared to submit a petition for the adoption of the Meeting, but recommended that the subject should be left to the watchful oversight of the Meeting for Sufferings, which was agreed to."

In the British Friend we find the following statement of these proceedings.

"A Friend introduced, at considerable length, the question of abstinence from the produce of slave-labour; and for a time, the current of feeling in the Meeting seemed in favour of that practice; and in accordance with such a view, a proposal was made to petition Parliament against the introduction of slave-grown sugar. A number of Friends, however, objected to this course on the ground that, from the almost universal implication in the use of the produce of Slavery, our own hands could not be said to be clean, and hence our going to Parliament would, under these circumstances, be only exposing our own inconsistency. It was therefore concluded, to petition on the general ground of our well known testimony against the slave system; whereupon, a

committee was named to draw up the petition, and to bring it in to a future sitting."

"The Committee appointed at a former sitting, to prepare a Petition to Parliament on the question of Slavery, reported, that after giving the subject the best consideration they were able, they had not seen their way to the essaying of a Petition at the present time; and they therefore recommended referring the subject to the Meeting for Sufferings, to act therein as it may deem to be for the best; in which recommendation the Meeting concurred."

We hope much good from the earnest discussion and the weighty consideration which it is evident the subject of abstaining from the use and consumption of the productions of slavery, obtained in London Yearly Meeting.

Time was when the immediate participation of Friends in the African slave-trade and in holding slaves, often led that meeting into deep sorrow and exercise. This participation has long ceased, but slavery and the slave-trade exist in a greater extent than at that day, and a new era now occurs in the history of the Yearly Meeting. Its members deplore the continuance of the unchristian system, and are "united in a strong feeling of duty in regard to the public expression of their convictions against the sin;" but when they essay to put forth their hands, behold! they are stained with the blood of the slave. They feel that by asking Parliament to exclude one article of slave produce, while they, themselves, are receiving and using or consuming both that and other articles of the same character, they would only expose their own inconsistency, and that in reply to their remonstrance, the Government might justly say, "Physician, heal thyself."

We are glad that our English Friends have thus been brought into a very narrow place; that the duty of abstaining from all articles of slave production has been so powerfully impressed on their consciences. We trust they will not be long unprepared for the battle, nor rest satisfied to remain idle while a great work is to be performed in the Lord's vineyard, and the call to labour has been loudly sounded in their hearts. There was an occasion when the children of Israel "turned their backs before their enemies," and "fled before the men of Ai," and "the hearts of the people melted and became as water." They had taken of the accursed thing, and had also stolen, and had put it even among their own stuff, "therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs," and it was not till the Babylonish garment, the shekels of silver, and the wedge of gold were removed

from the camp, that the men of Ai were made to flee before them.

We rejoice in knowing that amongst our beloved brethren in Great Britain, there are faithful Joshuas, and that the hearts of many are open to receive the truth in relation to their individual duties respecting the "accursed thing" which has been brought amongst them. May it be speedily removed, so that with willing hearts and strong hands they may go boldly forth at the command of the Lord.

ADDRESS OF THE LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.—The last number of the London Anti-Slavery Reporter contains a forcible Appeal against the system of African emigration, as it has been carried on in the British Colonies, and in favour of the repeal of the Act of 1846, so far as slave-grown sugars are concerned; also in reference to the unjust and oppressive laws by which the labouring population of the Colonies, especially in British Guiana and Trinidad, have been deprived of their just rights, and a power has been placed in the hands of their employers wholly at variance with equality and sound policy.

The friends of the Anti-Slavery cause are earnestly urged to put themselves into immediate communication with their borough and county members, and urgently press on them the necessity of acting in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Conference.

The London anti-slavery committee have laboured on these subjects most faithfully, and with unwavering perseverance, but, we are sorry to say, with little success, and we fear the present government will adhere to the policy recently pursued. Is it not time, therefore, that "not leaving these things undone," British Abolitionists, and those of America also, should turn their attention more earnestly and practically to an individual adoption of the moral principles which are urged upon the observance of the Government.

We know, and rejoice in knowing, that strong efforts have recently been made, and are now in progress in England, to awaken the people to this duty. When the news of the passage of the sugar Act of 1846 reached us, we used the following language to our friends in that country, and in the present crisis we would again respectfully address it to them.

"We turn with intense interest and hopeful anticipations to the course which may now be pursued by the philanthropists of Great Britain. They have declared that the measures adopted by

Government, will have the effect of strengthening the system of slavery, of stimulating the slave-trade, and of adding to the horrors of both; that it will, as certainly, and almost as directly, increase the slave-trade, as if this country had given a premium for every kidnapped negro forced on board the slavers and carried from Africa through the unutterable horrors of the middle passage, to interminable bondage; that 'besides the increased sacrifice of human life, and the augmentation of crime and suffering which will undoubtedly be the fruits of this measure, they contemplate with the deepest sorrow, its destructive effects upon all that is done and is doing for the civilization of Africa; and that the slaves who are murdered by wholesale, to make the quantity of sugar now exported from Cuba or Brazil, will have to make more—that is, they must be forced by the lash to a new excess of labour, at which they will be more wretched while they live, and under which they will more rapidly die.'

"In view of these deplorable consequences, we would most seriously press the question upon our friends in the British isles, what is it that will alone give effect [and, we may now say, has alone given effect] to the measure so justly deprecated? The answer is obvious—the consumption of the slave-grown sugars. They say truly, that 'when the labourer is free, every augmentation in the demand for the produce of his toil increases his means of subsistence and comfort; where the labourer is a slave, it as certainly diminishes them and destroys him.' But this augmentation of the demand for slave-grown sugar, and the demand itself, are consequences, not of any governmental measure, but simply of the individual consumption of the article. If the act of the Government in permitting slave-grown sugar to be landed at London or Liverpool is wrong, because such sugar is stolen property, *we know of no process by which its character can be afterwards so changed that the merchant, the grocer, and the consumer may rightfully purchase it.* [The Cuban and Brazilian planters would not be likely to send a second crop of sugar, while the first remained unsold and unconsumed in the storehouses of English seaports.]

"How plain then is the path of duty which now opens to British Abolitionists. It will not do to plead that they cannot distinguish between slave-grown and free-grown sugars. In every town and village, and hamlet of England, they may readily make arrangements to procure sugars unstained by the blood of the slave. It is only needful that they should realize their individual responsibility in the case, and arouse the people also, as did Clarkson and his coadjutors when labouring for the

overthrow of the Anglo-African slave-trade. We say then to the British Abolitionists, let pamphlets, such as that which Clarkson asserts occasioned the general abstinence from sugar in England in 1791 and 1792, be placed in every family in your Kingdom; let all be made to feel that 'the consumer is equally guilty with the planter;' proclaim in every ear that 'so far as our means extend, we are to combat evil as if its extirpation depended on our individual action;' carry out thus your individual duties, as Christians, and you will need no laws to prevent the introduction of slave-grown sugars over your threshold."

We need scarcely say, that these remarks are equally applicable to all in our own country, who regard slavery as an evil and desire its extinction.

EXPEDIENCY OF ABSTINENCE FROM SLAVE PRODUCE.—Our friend Nathan Thomas, whose notes of travel are concluded in this paper, is deeply impressed, by his observations during his journeys, with the expediency and importance of collecting free grown cotton as a means of arousing the energies of the non-slaveholders in the south, who in many places, and taking all the slave States into the account, form a majority of the white people. He thinks that even those abolitionists who have not learned to regard abstinence from slave products as a moral duty, may with great propriety adopt it as the most efficient medium through which correct principles on the subject of slavery can be disseminated in the slaveholding States. When the non-slaveholders of the south find that a plan is in operation which directly tends to elevate them from their depressed condition, they will be stimulated to active exertions for their own improvement. Our friend believes that this class, when thus aided and enlightened to their true interests, will labour for themselves and the slave not less beneficially in the political and moral than in the cotton field. Few of them could now read anti-slavery publications, if these could be circulated amongst them, and the slaveholders take no pains, we can readily believe, to give them favourable accounts of the actions and motives of abolitionists. Elevate the poor white people of the south, and give them the right of suffrage—which, notwithstanding our boasted democracy, they do not now enjoy in all the slave States—and the political power of slaveholders would soon be at an end.

This view of the effect to be anticipated from a general preference for the products of free labour is undoubtedly an interesting and important one, and should receive the attention of the friends of the slave. It will be seen, also, by the extracts

from N. Thomas's letters, that even slaveholders have felt the influence of consistent anti-slavery action. In a letter recently received from him, and dated at New Garden, Indiana, alluding to an individual with whom he had frequent intercourse in the south, he says: "I had the pleasure a few days ago of welcoming one of ———'s slaves to our school. He came in company with several young men from Mississippi. ——— is expected soon with some others, who are now at Cincinnati. I have just received a letter from my friend ———, of ———, mentioned in my Report, who has concluded to take our advice about his slaves, and we shall look for them soon. He speaks of the friends of the poor coloured people in terms of commendation."

The writer adds: "Can you make arrangements to encourage the emigration to Texas of persons who will be useful when there? A company is making arrangements to go from this place, and a letter received yesterday from my fellow-traveller of your State, informs me that a considerable company is preparing to go from his neighbourhood."

We trust the labours of our esteemed friend, during his long journey, attended with many perils and much privation and fatigue, will be greatly blessed in various happy results, both to himself and to the good cause for which he is a faithful, practical and devoted advocate.

THE RESULT OF THE LABOURS OF BRITISH AND OTHER PHILANTHROPISTS.—There is too much truth in the following remarks which we take from the London "Times," May 29th. "It may well be asked—and every abolitionist should put the question to himself—why, after all the efforts of Great Britain for more than half a century to promote emancipation, 'the gross amount of negro slavery throughout the world has been progressing fully in the ratio of the increased consumption of sugar, coffee and other West Indian produce, and England is losing all power of softening or ameliorating [by legislative acts] the condition of the slaves?' And why 'Clarkson, Wilberforce, and the abolitionists,' 'have not succeeded in checking the seizure of slaves in the interior of Africa, but have aggravated the horrors of the middle passage, and have driven the slave to the tender mercies of the Brazilian or United States planter?' The answer is so obvious, so simple, so incontrovertible that we cannot but wonder it is not perceived by the wise men who are seeking 'measures' and 'fiscal regulations' to destroy the cruel system.

Where now would have been American slavery

if the first bale of slave grown cotton introduced into England had been rejected as the fruit of piracy?

Why is it that long after one half the original states of this Union have abolished slavery, it continues to flourish in the other, and to extend far and wide into new states and adjoining territories? Simply because of the increased consumption of sugar, cotton, and other tropical productions by those who no longer hold slaves themselves. Why will not the abolitionists of the present day learn wisdom from the experience of those who have passed away? Why do they content themselves with endeavouring to lop a few of the branches of the poisonous tree, instead of drying up the source of its nourishment which is under their control? It would, undoubtedly, be the "least of two evils," to hold the slaves ourselves and cultivate our own sugar and cotton, instead of procuring them from "countries where they are grown by slaves whose compulsory labour we cannot regulate; whose condition we cannot better, and whose transportation from Africa to the various slave markets we cannot prevent." We must leave it to those, who, while they condemn the "least," are committing the "greater" evil, to explain their own inconsistency; for ourselves, we must earnestly bear our testimony against both.

"Were Clarkson and Wilberforce right or wrong in the steps they took in the cause of negro emancipation? Sentimentalism apart, are they to be numbered amidst the enlightened benefactors of humanity? The practical result of all the efforts Great Britain has made during the last half century for the abolition of slavery is merely this:—The gross amount of negro slavery throughout the world has been progressing fully in the ratio of the increased consumption of sugar, coffee, and other West Indian produce, and England is losing all power of softening or ameliorating the condition of the slave. Let us suppose for a moment that all the legislative acts for the abolition of slavery which the humanity of philanthropists ever devised, or the votes of Parliament ever passed into law, had never been thought or spoken of, and what would have been the result? It is well to look the plain truth boldly in the face, and ascertain whether the condition of the African has been at all bettered by our exertions. Let us suppose all emancipation acts to have been waste paper, compensatory sums of twenty millions at a time never to have been levied from the English tax payer; and that the estuaries of the African rivers had never witnessed the evolutions of an English squadron amidst their pestilential miasmata and deadly fogs. We may fairly presume that in this case the slave trade between the African coast and the British West Indies would have been regularized. The oscillations of demand and supply would have kept their even pace. Philanthropy, in-

stead of doing what it has done, would have taken another form. Philanthropy would have declaimed as of old about the horrors of the middle-passage, and to the softening of the horrors of the middle passage the remedy would have been confined. Commodious vessels adapted to the traffic would have been provided. It would have been desirable, as a mercantile speculation, that the human merchandize should have arrived sound in wind and limb, and fit for delivery. This would have come to pass, or else the purveyor of slaves would have regulated his business by other conditions than the importer of oranges from Malia or the dealer in cotton from the United States. Factories or entrepôts would have been established here and there along the African coast, and by all analogy we may presume that even in the interior, even in the spots where human beings are seized and sorted for sale, some improvement on the horrors of the trade might in the course of half a century have been devised. Be this, however, as it may, it is on the condition of the slave when once under the protection of the British laws that we might have reflected with satisfaction. The original, the damning taint of the traffic we could not have washed out. We could not have restored the African who had been torn from his deserts and his home, to the society and the fellowship of early days, as dearly cherished by him as are the more refined regrets for the days of his childhood by civilized man. This we could not have done; but we could have taken the slave in Jamaica or St. Vincent as a slave, and have rendered his condition more tolerable than that of any unhappy being placed under similar circumstances. By this time a humane code of slave laws would have been enacted—the arbitrary power of corporal punishment have been taken away from the master; the separation of husband and wife, of parent and child, forbidden; regulations of the hours and conditions of labour have obtained. On the whole, such a system might have been devised, that, setting aside the original sin inherent in a traffic where man is the merchant and man the merchandize, philanthropy might have doubted, and sterner wisdom denied, that the African had been the loser by a bargain which removed him from the frantic license and constant physical suffering of barbarism, and placed him even in the lowest degree within the pale of civilization. It is conceivable, it is probable, considering the interval between the posting of a letter at Kingston and its delivery in London, in May, 1848, that the system would have shaken itself into some such form as this. Let us now turn to what we actually have done.

We have emancipated the negro. We have caused such a deficiency in the supply of labour, and so raised its price in the Antilles, that the cost of producing a ton of sugar in the British colonies is considerably higher than in foreign sugar-growing countries. Concurrently with this measure, we have said to the British West Indian colonist, you shall at once, or within a short period, lose any discriminating duty which would place you on a footing of equality with the foreign sugar grower. Your feet shall be tied,

and his feet shall be loose, and yet you shall have no start in the race, which you are ruined if you lose. We are not, however, considering the question with reference to the British planters—let them perish by all means, and let the West Indian colonies be destroyed—but purely as it may affect slavery throughout the world. Sugar must be had somehow and from somewhere; if not from the British West Indies—then from the Brazils, from the United States, from countries where it will be grown by slaves whose compulsory labour we cannot regulate, whose condition we cannot better, and whose transportation from Africa to the various slave-markets we cannot prevent. That is at present the gross result of the labours of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and the abolitionists. They have not succeeded in checking the seizure of slaves in the interior of Africa; they have aggravated the horrors of the middle passage; they have driven the slave from the protection of the British flag to the tender mercies of the Brazilian or United States planter, whose proceedings are not influenced by any such public opinion as would have softened their dealings with those slaves in a British colony. It is well, ere it be too late, to ponder upon these things.

Here are a few facts from the speech delivered by Mr. Samuel Gurney to the meeting held at the London Tavern on Saturday:—

"Since 1846 a great change has taken place on the subject of the slave trade. Up to that time the slave trade had been checked by the British and other governments; and the Brazils and Spain, not by treaty, but by acts, would have abandoned the traffic if their sugar had not been admitted to this country at that time. The government of this country had thrown away, then, a golden opportunity, but not he hoped, so completely as not to be able to get it back. He would read them a few statistics of the slave trade in recent years. In 1845 the number of slaves that crossed the Atlantic was estimated at 45,000. In 1847 the number was 60,000 by official reports, but by private and well authenticated accounts it was 70,000. He would wish them to consider well what the slave trade really was. He would mention one or two cases by way of elucidation. One of our admirals, within the present month, had written to his government that he had a slaver in tow of 60 tons burden, with 317 individuals on board. The system of packing those individuals was such as to make them a solid mass of human corruption. Some few remained alive. He knew cases in which nine out of ten of the persons composing cargoes of slaves died on the voyage. If such vessels of 60 tons were employed to transport the 60,000 slaves in 1847, the meeting might form some calculation as to the amount of deaths. He only told half the evils of the slave trade when he mentioned the horrors and deaths during the Atlantic voyage. What if he told them of the wars and cruelties exercised in Africa—of the ruin committed in that country to get possession of those unfortunate individuals—if he told them all, they would see that for every 70,000 exported from Africa an equal number had been destroyed. He believed

that the consequence of the African slave trade, as now carried on, was at least 1,000 deaths a-day."

This meeting in itself is no inconsiderable symptom of the change of public opinion on this matter, or rather of the strange manner in which parties have been brought together who were formerly in diametrical antagonism. The West Indian interest and the abolitionists are now making common cause, the one to preserve their estates, the other to prevent the abolition of slavery becoming a mere delusion. The means to be adopted for the attaining of these two distinct ends are identical."

We now have the satisfaction definitely to inform the friends of the Free Produce cause in Ohio, that Joseph Williams, having recently procured a stock of Free Labour Goods from the store in this city, has opened a Free Produce Store at Mount Pleasant, and intends keeping no other than the products of free labour.

SELECTIONS.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SLAVE PRODUCTS.

Friend Gay:—Your intelligent and candid remarks on my last article are worthy of impartial examination. I do not maintain that there is a "perfect" analogy between the holding of slaves and the use of slave products. The question is, whether or not there is an analogy which requires us to predicate moral wrong of both, if of either?

Is it correct to consider the refraining from the voluntary purchase and use of goods, known and affirmed by ourselves to be stolen, simply "as a means to an end?" Is it not a moral duty? Of the slaveholder, you say, "His wrong is primary and voluntary; that of the consumer of slave products is secondary and involuntary." The wrong of the robber indeed precedes the wrong of the receiver and purchaser of the stolen goods. Does this prove the innocence of the latter? I cannot admit that we are "involuntary" in purchasing and using the known fruits of slavery. If Abolitionists are to be considered "involuntary" in doing so, because they would prefer free goods, if they could conveniently obtain them at the same expense, then are slaveholders acting "involuntarily," who would prefer free labourers if they could so obtain them. "The slaveholder," you remark, "in his own person, deprives his fellow-man of all his rights, and is bound to restore them to him. It is his first duty. The consumer of slave-products, at the worst, is using those things which are in themselves harmless; and how far it is his duty to refrain from them,

under the circumstances of their unpaid production, depends upon its relation to other duties." I ask, does not the receiver of stolen goods "deprive his fellow-man of his rights?" If the slaveholder deprives his fellow-man of his rights, by taking from him the fruits of his unpaid toil, and selling it for his own benefit, is not the purchaser, who knows the facts in the case, involved in the same guilt? May the receiver of stolen sheep excuse himself by saying, I am using creatures "which are in themselves harmless?" Can we truthfully say, "how far it is his duty to refrain from" purchasing them from the sheep-stealers, depends upon its relation to other duties?

My friend remarks, "The slaveholder can abolish slavery at once, for it exists at his will." So far, my dear sir, can the consumers of their ill-gotten goods "abolish slavery at once, for it exists" by the profits voluntarily paid by them. You will admit that although the individual slaveholder can do but little towards demolishing the whole infernal system, by emancipating his few slaves, it is his duty to do so; so I say in respect to the refraining of the Abolitionist from the purchase and use of those fruits, the profits of which are the vital sustenance of the whole body of slavery's iniquities.

You concede that "abstinence" is a "right" measure. Is it not *wrong* to omit a *right* measure as far as we can adopt it? You add, "but as it is neither the only right, nor the only expedient one, it is a question how far it can be used without encroaching upon other acknowledged duties," &c. As moral rights and duties are perfectly harmonious, and, consequently, can never encroach on each other, I think this inference inadmissible. If the purchase of stolen goods is not a case of moral wrong; if it is a mere matter of expediency, whether or not I shall be continually purchasing goods I know and affirm to be stolen, then is your reasoning sound. Will you allow the man, who opens shops for the purpose of receiving stolen goods, thus to excuse himself, saying, refraining from doing this is not the only right measure to prevent stealing, therefore, it is a question how far it can be used without encroaching upon other duties; such as the duty of supporting my family, &c.?

You justly require the slaveholder to make every sacrifice which emancipation involves; why? Because, "he has no right to rob his fellow-man," &c. You believe that he robs his fellow-man of the fruits of his hard toil; you recognize those fruits as belonging, not to the slaveholder, but to the slave. Does not your voluntary purchase of them, not of the true owner,

but of the robber, sanction his injustice and involve you in his guilt? Moreover, does not your act present the chief motive to the robber to continue his unrighteousness and oppression? Is it a mere matter of expediency whether or not you shall so act? I trow not.

My friend believes that the slaveholder ought to sacrifice everything, even his life, rather than hold his brother in slavery; but that "the Abolitionist is not bound" to do so, "that he may be free from all participation" therein. This I admit. Impossibilities are not duties. To be free from all participation in slavery or other evils, we must need go out of the world. But it is as practicable for Abolitionists to abstain, to a great degree, from the purchase and use of slave products, as it is for slaveholders to emancipate their slaves. If you say to the dealers of horses, or of sheep, of cotton, or of sugar, you had better die than do this, and they reply, if so, then those who are partakers of our sins and present the chief motive for their commission, by continually and voluntarily purchasing the stolen goods, had better die than do so; will not my friend Gay "accept this reasoning?"

My esteemed friend considers that his "strong argument," and what is "more to the point," is that I, myself, use "the product of the unpaid toil of the slave." This inspires me with the hope that we shall soon see eye to eye on this subject; for if his chief foundation is the *inconsistency* of "friend Grew," or that of any other Abolitionist, his building is very far from being founded on a rock. If a man, who declares that it is a moral wrong to buy and use goods known to be stolen, occasionally does so himself, does this prove that the continual purchasing and using of such goods is a mere matter of expediency or inexpediency, and not a moral wrong? I do not love my neighbour as I ought. I am not perfect. Shall another plead this to justify himself in not loving his neighbour at all? For fourteen years I have, for the sake of the suffering slave, endeavoured to supply my family with groceries and cotton goods unstained with my brother's blood. It may, at least, be worthy of the consideration of my abolition brethren, what the effect would have been in respect to the poor slave, had they all done so as imperfectly as I have. Let them contemplate the deplorable fact, that to supply their demands, the unrequited toil, the unmerciful flogging, and various other outrages, are the cruel wrongs which have been perpetrated on far more than a thousand of their fellow-men, which would not have been inflicted had they refused to purchase the products of oppression. The

supply of these articles is in proportion to the demand.

With grateful acknowledgements of your kind liberality in allowing, for truth's sake, a full and fair discussion to this important subject, I remain, yours truly,

HENRY GREW.

From the True Democrat.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT.

Messrs. Editors:—I was much interested in the argument of Lysander Spooner upon the unconstitutionality of slavery in the District of Columbia, and have been led thereby to examine the question of slavery in the District, in company with a friend and neighbour. The view we take of it may not be unworthy of public consideration; and I will quote *verbatim*, the sections of the constitution and laws to which I refer, for the convenience of your readers.

In the Constitution of the United States, adopted 17th September, 1787, Section 8, it is provided that,

"Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States."

On the 16th July, 1790, the President approved an act for establishing the permanent seat of government; of which the first section is as follows:

"1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That a district of territory not exceeding ten miles square, to be located as hereafter directed, on the River Potomac, at some place between the mouths of the eastern branch and Connagocheague, be, and the same is hereby accepted for the permanent seat of the government of the United States: *Provided, nevertheless*, That the operation of the laws of the state within such district shall not be affected by this acceptance, until the time fixed for the removal of the government thereto, and until Congress shall otherwise by law provide."

Section 6th provides that on the first Monday of December, 1800, the seat of government shall be transferred to the District. See laws of the United States, vol. 1, chap. xxviii.

It was the only condition of the cession by the States of Maryland and Virginia, that the laws of those States should be in force in the District, until Congress accepted the grant. The grant

being accepted, Congress deemed it necessary, in the exercise of its power of "exclusive legislation," to provide either a new code of laws, or to continue the State laws until the occupation of the District by the officers of government, and until Congress shall otherwise by law provide.

On the 27th February, 1801, the President approved of an act of which the first section is as follows:

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted by, &c., That the laws of the State of Virginia, as they now exist, shall be and continue in force in that part of the District of Columbia which was ceded by the said State to the United States, and by them accepted for the permanent seat of government; and that the laws of the State of Maryland, as they now exist, shall be, and continue in force in that part of the said District, which was ceded by that State to the United States, and by them accepted as aforesaid."

Thus at the first session at the permanent seat of government in the District, did Congress directly enact over the District the laws of Virginia and Maryland, which ceased to be in force—*slave laws* and all: and the man who asserts that Congress has never perpetuated the existence of slavery, is either guilty of a wilful falsehood, or else betrays his ignorance and stupidity.

Now the same power that creates an obligation can dissolve it. A legislature may repeal laws of its own enactment, and Congress has the power to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Let Congress repeal the first section of the act of February 1st, 1801, by which it re-enacted the slave laws of Virginia and Maryland, and every slave within ten miles square would become a freeman.

Look for a moment at these old slave laws of which we speak. In Virginia and Maryland, the severity of the slave laws yielding somewhat to the advancing spirit of the age, have been modified; but they are still unchanged in the District. These laws forbid the education of the slave; thus depriving him of the information of what the laws are, whilst they inflict upon him the punishment of death for several offences, which, if committed by a white person, are only punishable by fine or imprisonment. These also require that a slave guilty of murder shall be hung, drawn and quartered, and that his dismembered limbs be exposed in four of the most public places in the District; one of which most public places would be, of course, in front of the Capitol itself. And these are the laws that are enacted

and continued in full force and obligation by the representatives of this republic!

Messrs. Editors, shall we not petition for the repeal of the first section of the act of Feb. 27th, 1801? Don't stop to argue that slavery is unconstitutional from the preamble to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and therefore should be abolished in the District. Show the people of the free States (and of the slave too) that Congress has by its enactments sustained slavery there, and ask them unitedly to implore Congress to repeal its cruel, black, disgraceful laws, or else to remove the seat of government to a soil where slavery does not, and cannot exist.

F. W. T.

ENGLISH PAUPERS AND AMERICAN SLAVES.

The last Millennial Harbinger contains a long quotation from the National Intelligencer, intended to demonstrate that the condition of the slaves in this country, is superior to that of the paupers of Great Britain. Well, suppose it is, what then? Does that make slavery right, or justify its continuance? Are the people of this country to rest satisfied because it happens that there is a class of creatures in another nation worse off, even, than our slaves? No one will venture to answer these questions affirmatively, and yet if they are not so answered, there is no object gained by the comparison. To our mind, if the facts stated be true, the comparison, although against Great Britain, is nothing in favour of the United States. It may prove that our slaves are a grade above British paupers, but it can never prove that American slaves are what they ought to be. If a drunkard is better than a thief, it does not follow that it is right therefore to be a drunkard. If Great Britain tramples on her poor, for that wrong God will hold her responsible. He will also hold the people of this nation responsible for the wrongs done to the slaves;—and in His sight it will be no mitigation of the offence to plead that the victims of our wrong suffered less than the victims of Great Britain.

Let us not be understood, however, as admitting that there is any truth or justness in the comparison alluded to. We do not believe that the condition of the British pauper is at all to be compared to that of the American slave.—Perhaps in some places the slave may be better fed, but

"It is not all of life to" EAT,

as the experience of millions can testify.—*Washington (Pa.) Patriot.*

From the Blue Hen's Chicken, a Wilmington Newspaper.

To Jeandell and Vincent:—I herewith enclose an address delivered immediately after the close of the Circuit Court of the United States, sitting at New Castle, Judges Taney and Hall on the Bench, 5th month 29th, 1848, after the close of my trials, for the penalties of aiding the escape of certain slaves from their owners, where the penalties and damages were awarded by the jurors for seven slaves (a mother and six children) from one to sixteen years of age, to be \$5,400, after a verdict had been rendered against J. Hunn for \$2,500 in the same case. Judge Taney had left the Court before it adjourned; Judge Hall I invited to stay, and hear me, but he left when I was about to commence. If thou art of opinion that it is worthy a place in the Chicken, thou art at liberty to publish it, and oblige

THOMAS GARRETT.

"I have a few words which I wish to address to the Court, Jury and prosecutors in the several suits that have been brought against me, during the sittings of this Court, in order to determine the amount of penalty I must pay for doing what my feelings prompted me to do as a lawful and meritorious act—a simple act of humanity and justice, as I believe, to eight of that oppressed race, the people of colour, whom I found in the New Castle Jail, in the 12th month, 1845. I will now endeavour to state the facts of those cases for your consideration and reflection after you return home to your families and friends: you will then have time to ponder on what has transpired here since the sitting of this Court, and I believe that your verdict will then be unanimous that the laws of the United States, as explained by our venerable Judge, when compared with the act committed by me, are cruel and oppressive, and need remodelling. Information was sent me that eight coloured persons were in New Castle jail, charged with being runaway slaves, and that the individual believed several of them were entitled to their freedom, and requested to have their case investigated. I went to New Castle next morning, and took Edith Pusey along and had an interview with Samuel Hawkins, Emily, (his wife,) and some of the children, in a private room, in the presence of the Sheriff, Jacob Caulk. Hawkins and wife admitted to us that two of their sons claimed by Glanding were slaves; but assured us, in the most positive manner, that themselves and four small children were entitled to freedom; that himself and wife had been keeping house, and living together as free persons previous to the birth of the eldest of the four children. Neither the Sheriff, or myself,

had the slightest doubt of the truth of their statement. The Sheriff thought the mother so good a Christian that she would not lie even to free her own children. I then requested to see the commitments of the Magistrate, which were handed to me. I at once saw that they were defective; and had no doubt, if the individuals were taken before Judge Booth, (by legal process,) but what he would discharge the parents and four young children, if not the two older boys. After my return home, I called on Wales; stated the facts of the case; and requested him to accompany me to New Castle, in order to take the family above-named before Chief Justice Booth for examination. The habeas corpus was prepared, and they were all taken before Booth, about eleven o'clock, on second day morning. The investigation lasted about one hour. The business was conducted by Attorney Wales in such a manner that the Judge was induced to discharge the whole family; and with his decision I was well pleased; but had little or no hope when they were taken before him that the two boys would be discharged. The statement made by Samuel and wife, in the Judge's office, was the same in substance as they had made in prison to the Sheriff, Edith Pusey, and myself; and that was, that the mother and four young children were free—the two elder children slaves. I then put this question to Chief Justice Booth: 'As those people have been discharged, will there be any impropriety in my employing a hack to take them to Wilmington?' My impression then was, and still remains the same, that his reply was 'O no.' I then in the Judge's office and presence, asked the Sheriff to procure a carriage. He sent his son for one, and the owner came into the Judge's office, where we made the contract for him to take them to Wilmington. In about half an hour, they were all in the carriage, and started for Wilmington, and arrived at my store at noon, nothing secret, or covert, in the transaction whatever. And I now most solemnly aver, that when they were discharged by Judge Booth, and for some time after they arrived in Wilmington, I had not even a suspicion of the mother and four small children being slaves. If my statement above is correct, which I presume will not be questioned by any one acquainted with my character, your verdict of \$2,500 for the penalty as rendered by you on Seventh day last was not just, as the Judge in his charge to the Jury, on that occasion, distinctly stated I must at least have cause to believe them to be slaves to entitle the plaintiff to a verdict. With that small cause, as explained in my favour by the Judge, I was entitled to your verdict of acquittal. I do not pretend to assert that I was able, with the latitude allowed to the witness, to prove my innocence in this case clearly to the Jury. The Judge's charge was positively against me, if I knew they were slaves, or had good cause to suspect them of being such, even though examined by and discharged by the Judge. The first case tried during my absence, while I was sick at home, was different—I believed the two boys claimed by Glanding to be slaves; but the Judge having set them at liberty, I thought there would be no breach of law, or risk of penalty, in providing them a conveyance with the rest of the family to Wilmington: and had I believed every one of them to be slaves, I should have done the same thing, after they had been released by the Judge, with the feelings of humanity which the Almighty has implanted in my breast, and the interest I have felt for this oppressed people of colour in our midst. I should have done violence to my convictions of duty, had I not made use of all the lawful means in my power to liberate those people, and assist them to become men and women, rather than leave them in the condition of chattels personal. I am called an abolitionist, once a name of reproach, but one I have ever been proud to be considered worthy of being called. For the last twenty-five years I have been engaged in the cause of this despised and much injured race, and consider their cause worth suffering for; but owing to a multiplicity of other engagements, I could not devote so much of my time and mind to their cause as I otherwise should have done. The impositions and persecutions practised on those unoffending and innocent brethren, are extreme beyond endurance. I am now placed in a situation in which I have not so much to claim my attention as formerly, and I now pledge myself, in the presence of this assembly, to use all lawful and honourable means to lessen the burdens of this oppressed people, and endeavour according to ability furnished to burst their chains asunder, and set them free—not relaxing my efforts on their behalf while blessed with health and a slave remains to tread the soil of the State of my adoption—Delaware; and after mature reflection, I can assure this assembly it is my opinion at this time that the verdicts you have given the prosecutors against John Hunn and myself, within the past few days, will have a tendency to raise a spirit of enquiry throughout the length and breadth of the land, respecting this monster evil, (slavery,) in many minds that have not heretofore investigated the subject. The reports of those trials will be published by editors from

Maine to Texas and the far West; and what must be the effect produced? It will no doubt add hundreds, perhaps thousands, to the present large and rapidly increasing army of abolitionists. The injury is great to us who are the immediate sufferers by your verdict, but I believe the verdicts you have given against us within the last few days will have a powerful effect in bringing about the abolition of slavery in this country, this land of boasted freedom, where not only the slave is fettered at the south by his lordly master, but the white man at the north is bound as in chains to do the bidding of his southern masters.

From the Blue Hen's Chicken.

NEAR CANTWELL'S BRIDGE,
6th mo. 6th, 1848.

Friends Jeandell and Vincent:—As you have volunteered in your last paper to publish a statement of the case tried at the last session of the United States Court for Delaware District, at New Castle, in relation to fugitive slaves, I have thought proper to write out a brief statement as far as I am concerned, in order to let my fellow-citizens know by what laws we are to be governed, and the application of the United States law of 1793 in particular. On the 5th day of the 12th month, (called December,) 1845, a free old coloured man, with his wife and six children, came to my house at half past seven o'clock in the morning, asking food and shelter, as they had travelled all night through a snow storm, and their horse was nearly ready to fall. In consequence of the deep fall of snow, they concluded to tarry with me until the roads should be opened, and recruit both themselves and their horse. The poor creatures were nearly frozen, and were very hungry. They were made welcome, and came and went as they pleased on my premises. At four o'clock, P. M., of the same day, Thomas Schee Merritt came to my house, (having received information that there were some strange coloured people there,) and at half-past four o'clock, P. M., Robert A. Cochran, Robert T. Cochran, Richard C. Hays, and Wm. Chesney, (all residing in or near Middletown) came to my house in a sleigh. I went out to meet them, and Robert A. Cochran asked me if any strange blacks were at my house. I told him yes, and he said he guessed they were runaways. I asked him why so? and he pulled out an advertisement for some, in which a reward was offered for their apprehension. I told him he could walk round and see them. They were not in the kitchen: so they proceeded to the granary, where my folks

were getting off corn. Here they got sight of the old free man, and he ran from them. They gave chase, and finally he came back to my house, with two large knives in his hands. These he gave to me at my request, and showed his pass to his pursuers. They pronounced it a forgery, and said he must go before a magistrate. I protested; but it was of no avail: they took him up, and he acknowledged that his two elder boys (one fourteen and the other sixteen years old) belonged to Charles W. Glanding, of Beaver Dams, Queen Anne Co., Md., and that his wife and the four younger children (the eldest six years old and the youngest at the breast) belonged to Catherine Turner, of the same neighbourhood, but that his wife and four younger children had lived with him for six years past in a house to themselves; that said Turner had not contributed towards their support in any way; and, having a desire that they should all be free as he was, he had concluded to take them to another State. Well, the whole matter is that they took the whole family from my house and lodged them in the New Castle jail—since which I have never seen any of them—and here is the offence for which I am sentenced to pay \$2,500, for feeding and warming helpless children when they were perishing with cold and hunger. In conclusion I have to say that the "negro catchers" testified before the Court to the facts of the case, with the exception to Thomas Schee Merritt. The jury was taken from the State at large, contrary to custom, as I am informed, and only three, who adjudged my case, were from New Castle County. Such a jury was summoned that my attorney (Wm. H. Rogers) thought there was no choice in them. No doubt that the Marshal knew what he was doing, as well as the Judge, (Taney) when he told the Jury that "any person who undertook to find runaways for the reward offered, was in fact the agent and attorney of the owner, and had the right to seize them wherever he could find them; and that any right-minded man would bring out any strangers (black) who might be about his premises and have them inspected, and that what I done in this case," viz., gave two meals to a starving family, "was heart-burning within the meaning of the law."

Yours, respectfully,

JOHN HUNN.

MOTIVES FOR EVANGELIZING SLAVES.

The late Southern Presbyterian Review has an article on this subject, which sets it forth as one of the contemplated results of this work to "allow

Christianity to throw its broad shield over" Southern Slavery. The policy is indicated in this paragraph:

"This passage shows us the true impregnable position of the Christian slaveholder. The Bible furnishes to the slaveholder armour of proof, weapons of heavenly temper and mould whereby he can maintain his grounds against all attacks. But this is true, only when he obeys its directions as well as employs its sanctions. Our rights are there established, but it is always in connection with our duties; if we neglect the one, we cannot make good the other. Our domestic institutions can be maintained against the world, if we but allow Christianity to throw its broad shield over them. But if we so act as to array the Bible against our social economy they must fall. Nothing ever yet stood up long against Christianity. Those who say that religious instruction is inconsistent with our peculiar civil polity, are the worst enemies of that polity.—They would drive religious men from its defence. Sooner or later, if these views prevail, they will separate the religious portion of our community from the rest, and thus divided we shall become an easy prey."

EXTRACTS FROM "AN HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY," &c.

(Continued.)

The ardent zeal and indefatigable perseverance with which the Society laboured in the cause, was manifested by the lively and extensive correspondence kept up with kindred Societies, which were now springing up in different parts of America, in their addresses to the Governors of different States in the Union, and to legislative bodies. Also, to the Societies in England and France, to whom they speak of the extent to which the practice exists here, of petitioning the several State Legislatures, and of remonstrating against the cruelties of the system of slavery and the slave-trade, and the obvious benefits resulting therefrom, as well as from the abundant circulation of essays, tracts, and numerous publications and pictorial representations, which were constantly issuing from our own, or foreign writers, showing the utter inconsistency, injustice and impolicy of slavery. They encouraged the Societies addressed to persevere in application to governments; and advised them against too sanguine expectations of success on one hand, while on the other, they were never to be discouraged or cast down by disappointment; they were urged to extend their correspondence in relation to this subject, as

far as possible amongst European nations who have colonies in which negro slaves are employed.

1790. A special meeting of the Society was held in the Second month, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of addressing a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States on the subject of the slavery of the Africans. The measure was agreed to, and a draft of such a memorial being produced, was read by paragraphs, and after some amendments adopted, and directed to be transcribed and signed by the President of the Society, and two copies transmitted, one to the Senate, and the other to the House of Representatives of the United States.

At the present day, when the Congress of the United States absolutely refuse to receive petitions from any source wherein slavery is in the remotest degree alluded to, the concluding paragraph of this memorial is particularly worthy of notice, for the strength of its diction, the extent of its demands, and for its having been approved and signed by such a high and dignified character as Benjamin Franklin, then President of the Society, for which reason it is presented here, viz.:

"From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birthright of all men, and influenced by the strongest ties of humanity, and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavours to loosen the bands of slavery and to promote a general enjoyment of the blessing of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery, that you would be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race, and that you will step to the very verge of the powers vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men."

In the Sixth month, a special meeting was convened on the occasion of the death of Benjamin Franklin, the venerable President of the Society, which event was announced by the Vice President. No provision having been introduced into the Constitution of the Society for supplying such a vacancy as had now occurred, a Committee was appointed to consider of, and, in conjunction

with the Council, to propose such amendment as may be necessary to remedy that defect; which was done: and, after the amendment submitted by the Committee had been adopted, the Society proceeded to the election of a President. James Pemberton was unanimously elected.

The operations and labours of the Society do not appear to have ever been limited to the State of Pennsylvania. A case is noticed on the minutes of a very interesting suit before the Supreme Court of New Jersey, the decision of which involved the liberties of a number of blacks unlawfully held in bondage. A Special Committee was appointed to assist the Counsel of the Society, in attending to the case, and, if necessary, employ other able counsel. The Court pronounced judgment in favour of the negro, in whose name the action was brought, declaring him to be a free man.

1791. "In the Second month, the Society was informed that a Bill had been introduced into the General Assembly of this State to enable officers of the United States to hold slaves in Pennsylvania. The Acting and Corresponding Committees forthwith drew up and presented to the House of Representatives a memorial upon the subject, which, together with the Bill, had been committed by the House. The proceedings of the Committees were fully approved by the Society, and a Special Committee appointed to assist them in opposing the progress of the bill. They subsequently reported that it had been suppressed.

At the same meeting the President, James Pemberton, communicated an invitation from the American Philosophical Society, to attend the delivery of a Eulogium to the memory of Benjamin Franklin. 'Whereupon it was unanimously resolved, that this Society will testify their respect for the memory of their late worthy President by their attendance upon this solemn occasion.'

1792. A Committee was appointed to take measures for the establishment of an Abolition Society in New Jersey. They subsequently reported that they had succeeded in procuring the formation of a Society at Burlington, called the "New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery."

1793. *First Month.* The Society was informed by the Committee of Correspondence that a petition had been presented to the Legislature of this state, by the French emigrants from the West Indies, praying for an alteration in the law for the gradual abolition of slavery; which application they had strenuously and successfully resisted. The Committee of the House of Representatives, to whom the petition had been referred, made a

very kind and respectful Report, but very decidedly adverse to the change asked for by the petitioners; affirming, in strong language, the immutability of the principles upon which the act was passed. They say, "That considering slavery as unlawful in itself, and as repugnant to our Constitution, they are of the opinion, that it is beyond the just authority of the Legislature to authorize it under any modification whatsoever;" which Report was unanimously adopted.

At the meeting of the Society, 4th month, a letter was read from the New York Society, proposing a Convention of Delegates from all the Abolition Societies in the United States, to meet at Philadelphia, for the purpose of deliberating on the means of attaining their common object, and of uniting in an address to Congress upon that subject. After mature consideration, it was "Resolved, that the Society do agree to the proposition of the New York Society, and will appoint Delegates to the proposed Convention, provided a majority of the Abolition Societies in the United States do agree to the measure." In the 12th month, Delegates were appointed, with authority on behalf of this Society, to agree to an address to Congress on the subject of the slave trade; to decide on all matters that should come before them which have any relation to domestic slavery within the United States, and generally to unite in any measures that to the Convention may appear most likely to effect the common purposes of the several Abolition Societies. A Committee was appointed to prepare a place and provide other necessary accommodations for the meeting of the said Convention, which was proposed to be on the 1st of First month, 1794. And it was subsequently agreed that the Pennsylvania Society will defray all the expenses of copying, printing and publishing the proceedings of the Convention. The Delegates afterwards reported that the Convention assembled in the Select Council Chamber, at which ten Societies had been represented, and an address from that body to this Society had been agreed upon, which recommended, amongst other matters of great interest, the institution of annual or periodical discourses, or orations, to be delivered in public on the subject of slavery, and the means of its abolition; that by the frequent application of the force of reason, and the persuasive power of eloquence, slaveholders (or their abettors) might be awakened to a sense of their injustice, and startled with horror at the enormity of their conduct. And also, that such meetings of Delegates be annually convened.

The Delegates also informed the Society that

the Convention had prepared Memorials to the Congress of the United States, and to the Legislature of this state, upon the subject of slavery. A Committee was appointed to attend to the progress of these memorials before the respective Houses to which they are addressed, and to give to the members of those bodies respectively such information on the subject as may be required. That Committee subsequently reported, "That Congress had passed an act to prohibit the carrying on the slave trade from the United States to any foreign place or country."

In the Address from the Convention, 1796, they suggest the propriety of Abolitionists giving decided preference to such commodities as are of the culture or manufacture of freemen, to those which are cultivated or manufactured by slaves, as a means by which every individual may discountenance oppression, and bear a testimony against a practice which is still suffered to remain to the disgrace of our land.

1799. A committee was appointed in the 11th month, to attend to and promote the passage of a bill, then pending before the Legislature of this state, for the total abolition of slavery. They subsequently reported that they had attended the Legislature, and sedulously endeavoured to effect the purpose of their appointment, but their exertions had failed of success.

1800. *Seventh Month.*—A special meeting of the Society was called at the suggestion of the committee on the slave-trade; their minutes were produced, by which it appears that two American vessels, having on board a considerable number of black people, supposed to have been bound to the Havanna, had been captured by one of the armed vessels of the United States, and sent into this port; and that the said black persons are now in circumstances demanding the attention of this Society. A committee was appointed to watch over their situation, and that of any others who may be hereafter brought in under the acts of Congress against the slave-trade, and to afford them such assistance and protection, by co-operating with the officers of the General and State Governments, as may be necessary, and to provide places for such as are found to be free.

1801. A bill having been introduced into the Senate of Pennsylvania, ostensibly providing for the total abolition of slavery, but containing provisions highly injurious and oppressive to the blacks; a special meeting of the Society was called, to consider the expediency of addressing the Legislature on the subject. A memorial in accordance with the decision of the meeting was prepared, from the tenor of which, it appears that

it had been proposed to create a fund for the purchase of slaves, by a tax upon the free blacks for that special purpose. The memorial states, "that the Society impressed with a high regard for the Constitution of the State, have ever sincerely lamented, that a mistaken policy should have led to a violation of the first most clear and solemn declaration of its bill of rights, which declares 'That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights; among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness.' With this solid ground to act upon, they had hoped that an enlightened Legislature would with firmness have ventured to declare that slavery in this State cannot constitutionally exist, and a declaratory statute to this effect has appeared to your memorialists a consistent and just mode of at once announcing a candid and irrefutable exposition of the Constitution, and an overthrow of the existing system of domestic slavery, by which it has been so long violated. How far does the bill before you afford a prospect of these expectations being realized?"

"Why," they ask, "is the fund for the redemption of slaves to be created by a heavy and exclusive tax on the people of colour, when many of them have pined away their best days in a cruel bondage, and from the weight of declining years are now barely able by their industry to supply the common wants of nature, and are not permitted the full rights of citizenship?"

The memorial was adopted, and forwarded to the Legislature.

To be Continued.

From the London Friend.

"The discussion in the Yearly Meeting on petitioning Parliament against the admission of slave-grown sugar exhibited a variety of opinions. Amongst other arguments in opposition to such a course of action, it was asserted that the prohibition would have no effect whatsoever towards attaining the object in view, viz., the extinction of the slave-trade and slavery. One of the Friends who advanced this sentiment has unfolded the reasons which induced him to adopt it, in a letter, which we publish below, and upon which we feel inclined to offer a few short comments.

It will be observed that the ground upon which the frequent recommendations given in our columns to refrain from the use (not merely of slave-grown sugar) but of all the products of slave-labour, have been based, is left untouched by the

argument adopted in the letter. This 'quiet practical protest,' the result of moral conviction, and the influence of which we estimate so highly, remains the same, whether the reasoning of our correspondent be true or false. Not only, however, is the value of individual abstinence in no wise weakened by the result of the commercial investigation; the moral force of a national refusal to participate in the gain of oppression still exists as before. One step will have been taken towards closing our ports to the admission of 'stolen goods;' one reproof will have been administered to those governments which foster the iniquitous system of human bondage; one example will have been set to the European nations, an example which would require to be followed only by one or two other countries, and the commercial condition on which alone our friend supports his argument, would at once cease to be. We do not say that this argument, depending upon the fact that the whole consumption of sugar by Great Britain is less than the whole production of that article by free-labour, is illusory; we think, however, that the writer has himself supplied one means of answering his objection. He says that the Act of 1845, 'gave to the merchants of Java and Manilla, the choice of all the markets of Europe; if the price of sugar in London was higher than in Hamburg or Holland, they could send there the whole or any part of the one hundred and five thousand tons, of which their export consisted.' That is, as we understand it, the Act of 1845, conferred a boon upon the merchants of Java and Manilla, not shared by the planters of Cuba and Brazil. It is true our correspondent goes on to say, that 'diverting the sugar of the first mentioned islands from their former continental channels, to this country, must necessarily make room in the markets from which they were so diverted, for an equal weight of the slave produce of Cuba and Brazil;' but we submit that this is begging the question, and is equivalent to the avowal that unrestricted commerce confers no advantage. The merchants of Java and Manilla, finding the market of London, the largest in the world, open to them, would not, it may safely be asserted, rest contented to transfer their trade thither from Holland and Hamburg, and to leave those countries uncontested to their slave-labour rivals. They would eagerly embrace the new market, but they would not abandon the old. Rapid as has been the increase in the production of slave-labour sugar since 1827, the cultivation of sugar in Java and Manilla has increased still more rapidly; and we may fairly affirm, that the natural result of the Act of 1845, if time had been

allowed for its full operation, would have been, to have benefited the foreign free at the expense of the slave colonies.

Some of our readers will be able to supply other and perhaps more forcible objections to the course of reasoning pursued in the letter before us. To our mind, however, the free trade argument is of itself sufficient. But even if it should be proved (an attempt which we fear to be hopeless,) that the Act of 1846, has given no real impulse to the cultivation of sugar in Cuba and Brazil, England would still, by repealing that Act, clear her own hands. Having declared the slave trade to be piracy, so far she would renounce its illegal gains; having abolished slavery in her own dominions, not on commercial but on moral grounds, she would so far carry out the principle with consistency; and the people of this country would not be compelled to fall back for protection upon the plea, that since others would be sure to partake if we did not, we might as well be sharers in the spoil.

From J. R.'s friendly attack upon the 'free produce' plan of operations, we may point the reader to the growth of this protest as exhibited in our columns of this month. Besides the communications sent to us by several Friends at home, which prove that the subject is taking deeper root in the minds of our members, he will not fail to remark the very lively interest which it has excited within the compass of New York Yearly Meeting. Gradually our Society seems to be preparing to adopt this procedure of abstaining from the use of slave produce, as 'a necessary corollary of their testimony against the slave-trade and slavery.'

GROSS OUTRAGE ON THE BUFFALO AND NIAGARA RAILROAD.

The following letter is taken from the Daily Propeller, a newspaper published at Buffalo, N. Y. An Editor in New York describes the writer as "a perfect gentleman, though guilty of a skin not coloured like our own;" and adds, "men of the highest moral character, and of distinguished ability, are proud to recognize him as a man." Another editor speaks of him as a "highly intellectual clergyman residing in Troy, N. Y. Mr. Garnett is one of the ablest coloured men in the country, a man of a fine classical education, eloquent both as a writer and a speaker, gentlemanly in his address, and in every way as deserving of consideration as any one in the United States, be he white or black. The community who sympathize with him have but one course to pursue. Let them express their indignation in words and

deeds. Let the public be informed of the character of the conductors of this road, and let them patronize the Canada or river line till the company shall discharge the conductors."

Mr. Editor,—You will greatly oblige a traveller, and an American citizen, by allowing a simple statement to be made through the columns of your paper, in relation to a flagrant outrage which was committed upon my person and my rights, by some of the agents or servants of the above named railroad. In making this request, I do not ask you to assume any responsibility, or even to make a remark, unless you should be induced so to do, by your high sense of justice and humanity. After having spent a week in your hospitable and democratic city, endeavouring to inculcate the principles of justice and humanity, I determined to visit Canada, and there present the claims of the Temperance cause. For this purpose I attempted to take the cars for Niagara Falls this morning—but on entering a car, I was ordered by James Graham, a conductor, to remove. Without hesitation I was disposed to comply with his request, until I found that he was about to lead me from the third car to the one nearest the engine. To this I objected, and returned to the seat which I had first taken. The conductor came back, and insultingly ordered me to leave the car. I obeyed his command, and at the same remonstrated against the unreasonableness of his course. But he only replied, "You shall go where I choose to place you." I asked him if I received such treatment on account of any indecorum. He said, "Coloured people cannot be permitted to ride with the whites on this road, for southern ladies and gentlemen will not tolerate it." This was not a sufficient reason to my mind; and not being accustomed to yield up my right without making at least a semblance of lawful resistance, I quietly returned towards my seat, when I was prevented by the conductor, who seized me violently by the throat, and choked me severely.

I have been for many years a cripple. I made no resistance further than was necessary to save myself from injury; but nevertheless, this conductor and another person, whose name I do not know, continued to choke and assault me with their fists. A part of the time, my legs were under the cars, near the wheels, and several persons were crying out—"don't kill him," "don't kill him!" An officer of the road, whose name I am informed is Wm. A. Bird, said that they would put me or any other person out, whenever they pleased—and that no law could interfere, and that I might as well attempt to sue the state of New York, as to prosecute that company. Mr. Bird,

(if this is the person's name) is a man of grey hairs, and respectable appearance, but called me a "fool," and told me to "go to the devil."

I am suffering greatly from my wounds and bruises, so much so, that I called in a physician, who has kindly prescribed for my case. My eyes, temples, and breast are severely injured.

While I would not wish to injure those who have injured me, I would at the same time beg the public to decide whether it is just, humane, or necessary, thus to treat an American citizen, who is guilty of no crime. In justice to the people of the South, whom the Northern dough-faces make the scape goats of their villany and outrage, I would say that there is no evidence that they demand any such gratuitous servility and inhumanity.

This is the only road where such infamous conduct is tolerated, on the whole line from the Niagara Falls to the Penobscot Bay.

With great respect, I am sir,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET.

POETRY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE STRAIGHT AND NARROW WAY.

Along a verdant sunlit vale,
There lies a narrow way;
At first 'tis dim and gloomy, yet
It ends in perfect day.
No vulture's eye hath ever seen,
No lion's whelp hath trod
That pleasant path that lies between
Earth and the home of God.

To him who views it from afar
Lone looks the vale, and drear,
Yet brightens into beauty when
He deigns to journey near.
Bleak rocks and barren mountains stand
And frown along its side,
Yet fruitful is the valley, and
Its waters softly glide.

If aught alluring should divert
The traveller there astray,
Just as he gains it he beholds
Its beauty pass away.
And, disappointed, turning then,
Some new delight to find,
How hardly does he gain again
The path he left behind.

When fiery bolts are hurl'd around
Shot from the raging storm,
The journeyer in that quiet vale
Remains secure from harm.

The whirlwind and the thunder cloud
Sweep high above his head,
The angry tempest, roaring loud,
To him hath nought of dread.

Then, oh my soul, if thou wouldst go
To regions bright and fair,
Pursue this straight and narrow way,
'Twill lead thee safely there.
The smiling valley where it lies
Is called Humility;
Descend it quickly, and thine eyes
Its pleasantness shall see.

R. T. R.

Richmond, 6th mo. 1848.

ON THE DECEASE OF ANNA BACKHOUSE,

ONLY DAUGHTER OF THE LATE JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY,

*On board the "Bull Dog" Steamer, in the Bay
of Palermo. First Month 17th, 1848.*

From fair Sicilia's fertile Isle,
Where summer breathes the balmiest breath,
On whose majestic lava'd pile,
Where desolation reigned ere while,
Vineyards and orange gardens smile,
I heard the voice of Death!

It called me to Palermo's Bay,
Where, anchor'd on the heaving brine,
A noble ship I saw display
Her serried sides in stern array,
Whose name repulsive seem'd to say,
"Not peace nor love is mine."

Yet on that deck in Death's embrace,
A youth'ul mother calmly lay;
The parting smile was on her face,
And peace and love and placid grace;
And there in that unfitting place,
The spirit pass'd away!

And hanging on his nurse's neck,
There too her blithe unconscious boy!
His loss how little did he reckon,
As sport'ing on the spacious deck,
Not e'en his father's grief could check
His artless baby joy.

For but in sorrow, he was there,
Whose heart to her's in love was bound;
Alone he watched that form so fair,
His dearest joy, his sweetest care;—
But none his agony could share,
His depths of anguish sound.—

Had sympathy then ceased to flow?
Or were the hearts around him steel'd?
No! all that courtesy could show,
And all that kindness could bestow,
To soothe the stricken stranger's woe,
Did that stern vessel yield.

Yet sad that thus thy course should end,
With war's terrific thunder nigh;
A battle-ship its shelter lend,
Warriors thy dying couch befriend,
Mourner's unknown thy bier attend!
" 'Twas a strange place to die!"

Thy gentle birth could it not plead?
Thy wealth which luxury might supply?
Had youth no power to intercede?
Thy loveliness, thy peaceful creed?
For tranquil scenes in Death's sad need,
With all thy lov'd ones by?

Oh! how unlike that funeral throng,
Which mourn'd thy honour'd parent dead!
A weeping city mov'd along,
And preacher's voice, and poet's song,
And orator's mellifluous tongue,
The lamentation spread!

But did no heavenly beam appear
Athwart the darkling path thou trod?
Was not the Saviour's spirit near
To strengthen, comfort, sweeten, cheer,
Dispel each doubt, each anxious fear,
And fix thy hope on God?

Oh yes! the Christian's faith was thine,
Emanuel's power was felt to save:
Thou lean'd upon His arm divine,
Didst on His faithful breast recline,
To Him thy soul in peace resign,
And triumph o'er the grave!

Thus on the billow's foaming crest,
When raging storms perplex the deep,
The fabled Halcyon builds her nest,
And midst the tempest sinks to rest—
So thou upon thy Saviour's breast
Like Stephen "fell asleep."

Then mourn not that the mouldering dust
Beneath a foreign turf may lie—
Since this, the reverent humble trust,
That safe where every storm is hush'd
Her spirit's number'd with the just,
Whose record is on high!

London Friend.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

FINE ENGLISH HOSIERY AND OTHER GOODS.

Just received, at the Free Produce Store Fifth and Cherry Streets, a general assortment of bleached and brown fine hosiery, shirts and drawers. Also a large supply of Prints, of new patterns and improved quality.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

8th mo. 1st, 1848.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER,

Edited by Samuel Rhoads and George W. Taylor,
is published monthly, at the N. W. corner of Fifth
and Cherry Sts., Philadelphia.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. IV.]

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 1840.

[NO. 10.]

EDITED BY SAMUEL RHOADS.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

At the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price one dollar per annum, or six copies for five
dollars—subject to newspaper postage only.

The Non-Slaveholder is frequently sent to persons who are not subscribers. To these, no charge is, of course, made. It is hoped they will take the paper from the Post Office, and read and circulate it.

All communications and remittances should be directed to SAMUEL RHOADS, PHILADELPHIA.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.

At an Annual Meeting of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, held at Friends' meeting house at Short Creek, on 4th day afternoon the 5th of 9th month, 1849.

The following report was received from the Board of Managers, which having been read, was adopted and directed to be placed upon the minutes.

First Annual Report.

"The Board of Managers, of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, would respectfully report, that though circumstances have transpired to prevent the holding of an Annual meeting for the last two years at the time previously agreed upon, yet the Board have had the objects for which they were appointed under frequent and serious consideration, and would now offer to the Association, the reading of their minutes, as the best authentic record of their transactions."

[Here the records of the Board of Managers, and also of the Special meetings of the Association were read when the Report continues:]

"The Board are happy to have it in their power to add, that the Free Labor Company, which was formed in the 6th month of last year, through their agency, opened a store in the town of Mount Pleasant for the sale of Free Labor goods, which has now been in successful operation for more than twelve months.

The friends of this enterprise have abundant cause for encouragement, not only from the success which has hitherto attended their undertaking, but also from the increasing interest which is manifested, not only among the members of the religious society of Friends, but likewise among our fellow professors of different persuasions, and in the community at large. Many Friends within the limits of our Association, who have not heretofore felt themselves called upon to bear their testimony against the use of slave labor goods, are becoming awakened to the importance of the movement in which we are engaged, and are using their influence to disseminate correct information on the subject.

The intelligence received from other sections of our Religious Society, is of the most cheering character. Within the limits, of Philadelphia, New York, New England, Indiana, and London Yearly meetings, Free Produce Associations have been formed among Friends, for the purpose, not only of offering facilities to those who are conscientious on the subject to supply themselves with goods, the production exclusively of free labor; but also for diffusing correct information on this very important subject, and stirring up the minds of Friends afresh, to the special obligation resting upon the members of our Religious Society, to bear a consistent and faithful testimony against the sin of slavery in all its various ramifications.

The first to denounce the iniquitous slave trade, and to free themselves as a religious denomination from the crime of holding their fellow men in bondage; the Society of Friends are looked up to by their fellow Christian professors,

as under special obligation to free themselves from all participation in the support of slavery.

We believe the time has nearly or quite arrived, when both consistency and duty require that Friends should bear a faithful testimony against the use of the products of the unrequited toil of the slave. The necessity heretofore urged as an apology for the use of goods either wholly or in part the production of slave labor, cannot longer be pleaded by a large proportion of our members. Free Labor companies are being formed, and stores are opened in many places, wherein goods of almost every description can be furnished, uncontaminated by the dark stains of slavery. New channels are constantly opening for the supply of the kind of goods referred to, and it is more clearly shown, that it is only necessary to create the demand, for that demand to be supplied through channels which cannot be called in question.

"Wherever there's a will, there's a way."

It is now pretty generally admitted by all who have examined the subject with that degree of attention which its importance demands, that "it is the demand for slave grown produce, which constitutes the strength of the slave system, and renders the slave trade necessary." Or more fully, the demand for slaves is to a great extent, at least, the cause of the slave trade; and it is the demand for slave grown produce which sustains the iniquitous system of slavery.

If these things be true, can we, can any one innocently partake of these fruits of unrighteousness, and not be implicated in the support of slavery?

Signed on behalf of the Board, by

George K. Jenkins, Secretary.

The constitution of the Association being called for, was read, and a large number of Friends requested their names to be enrolled as members of the Association. A committee appointed for the purpose, reported the names of the following Friends for officers of the Association for the ensuing year, viz: Secretary, George K. Jenkins; Treasurer, Lemuel Jones; Managers, Elwood Ratcliff, Ezra Cattell, Penrose Hussey, Joel Wood, James D. Ladd, Lewis Taber, Sarah E. Jenkins, and Mary B. Stroud.

A number of propositions having been presented to the meeting, in reference to the duties of individuals in regard to the use of slave labor goods, a committee was appointed to embody the substance of these propositions in due form, and if approved by the board of managers, they should be forwarded together with such parts of the minutes of the meeting and Report of the

Board of managers as might be deemed proper, to the *Non-Slaveholder* for publication. The following are the propositions as embodied by the committee.

1st. "That the successful efforts, made by the Society of Friends, by which it was enabled to clear itself from the traffic in slaves, and slaveholding, were in accordance with the precepts of the gospel dispensation, which teach us to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us, and breathe peace on earth and good will to men."

2d. "That abstinence from the use of the products of slavery, is essential to a pure and consistent testimony against that unchristian system."

3d. "That we are called to this abstinence by a two-fold consideration—first, to clear our hands and our conscience from a participation in the unrighteous gains of that system of oppression against which we profess to bear a religious testimony; and secondly, because it is a principle which as it is embraced must exert a potent influence on slavery itself—and ultimately remove this great crime with all its attendant evils and corruptions from the earth."

4th. "That we freely unite with, and feel called upon to revive that sentiment of our dear and valuable friend Thomas Shillitoe, that 'so far as we are deficient in using our influence and authority, to remedy these and other evils that abound, we become parties thereto in the Divine sight.' Friends' Library, vol. 3d, page 148—and also page 479—I was earnestly concerned, both by example and precept, to use my utmost influence in checking any wrong practices, that were in danger of creeping, or had crept into the society; from an assurance that by neglect on my part, I should be criminating myself in the sight of my Maker, by becoming a party thereto."

The Association then adjourned to meet on the call of the Board of managers, at some suitable time and place during the week of our next Yearly Meeting, or at such other time or place as may be directed, in accordance with the 2d article of our Constitution.

GEORGE K. JENKINS, Secretary.

COMMUNICATION

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE UNION LITERARY INSTITUTE, INDIANA.

This school is located in a dense settlement of colored people, on the eastern edge of Randolph county, Indiana, and the western edge of Darke county, Ohio. The school buildings are in Indiana, a few hundred yards from the line which divides the two States.

The cause which called this Institution into existence may be traced to those unjust and disgraceful laws which have a place upon most of the statute books of the Western States, depriving the colored portion of the community of the benefit of the common, or free school system, adopted some years since in this and other States. Many of the colored people now residing in this country have been emancipated and sent North, with all the ignorance and superstition common to slavery attached to them. Here, as elsewhere, they are excluded from society to a great extent by that unholy prejudice which so universally prevails against them.

They have generally settled in small bodies, and are living in comparative seclusion. Their children are mostly growing up without mental culture, and with many evil habits.

Hence it became apparent to their friends that the means of instruction should be placed within their reach—not only because of the general persevering influence which it would have upon them, but because it would serve to impress their minds with a sense of the obligations under which they lie to their brethren in bonds and to their country; and also stimulate them to elevate themselves in the scale of morality and religion, to prove to the world that they are men, and capable of acquiring respectable literary attainments, and of filling honorable stations in civil or religious society.

During the course of several years, Friends had interested themselves in behalf of the people of color, had encouraged them to maintain schools among themselves, and in many instances paid the tuition of those who were too poor to educate themselves. Yet these schools seemed to be of little real benefit to those for whom they were intended, partly because they could not be kept in existence long enough at a time for much good to result from them. Under these circumstances it was thought best to establish a permanent school, to which the colored youth should have free access.

In the spring of 1845, a few individuals exerted themselves to establish such a school. Benjamin Thomas donated 150 acres of land, upon which a manual labor school was to be established. In the autumn of the same year, a public meeting was held at Newport, and the subject spread before it. Many persons at once became interested; 100 acres, in addition to B. Thomas's donation, were given by different individuals, making 250 acres, all lying contiguous. Many contributed small amounts of money; others gave goods, utensils, &c., for the purpose, as set forth in the

preamble to the constitution of the school,—“Of building up and sustaining a manual labor school, principally for the benefit of that class of the community whom the laws of Indiana at present preclude from all participation in the benefits of our public school system, and further, for the purpose of placing the blessings of an education in the higher branches of science within the reach of all who have not the means and facilities for the acquisition of scientific knowledge, which are always at the command of the wealthy.”

All the estate belonging to the Institution, both personal and real, is vested in five trustees and their successors in office. In addition to these trustees, the donors have chosen eight other individuals, all of whom, jointly united, form a Board of Managers. The Institute received a collegiate charter from the Legislature of Indiana, during its session of 1847–8. The Board of Managers has the supervision of the whole concern, and makes such general and particular regulations as the necessities of the school seem to demand.

Four of the members of the Board are colored men, and thus far have been discharging their duties with entire satisfaction to all concerned.

The broad Christian basis upon which this school is founded, and the peculiar characteristics which distinguish it from most of the popular literary institutions of the day, will be best understood from articles 8, 9, and 10 of the Constitution, which are as follows:

ART. 8. There never shall be allowed or tolerated in the Union Literary Institution, its government, discipline or privileges, any distinction on account of color, rank or wealth.

ART. 9. In all matters relating to ecclesiastics, each person connected with the school, either as teacher or pupil, shall be left to his or her denominational preference; nor shall any teacher be employed, or other instrumentality used to favor one church organization more than another. But the authority of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the Divinity of the Christian religion, shall be maintained inviolate, and no person known to hold contrary opinions shall be admitted to any official station in the Institution.

ART. 10. The great principles of the Christian religion, as opposed to war and human slavery, shall be carefully inculcated in this school.

The school has been kept in session about nine months in each year, commencing with the spring of 1846. It is under the care of Ebenezer Tucker, of Oberlin College. Professor Tucker is a man eminently qualified to fill the responsible station in which he is placed. His talents, literary attainments and persevering habits, and his

devotion to the cause of suffering humanity, all point him out as a man pre-eminently qualified to fill the department of Principal in such an institution.

Since the commencement of the school, 230 students have received instruction under E. Tucker's care. Of these 166 have been colored, 58 of whom were from other States. Most of them commenced their studies at A, B, C, but some have gone over nearly the whole course necessary to constitute a substantial English education. A considerable number of colored young men and women are preparing in this school to take charge of schools in different localities, where, by the blessing of Providence, we hope they may accomplish much good.

The school has acquired an excellent character at home, and is acquiring a good reputation abroad. Some months since, it was visited by the Superintendent of Common Schools in Indiana, and pronounced by him to be one of the best conducted he had visited in the State. The influence which it has exerted upon the surrounding neighborhood, has been of the most gratifying kind. The doctrine that mental culture is a powerful instrumentality in the promotion of moral and virtuous conduct, has been proved in this, as well as many other cases, to be a correct one.

Students are gathering to this Institution from many different sections of country, and young men from the Southern States have been in attendance almost every session.

This school, as has been said, is conducted upon the Manual Labor principle.

The price of tuition for the first grade, per session, is \$3 33; second grade, \$4 37; and third grade, \$6 50, to be paid in advance on entering the Institution.

Each student is expected to find bed and bedding, and room furniture, except bedstead, chairs and stove. Board in the boarding house, one dollar per week; twenty-five cents of which must be paid in money monthly, in advance. The remainder may be paid in work, at ordinary country prices, to be contracted for with the superintendent.

Each student is desired to furnish an axe, spade, or other instrument for his own use.

A boarding house has been erected, capable of accommodating the superintendent and teacher, with their families, and 26 students, at a cost of near \$1400, a portion of which remains unpaid. There is a school house on the premises, which, when completed, will accommodate 80 or 100 students;—the lower story only is finished.

With these scanty accommodations, it has been found impossible to give instruction to all who have applied, and the friends of the Institution, although of that class who "effect much with little means," have not, as yet, been able to enlarge it, as the growing wants of a large and destitute colored population demand.

As already intimated, the Institute is in debt, probably to the amount of \$550. In consequence of this indebtedness, the Board feel much embarrassed, and unless the friends of the oppressed colored man give liberally, the Institute must suffer seriously, and perhaps go down.

The school stands very much in need of a library. A few benevolent individuals have presented about 150 volumes, as a commencement.

Those who attend the school have thus far paid their own tuition; the tuition fees for several of the last terms have been sufficient in the aggregate to pay the teacher's salary, and but very little, if anything more. The Superintendent's salary has been paid by the benevolent friends of the school, and for some time to come must continue to be thus paid.

There is a class of the colored community in the West too poor to pay for tuition at the Institute, or any where else.

From this brief account of the progress, present situation and prospects of the Union Literary Institution, its friends can glean a meagre knowledge of its wants and necessities; and it is hoped their feelings may be enlisted in behalf of the unfortunate people whom it was intended to bless. Does it not behoove the benevolent and good to make an effort to place within the reach of this people the means of counteracting that unholy and cruel prejudice, which, like a millstone about the neck, has so long been sinking them into the depths of ignorance and depravity? In the language of another, we ask, "Shall we not, out of the abundant means with which Providence has blessed us, extend to them the helping hand of brethren? Shall we not take them under the healing wing of education until the day of their persecution shall have passed away, and the Government shall resume its proper functions, the protection of the weak against the strong, and the education of every child in the State?"

HENRY CHARLES.

DESCENDANTS OF REV. THOMAS HOOKER.—It is stated in the life of this eminent New England Divine, that among his posterity there are forty-one ministers of the Gospel, and forty more who married his female descendants; nine professors, authors and poets; forty who have occupied important public offices; fourteen members of the bar, not included in the preceding, and seventeen doctors of medicine.

YOUTH'S DEPARTMENT.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"IT'S ALL FOR THE BEST,"

From recollections of Uncle Jerry.

How I do love those simple words; they seem to combine so much of giving up—of entire trust in the goodness of Providence; and well they suited that kind-hearted old man. If his eye was ever dimmed by a tear, it was of benevolence: he had no selfish tears. If sickness or death bereft him of some dear friend, he wore the same kind smile, but the few words "It's all for the best," spoken in a low meditative tone, convinced one there was no callousness at his heart.

Ah! Uncle Jerry, well do I remember thee! peace to thy slumbers! When death called thee home there was a sad blank in this world. The fireside seemed no longer cheerful, when thou wast not there. Oh! sadly we missed thy long tales—thy kind smile and thy gay "good night." There was no heart to sympathize kindly in our childish troubles, and thou wast gone. It was hard to feel resigned, children as we were, but now we can adopt thy living and dying words, that all's for the best, and that our loss was thy gain. How many kind remembrances the thought of Uncle Jerry brings to mind! how many of childish glee, of old stories by a bright winter fire! Well do I remember my little sister Rosa running into the room in all her baby beauty, her eyes glistening with tears, and her bosom heaving with suppressed emotion: "Oh! dear Uncle, my rose, my beautiful rose is broken; it will not live; come, do come Uncle Jerry and see. By this time tears were running down her cheeks. She led him to the window—it was a beautiful rose tree, and the idol of my sister; but it lay torn and broken—there was no hope of resuscitation. Well do I remember that kind old man's look of pity as he placed his hand on Rosa's flaxen curls, and kissing her, said, "don't cry Rosa, it's all for the best." How Rosa's blue eyes dilated, and her little hands clasped themselves in astonishment; "all for the best, Uncle?" "Yes, Rosa, it is good for us, when we are children, to learn how to bear these little disappointments: it enables us to support the greater calamities of after life with calmness. Come, Rosa, sit on my knee by the fire; would you love to know how I learned my first lesson in resignation?" The little creature climbed his knee, put her fair arm lovingly around his neck—her curls were thrown from off her forehead—her eyes still glistened with tears—her cheek still wore a flush, not the crimson hue of

anger, which had revelled there a moment before, but the bright delicate flush of expectation:—she was a beautiful creature.

We all drew our chairs, for a story from Uncle Jerry was not to be neglected. "Well," said he, and he drew his hand across his eye—"it was a long day ago that I had a little daughter—older than you, Rosa, and oh, far more beautiful.—Your eyes are blue—her's were soft hazle—the blush which dyed her cheek was a mere thought, and her hair inclined to a dark auburn—her voice was sweetly modulated, and with a smile on her lips, and gladness ever in her eyes, methought she was the fairest flower that ever bloomed on earth. She was like you Rosa, in her temper—so good, so affectionate. She was my heart's idol, and I cared for nought on earth or in Heaven, but my Fanny and her queenly mother. They were to me what the soft refreshing shower and sunshine are to the green earth—it seemed that I only lived in the atmosphere of home—and that home was to me a paradise. Fanny grew in grace and beauty, and I longed to behold the time when the world should first gaze on the peerless creature. I beheld in imagination my Fanny, the reigning queen of many a brilliant circle—the admired and loved of all. After these bright fancies, my eye would rest upon my darling like a phantom—they were gone—it was only Fanny—and I saw but the gentle daughter soothing her parent's downward way. I seemed to feel her soft hand closing my weary eyes when the drowsiness of death was upon me. It was thus I loved to look upon her—but ah! how were all my bright anticipations blasted! The destroyer was hovering near and I knew it not. Her cheek was flushed—I thought it was with joy; but a deadly fever lurked in her veins, and three weeks had not flown by ere my lovely flower was laid in the tomb. Oh, what a season of anguish those three weeks were to me—how I watched every movement, and satisfied every want, and when cold death laid his hand upon her and closed her eyes that ever beamed with sweetness, I thought the sunshine of this world had forever departed—that there was no more joy for me; I was stupefied; I felt not; I cared not; I knew not; I laughed, but it sounded hollow like a maniac's laugh. Her mother took me by the hand—"Come Jerry, we will look on Fanny in her quiet sleep." The words startled me; they were so mild; so deep. We went together. She pointed out the cherub smile that still lingered round her beautiful mouth. She spoke of Heaven, of the goodness of Him who had taken her thus young, thus unspotted, from a sinful

world, to taste of his glories and his love in her heavenly home, of her happiness there, of our meeting all glorified and pure; and she asked me if I would not be willing to give her up if it were for her eternal happiness? It was hard; but said my wife 'its all for the best,' and so I learned to think.

Two short years passed by, and my wife was taken to her eternal home; it was hard, hard to part; but I prayed that I might be resigned, and resignation came, and I was enabled to say it was all for the best. It softened my heart, it enlarged my sympathy for the sufferings of human nature, it taught me to place my trust in Heaven, and it consigned my treasures to a life of eternal happiness."

There was not a dry eye amongst us; but I looked at Uncle Jerry; his was calm and untroubled as a summer heaven, and every feature beamed with a trusting confidence. "Remember, Rosa, every misfortune is meant for our good: to humble our pride, or to subdue our worldly feelings. Remember, dear Rosa," said he, kissing her, "it's all for the best."

From the French of Jules Janin.

INDUSTRY AND PERSEVERANCE.

Early one delightful morning in April, a young man stopped at the door of a little road-side inn, situated near Paris. Though he had not reached his eighteenth year, yet his person was tall and vigorous, his large black eyes were full of fire, and his countenance at once open and agreeable. On his entrance he accosted the landlady with a cheerful "Give me some breakfast my fair hostess, for I have been walking since day-break, and I am very hungry."

While he was speaking, there came in another traveller, more youthful in appearance than the first. Like him he was on foot, and seemed much fatigued. He was small in stature, with a complexion of red and white, and possessed the voice and hands of a young girl. "Madame," said he, with great timidity, "will you please to give me some breakfast?"

On hearing this, the first comer advanced toward him, saying, "Monsieur, let us breakfast together—you are travelling on foot, so am I—you are hungry, so am I—you are going to Paris, so am I—let us then sit down at the same table, drink each other's health, then enter Paris together, shake hands, and separate; do you agree?"

The modest stranger, still with the same sweet, low voice, replied, "You honor me, sir, and I consent with great pleasure."

There is something so pleasing in the contemplation of frank generous youth, that even the most careless are often influenced by it, and thus the mistress of the inn, contrary to custom, served these poor tired pedestrians first.

The table, set in the best place before the open window, was quickly covered with provision, the young men took their seats, their plates and glasses were filled, when a third traveller passed the window and looked in. This last was dark, rather stout, the expression of his features calm, grave, and composed, his fine forehead shaded with tresses of long wavy brown hair. The manner of this comer was very different from the vivacity of the first, or the timidity of the second.

"Gentlemen," he cried to the others, "will you not wait for a poor fellow like me?—I fancy I am come just in time—a little later and I must have contented myself with the remains of that magnificent smoking omelette I now see."

Hardly had he spoken when the first comer, with his ready smile, held out his glass through the window. The stranger took the glass, emptied it, squeezed the other's proffered hand, then entering the inn he placed himself at the end of the table, the bashful youth being in the middle, apparently astonished that so many pleasant companions could be picked up on the road to Paris.

Their repast was soon finished, and they pursued their journey. They were all travelling the same road, and they walked on together. At last they arrived at the barriers of Paris—they stopped by mutual consent. Till then the conversation was light and cheerful, but they now became grave and thoughtful—it was time to part. It was once more the first traveller who broke silence.

"My name," he said, "is Portal; I am going to Paris with the intention of becoming a Member of the Academy of Science, and first physician to the king."

"And I," said he of the brown hair, "am going to Paris to become Advocate-general."

They waited for the modest stranger to speak. "And I," he answered with his soft voice and air of timidity—"I visit Paris to become a Member of the French Academy, and Cardinal."

"Then," said the others gravely, pulling off their hats, "It is you, my lord, who must pass first."

At that moment the clocks of a neighboring Church struck, and they entered Paris. Let us follow the fate of these three young men. The last mentioned became the Abbey Maury, an

eloquent orator, member of the French Academy, and Cardinal; he died honored and esteemed. The other was Count Treillard, minister of state, and friend of the Emperor; he is still living, and has not forgotten his first entry into Paris. And the tall, vivacious Portal—he became the glory of his profession, member of the Academy, Professor. (He was all, except physician to the king. Louis XVI perished on the scaffold while Portal was yet a student. The republic had no physician; the Emperor had one who was his friend; besides Portal would be an attendant on a king, and he was.) He became principal to Louis XVIII. Portal died lately, and the preceding narrative was related in the funeral oration pronounced in the Academy of Science.—*Lady's Dollar Newspaper.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH 1, 1849.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.—It is with feelings of much satisfaction and encouragement that we are enabled to lay before our readers the proceedings of the Annual meeting of this Association, including the Report of the Managers, held on the 5th ult., in Friends' Meeting house at Short Creek. We understand the subject of avoiding the use of slave produce was largely discussed in the Ohio Meeting for Sufferings recently, indicating an increased concern on the subject amongst Friends. In the late Yearly Meeting of Ohio, this important testimony also received consideration, as appears by the following paragraph, extracted from *Friends' Review*:—

"The subject of slavery engaged much of the attention of the meeting, and desires were expressed that all our members might be fully alive to the necessity of improving every right opening to plead the cause of this oppressed portion of the human family. It was cause of thankfulness to find that this important branch of our testimonies is increasing in interest amongst the members of this Yearly Meeting, particularly in reference to the use of the produce of slave labor; and though the meeting was not prepared to take any action in relation to it, Friends were encouraged to attend to their individual convictions of duty."

WILLIAM FORSTER'S MISSION TO THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.—It was stated, three months since, in an account of London Yearly Meeting, that our beloved friend William Forster had offer-

ed to be the bearer, on the continent of Europe, of an Appeal in relation to slavery and the slave trade, addressed to the rulers and people of nations professing christianity. By letters from England we learn that, accompanied by his brother Josiah Forster and Peter Bedford, he has satisfactorily accomplished his mission to Holland and Belgium, and, after an absence of five weeks, had returned to England, and was about to proceed to Sweden, Denmark and Prussia.

We deeply sympathise with him in his laborious and important undertaking, and with his dear wife in the frequent and prolonged absence of her husband from their quiet home, and ardently hope he may be preserved to return from his journey, to pursue his further prospect of visiting France, Spain, and Portugal. The recent action of the Portuguese chamber of Peers leads us to anticipate a favorable reception for him and the Address in that country.

"Whether he goes to Brazil, or that duty will devolve on another," writes one of our correspondents, "time must determine; but we think the concern of our Yearly Meeting cannot be carried out effectually, unless a personal visit be made to that country."

OUTRAGE ON COLORED CITIZENS IN PHILADELPHIA.—The newspapers frequently record accounts of unprovoked assaults and bloody outrages upon colored people by white persons in Moyamensing, a district of Philadelphia. Efficient measures are not taken by the civil authorities to prevent these gross violations of law and humanity.

A case of diabolical character recently came under our notice. A colored man, remarkable for his uniformly quiet and inoffensive behaviour, who had lived more than three years in the family of the Editor of this paper, was quietly walking along Cedar street about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of First-day, the 19th of 8th month last, when a young white man, who had been standing with several others, went into the middle of the street, picked up a stone and threw it at him, striking him above the right temple and fracturing his skull. He was carried to the Pennsylvania Hospital, which was near, and he remains there under surgical treatment, with a prospect of recovery.

The wound was so severe that the poor man, who had only recently recovered from a severe attack of the cholera, could not, as the Physician of the Hospital believes, have lived more than an hour or two, if he had not been relieved by a removal of the fragments of bone.

These cruel and wanton attacks growing out of the prejudices which are the fruits of slavery, should stimulate every man who possesses the common feelings of humanity, to a serious inquiry how far he is contributing by any means to the continuance of the iniquitous system, and whether he is faithfully performing his part toward its overthrow.

THE UNION LITERARY INSTITUTE, INDIANA.—In the second number of our second volume a circular was inserted on behalf of this Institution, addressed to those who take an interest in the moral elevation of the African race in this country. Through the kindness of a correspondent, we are now enabled to give a further account of this interesting establishment. If the education of white children is justly regarded as essential to their own prosperity and to that of the State, there are additional reasons, which will suggest themselves to the Christian philanthropist, for extending instruction to the colored portion of American children.

It appears that the operations of the school are burdened with a debt of several hundred dollars, unavoidably incurred in erecting the buildings, and that aid is greatly needed for their completion, and also to furnish the school with books and philosophical apparatus, and to extend its benefits to the poorest class of colored children.

We commend the institution to the liberal consideration of the beneficent, and will gladly remit any contribution which may be entrusted to the care of the Editor.

CRUEL LAWS OF MARYLAND AND DELAWARE.—In another part of this paper we give a statement from *Friends' Review*, of a case of cruel oppression at Elkton in Maryland, together with the law of that State, under which the proceedings were instituted.

In Delaware, laws no less unjust and oppressive exist and are enforced against that portion of mankind, formed "in the image and after the likeness" of God, but guilty of a colored skin. It seems that all colored persons not born in that State, no matter how long they may have resided in it, are liable to be expelled in a summary manner; and we are informed that a large number has been thus driven from the city of Wilmington. We saw one of these within a few days—a man well versed in the Latin, French, German and English languages, and yet, on account of the color of his skin, and the curl of his hair, condemned as unworthy to reside in the

professedly Christian and republican State of Delaware, and about to be seized and sold for a slave. He had been obliged to sacrifice his property and flee to Philadelphia, leaving his wife and children behind him until he could find means to pay their passage.

The following remarks, by the Editor of *Friends' Review*, upon the laws of Maryland, in connection with the case at Elkton, are equally applicable to the laws of Delaware:

"The circumstance, noted in one of our columns, of two respectable colored men being arrested, fined and imprisoned, under authority of law, for no offence, unless visiting a sick parent may be deemed one, furnishes a renewed evidence of the cruel prejudice indulged in some parts of our land, against an inoffensive race; and suggests the consideration whether such laws ought to be permitted to work their mischievous purposes without having their validity subjected to a legal investigation. In the articles of confederation, it was provided that the 'free inhabitants of these states shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states.' In the congress of 1778, a motion was made to insert in this article the word *white*, so as to limit the provision to free *white* inhabitants. But the motion was negatived by an overwhelming majority. In the Federal Constitution of 1787, a provision of the same import was adopted, with a slight change in the phraseology, 'The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.' Art. 4, Sec. 2. According to Chancellor Kent, this provision 'applies to natural born, or duly naturalized citizens; and if they remove from one state to another, they are entitled to the privileges that persons of the same description are entitled to in the state to which the removal is made, and to no other.' Now, the free blacks who were born, or are resident in Maryland, have the right to remain there; and consequently those who go there from other states, have also the right to continue there.

"The proposed Constitution of the new state of Missouri required the Legislature to pass such laws as might be necessary 'to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to settle in the state, under any pretext whatever.'

"The Constitution being submitted to Congress, the article excluding colored citizens, was deemed by the House of Representatives a violation of the national compact, and that body refused to receive Missouri into the Union. A compromise was at last agreed to, and Congress admitted Missouri on the express condition that

the offensive clause in her Constitution should never authorize any law by which any citizen of any of the States should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled by the Constitution of the United States; and that the Legislature of Missouri should, by a solemn Act, declare their assent to this condition. The Legislature passed the Act required, and thereupon the State became a member of the Union.

"Hence it appears, that the Maryland act under which the proceedings in question took place, is palpably unconstitutional."

PEACE CONVENTION IN PARIS.—As introductory to the account which will be found in another part of this paper, of the great convention of the friends of peace, lately held in Paris, we cannot do better than copy the following remarks from the editorial columns of the *London Friend* for last month.

"The Congress of the Friends of Peace has met according to arrangement, in the French capital. An event which, at one time, raised their hopes, and at another, excited their fears, has ceased to be a cause of anxious expectation, and become enrolled among the records of the past, the retrospect of which will be attended with interest proportioned to the importance of its results.

"At no period of the history of Paris, so replete with reminiscences of warlike enterprises and diplomatic intrigues, has this city entertained a company of persons animated by a more sincere desire for the welfare of mankind, whose single object it has been, to cultivate that brotherly feeling between nations which has been hitherto so much obscured by iniquity and wrong. The aspect of such a meeting was also as novel as it was pleasing. Two years since it would scarcely have been believed, that individuals, differing so much in language, political predilections, and religious opinions, could have been found ready to unite, in one common endeavour, to abolish the crime of war, or to diminish the frequency of its scourge upon the face of the earth. The present has been said to be the age of great principles, and the human mind to be, now especially, a soil suited to their reception. Without restricting to our day such an exclusive possession of enlightenment, we believe there never was a time when, with greater prospect of success, it was more incumbent on the philanthropist, to hold up the moral standard of truth to the world, in all its breadth and dignity. The progress of the cause of peace is owing, in great measure, to the high

principles on which its supporters have based their operations. Opponents may sneer at their alleged impracticability, but there is in them, however, that which commands respect, and affords a prestige of future triumph. One cannot fail to be thus impressed, in reading the reported proceedings of the late Congress. Minds of a different order, who denounce the practice of war, chiefly on account of one of its many curses, and advocate peace, in one or other of its bearings on human welfare, yet yield united homage to the great Scriptural truth,—that because God hath made of one blood all nations of men, they are bound by every consideration, to cherish mutual amity and love.

"Sentiments of this kind, placed strongly and continually before the public view, cannot fail to be productive of some genuine fruit. Their practical meaning has not long been, even imperfectly, recognised by civilised and professedly Christian nations; less than half a century has elapsed since they were taught to believe that different races, separated by geographical boundaries, and distinguished, as it was supposed, by contrary social interests, were thereby designed to be natural enemies to each other. If these prejudices are only now beginning to give way to the light of a superior faith, and are still found lurking in many quarters in a half-concealed guise, is it a matter of surprise that the Christian philanthropist should encounter serious obstacles in his mission of peace; or that in a general view, the aspect of society does not present the progress he would desire in this department of his labour? It is rather a motive for thankfulness that, in the midst of so many elements of strife and alienation from the moral law, there is yet a partial reception given to the authority of truth. We do not undervalue those efforts in the cause which spring from what are termed secondary motives—they are highly useful as tending to illustrate and complete a catalogue of the evils which War has entailed on us; but the friends of Peace, on the ground of the essential sinfulness of War, were never more loudly called to come forward, to rally round the present movement, and to give the weight of their character and consistency in support of the practical measures taken at the Congress."

COLORED MECHANICS—FREE LABOR BOOTS AND SHOES.—It is well known that colored persons have to encounter great difficulties in attempting to learn any mechanical business; and it too frequently happens, when individuals of this class have, through perseverance, become quali-

fied to engage in such business for themselves, that they are deprived of a proper share of public patronage by the general but cruel prejudice against color.

These facts suggest to the true friends of the colored man, the propriety and, we may perhaps say, the duty of giving special encouragement in such cases; and we have great satisfaction in recommending our friend Peter Lester, boot and shoe maker, No. 76 north 7th street, Philadelphia, to the patronage of our readers. He recently commenced the manufacture of Boy's shoes in addition to his former business of making men's boots and shoes; and we are particularly gratified in being able to state that he not only uses leather of the best quality, but so far as muslin is used in his work, it is exclusively made of FREE cotton.

THE LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1850.—We have received a copy of this valuable Almanac, published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at their Depository in New York. It contains nearly 30 pages of Anti-Slavery matter, and should be widely circulated. The price per thousand copies, is \$20.00; per hundred copies, \$2.50; for one dozen, 40 cents, and for a single copy, 5 cents.

Orders may be directed to Wm. Harned, agent, No. 61, John street, New York, and should state by what mode of conveyance the Almanacs are to be sent.

THE CHESTER COUNTY ABDUCTION.—In reference to this case, an account of which will be found in another part of this paper, it may be stated that a public meeting has been held in Chester County, at which a committee was appointed to wait upon the Attorney General of the State, and give him the facts relative to the forcible abduction of Mitchell, and urge him to take immediate measures for the demand of the kidnappers from the Governor of Maryland.

Thomas Mitchell was present at the meeting, having been restored to liberty by the payment of a sum of money through the generosity of the people of Chester County.

LETTER FROM T. WILLIS.—FRIENDS' TESTIMONY AGAINST SLAVERY NOT COMPLETE.—To those who are acquainted with the writer of the following letter, addressed to the editor, it will not be surprising that the latter places a high value on the encouragement it offers, and also upon the clear and decided testimony which our dear friend, now nearly fourscore years of age, bears to the truth and importance of views which our convic-

tions of duty have led us to advocate in the midst of ridicule, contempt and obloquy:

JERICHO, L. I., 8th mo. 14th, 1849.

DEAR FRIEND,—* * * * I hope that neither thyself nor thy coadjutors in the free labor movement will become weary in well doing, whatever may be the result of your labors in so good a cause. I cannot but believe that if Friends generally had kept under the same exercise in which they labored until the Society had cleared itself from possessing slaves, they would have clearly seen that their testimony against slavery was not yet complete; but that something more remained for them to do, as the pioneers in this great and good work.

It has often appeared to me that if our Society had duly cherished this concern, and abode in its proper allotment in the Divine counsel, they would have been made instrumental in furthering the work of emancipation far beyond its present position. I must say as my opinion that if such had been the case, our example as well as precept would have shed a salutary influence on those around us, and the work would have prospered: who can say that it might not so far have spread in our land, that ere this time there would have been few if any slaves held in the Union? For such are the effects of faithfulness; first of individuals, then of larger bodies, until the fruits of their labors become apparent in the community at large. We can scarcely calculate the amount of good that may result from small beginnings.

Let us then neither faint nor be weary, whether we see much of these results or not; but endeavor to do that which our hand findeth to do, according to ability received, that so we may obtain that peace which is above all things desirable; and in the trying season the language may be applicable to us which the Master applied to one formerly—"Let her alone, * * * she hath done what she could." Thy sincerely attached friend,

THOMAS WILLIS.

If we do not mistake the "signs of the times" there are now indications in various parts of the Society of Friends of an increasing conviction that their testimony against slavery is, indeed, not yet complete, and we rejoice at these indications.

There is warning as well instruction in the slow steps by which the Society of Friends emerged from a state of darkness, as respects its position in relation to slavery, in which its members not only held slaves but imported them from Africa, and bought and sold them in this country. The true character of slavery has never been more clearly portrayed nor more decidedly condemned than in a remonstrance to Philadelphia

Yearly Meeting, from the German Friends of Germantown in 1688, and yet slaves were held by members of that meeting nearly a century afterwards and subsequent to the passage of the Pennsylvania act of emancipation in 1780. An impartial examination of the history of that period shows clearly, that what has been praised as "cautious perseverance," and held up in the present day as worthy of imitation, was really a disgrace to the Society, being simply the result of opposition to the zealous and indefatigable labors of a few faithful Friends from those slaveholding members who were influenced by the same selfishness, desire of gain, and love of power which mark the general character of slaveholders in the present day.

From the disgraceful delay in emancipating their slaves which thus arose in the Society of Friends, a salutary lesson should be learned by those who are now, by their practice in word and deed, standing opposed to that complete testimony against slavery which forbids a participation in its fruits and a contribution of the support by which it is mainly sustained. We have no doubt that the time will come when the present general custom of Friends in purchasing and selling, using and consuming the products of slave labor will be regarded by their posterity with the same astonishment which we now feel in contemplating the fact that our forefathers both held slaves and imported them from Africa.

The humane and enlightened of all Christian and of some Mahomedan nations have come to look upon the African slave trade with such detestation and horror, that if the fact were not well authenticated it could not be credited that members of the Society of Friends were allowed to engage in the dreadful traffic up to a period almost within the recollection of persons now living, notwithstanding the sin of slave-trading and slaveholding was undoubtedly seen in its true light by individuals of several successive generations.

A VISIT TO THE WEST INDIES.—The abuses which have crept into some of the English colonies, to the great injury of the emancipated classes, have been for several years a source of painful regret and anxiety to British abolitionists. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have faithfully endeavored to counteract the selfish and cruel expedients of the planters and other interested parties to obtain cheap labor at the expense of the poor colored people; but the adoption of the Coolie and African emigration scheme, together with various colonial measures, has occasioned many evils, both moral and political.

It has been believed that a searching personal investigation into the condition of the West India colonies by competent and disinterested witnesses may conduce to the welfare of all concerned, but especially to the benefit of the emancipated class; and we are exceedingly gratified to learn that our dear friends, John Candler and George William Alexander are about to proceed to the West India Islands for the purpose of making such an investigation. They expected to embark on the 2d of this month, accompanied by their wives, in a steam packet for Barbadoes. After a short stay on that island, they will probably spend some time on the coast of South America, visiting the Guianas, English, French and Dutch, the latter being still a slave colony. They may also pass over to Trinidad, and then visit Dominica, Antigua, and other windward islands, taking the French Islands, Martinique and Gaudaloupe, and the Danish island, Santa Cruz, into their plan. It is understood that they will close their investigations in Jamaica; and then, if health and other circumstances permit, visit the United States before they return to England. The journey will be one of great peril by sea and land, and from climates; and the mission involves high responsibilities as well as important and interesting results. We believe the views of our friends are not confined to a mere examination into the state of the emancipated peasantry, but that their object embraces the promotion of the education and economical condition of this class.

BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE.—ABUSE OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.—We have been kindly permitted to extract the following from a letter written by an officer of a United States ship of war, dated

"OFF MONTEVIDEO, February 26, 1849.

"We have, for some time past, been endeavoring to put a stop to the shameful abuse of our flag, which is made in Brazil as a cloak for the slave trade. It is sad to say, but owing to our having taken the ground that no foreign vessel of war shall search an American merchantman, every species of rascality now takes our colors as a screen. For some time past not a slave was imported that did not in some way soil us. Either the slave goods to buy him were carried to Africa in one of our vessels through the British Anti-Slavery squadron, or he was brought over in an American vessel, merely changing her flag temporarily to avoid search. Thus, if pursued by an English man-of-war, the slaver hoists American colors, which protect her against search from any foreign man-of-war. If the slaver encounters an American cruiser, she hoists Brazilian, Eng-

lish, or any foreign flag, and we, to be consistent, cannot meddle with her.

"We have, however, caught four of our vessels, and sent them home for adjudication. This is but a drop in the bucket, as there are at least fifty American vessels concerned at this moment in this traffic between Africa and Brazil."

So it seems that Americans, with all their professed abhorrence of the African slave trade, and even by many of slavery itself, are yet implicated, closely and deeply, in both, from beginning to end. American vessels, protected by the American flag, carry goods to Africa to purchase the slaves, and then carry the slaves themselves to Brazil. There they are *worked up* into coffee and sugar, which are brought to this country in American vessels to gratify American appetites, including those of most abolitionists, so called; and thus furnish the inducement and the means for the prosecution and the maintenance of the whole iniquitous and unchristian system.

SELECTIONS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PEACE CONGRESS AT PARIS.

On Tuesday morning the 21st of August, the English and American delegates, numbering between six and seven hundred, left London for Folkestone in two express trains. They arrived safely at Folkestone about twelve o'clock, and about one embarked on board two steamers. The day was remarkably fine, and the company appeared greatly to enjoy the passage. As the sun shone brightly on the cliffs of Albion and of Gallia, one and another asked, "Are the inhabitants of yonder shore our natural enemies?"—"why should those who are separated from each other only by a comparatively narrow sea, ever regard each other but as brethren?"—and remarks of a similar character. The two vessels arrived safely at Boulogne, where many hundreds were assembled to witness their arrival. The visitors were greatly cheered as they landed, and were met by the Mayor and a deputation.

He stated that he had received instructions from the French Government to extend every facility to the English and American delegations for landing at Boulogne and proceeding at once on their journey to Paris. He therefore wished them to know that they were at liberty to land and proceed without any hindrance. On the part of the authorities and inhabitants of the town, he wished to express the pleasure which it gave him to welcome the delegation to the shores of France, on their benevolent mission.

E. Fry briefly expressed on the part of himself and his fellow voyagers, their thanks for the cordiality with which they had been received by the authorities and inhabitants of Boulogne, and for the flattering consideration which had been shown for their comfort by the government.

In consequence of unexpected delays, the trains did not leave Boulogne till nearly two hours after the time appointed. The company arrived safely in Paris about two o'clock on Wednesday morning, and proceeded to numerous hotels, where due preparations had been made by the committee for their accommodation.

The first meeting of the Congress took place on the 22d, in the Salle, St. Cecile, Rue de la Chaussee d'Antin.

The whole of the large hall was completely filled at a little after twelve o'clock. A considerable number of the Society of Friends were to be seen scattered about amongst the auditory. Some women Friends were also present; but—as usual at public meetings—the number of females present was greater than might have been expected.

The proceedings commenced by the secretaries of the French, English, and American Peace Societies reading out the names of the members of the committees of the three bodies. According as any name was pronounced of any person of rank, loud applause arose amongst the persons in the hall below; M. Victor Hugo's name, that of R. Cobden, M. P.; W. Ewart, M. P.; C. Hindly, M. P.; Joseph Sturge; M. Francisque Bouvet, representative of the people; M. Horace Say; M. Michel Chevalier; Elihu Burritt, &c., were received with the loudest acclamations.

The reading of the names having been concluded, M. Victor Hugo, representative of the people, came forward, and took the chair, and was received with loud applause. On his left was M. Coquerel, representative of the people and Protestant Clergyman, and on the right M. Deguerry, curé of the Madeline. After a moment's pause, he rose and delivered the following address:—"Gentlemen, many of you have come from the most remote quarters of the globe, your hearts full of religious and holy thoughts. You number in your ranks public men, philosophers, ministers of religion, eminent writers, and many of those public men who are the light of their nation. You have wished to date from Paris the declaration of this assembly, of convinced and serious men, who desire not only the welfare of one people, but also that of all nations. You have come to add to the principles which at the present time influence statesmen, governors, and

legislators, a superior principle. You have come to turn over in some sort the last and the most august prayer of the gospel, that which enjoins peace on the children of God; and in this city which has hitherto only cheered the fraternity of citizens, you have come to proclaim the fraternity of men. Gentlemen we bid you a hearty welcome. Gentlemen, is this religious thought, the universal peace of all nations, bound to one another by a social bond, not of the gospel? Is this idea capable of realization? Many political men reply no! As for myself, I reply with you, without hesitation, yes!—and I shall try to prove the truth of my statement immediately. But I go farther. I not only say that it is an object capable of being realized, but that it is inevitable: all that can be done is to hasten or retard its consummation. The law of the world is not and cannot be distinct from the law of God. But the law of God is not war, but peace. Men begin with struggles, just as creation commenced by chaos. Whence do they come? Evidently from war? Whither are they going? To peace. When you affirm these lofty truths, it is quite plain that your affirmation meets with negation, that your faith meets with incredulity, that in this hour of our troubles and of our commotions the idea of universal peace surprises and alarms every one as being the apparition of something impossible and ideal. It is quite possible that our views may be called Utopian; and as far as concerns myself, an humble and obscure laborer in the great work of the nineteenth century, I accept the opposition without being either astonished or discouraged by it. Is it possible for you to prevent people from turning aside their heads and closing their dazzled eyes when, in the midst of the thick darkness which surrounds us, you suddenly open the radiant gate of the future. If any one, gentlemen, four centuries ago, during the time when commune waged war against commune, town against town, and province against province; if any one had said to Lorraine, to Picardy, to Normandy, to Burgundy—A day will come when you will no longer make war—when men will no longer bear arms one against the other—when it will no longer be said, 'The Normans have attacked Picardy,' or 'The men of Lorraine have beaten the Burgundians,' you would still have many differences to arrange, many interests to discuss, many disputes to settle; but do you know what you will put in the place of armed men? of infantry and cavalry? of cannon and falconets? of lances, pikes, and swords? You will put in the place of all these a little wooden box, which you will call the balloting box, and from that box will proceed an assembly, an assembly in which you will feel that you all live, which will act as a soul to all of you—a sovereign and popular council—which will decide, judge, and settle all questions—which will make the sword fall from the hands of all, and justice rise in every heart—which will say to each man, 'Here ends thy right, there begins thy duty!' Lay down your arms! live in peace! and on that day you will feel that you have one common thought, common interest, a common destiny; you will embrace one another, you will recognize one another as children of the same blood and of the same race. On that day you will cease to be hostile tribes; you will be a people; you will no longer be Burgundy, Provence, Normandy, Brittany—you will be France. Appeals will no longer be made to war, but to civilization. If at the period I allude to such words had been uttered, all men of serious character, and all great politicians of that day, would have exclaimed—What a dream! what ignorance of the human heart! What folly! Time, however, has gone on, and this dream, this folly, has been realized. Well, you say at the present day, and I join with you in saying it, all of us here present speak to France, to England, to Prussia, to Austria, to Spain, to Italy, to Russia, and say, 'A day will come when arms will fall from your hands also, when war will appear as absurd, and will be as impossible between Paris and London, between Vienna and Turin, or between St. Petersburg and Berlin, as it would now appear absurd between Rouen and Amiens, or Boston and Philadelphia.' A day will come when France, Russia, Italy, England, Germany, all the nations of the continent, without losing your distinguished characteristics and your glorious identity, will be merged into a superior unity, and shall form an European fraternity, just as Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace, have been blended into France. The day will come when the only battle-field shall be the market open to commerce and to the new ideas of the mind. A day will come when bullets and shells will be replaced by votes, by universal suffrage, and by the arbitration of a great sovereign senate, which shall be to Europe what the Parliament is to England, or the Diet to Germany, or the Legislative Assembly to France. The time will come when a canon will be exhibited as an old instrument of torture, and wonder expressed how such a thing could have been used. A day, I say, will come when the United States of America and the United States of Europe will be seen extending to each other the hand of fellowship across the

ocean, and when we shall have the happiness of seeing everywhere arising the majestic radiation of universal concord. Subject worthy of meditation! It is our precautions against war which have brought about revolutions. All has been done, all expended against an imaginary danger. Misery—the real danger—has thus been aggravated. Nevertheless, gentlemen, let us not despair; on the contrary, let us hope more than ever; let us only regard our epoch in its proper light. After all, it is a prodigious and admirable epoch, and the nineteenth century will constitute the most important page of history. One kind of progress brings on another; the fall of national animosities, the obliteration of frontiers from the map, and of prejudices from the heart; a tendency to unity and the level of education, the predominance of the most literary languages—all move at the same time, and converge to the same end—the creation of wellbeing and good will—the extinction of misery at home, and war abroad. Yes, the era of revolutions is drawing to a close, and that of improvements is beginning. The improvement of nations leaves its violent form and takes a peaceable one. The time is come when Providence will substitute, for the disorderly action of agitators, the religious and calm action of peacemakers. Henceforward this will be the object of politics: the recognition of all nationalities—the restoration of the historical unity of the people, the connection of this country with civilization by means of peace—the incessant enlargement of the civilized world, the giving of a good example to nations that are still barbarous—the substitution of arbitration for battles, and, to crown the whole, the utterance by justice of the last word which this ancient world uttered by force. Gentlemen, to say, in conclusion, and let this thought encourage us, it is not to-day that the human race is traversing this providential road. In our old Europe, England has taken the first step, and has said to the people, You are free. France has taken the second step, and said to the people you are sovereign. Now, let us take the third step, and let France, England, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Europe, and America, all unite in saying to the people, you are brethren!"

M. Coquerel then rose and read the conditions and regulations of the meeting.

A letter was read from the Archbishop of Paris, expressing his regret that, on account of the state of his health, he could not preside over the Congress as he had been invited to do.

The Chairman announced that M. De Rochefoucault Liancourt, in the name of the Societe de la Morale Chritienne, proposed as a prize for next

year a sum of 500 francs for the best essay on the Advantages of Peace, and another of 500 francs for the best collection of opinions from all authors, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, showing that war is alike contrary to humanity and morality. These prizes are altogether independent of any which the Peace Society, properly so called, might think fit to propose.

The Chairman then said that the preliminary business having been disposed of, the resolutions would be brought forward in order. He would now read the first to the meeting:—

"Recourse to arms being a usage condemned alike by religion, morality, reason, and humanity, it is the duty of all men to adopt measures calculated to bring about the abolition of war; and the following resolutions will be submitted to the friends of universal peace, assembled in Congress at Paris on the 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th August, 1849.

"1. As peace alone can secure the moral and material interests of nations, it is the duty of all governments to submit to arbitration all differences that arise between them, and to respect the decisions of the arbitrators whom they may choose."

This resolution was advocated by several speakers, amongst others,

Henry Vincent rose, and said: I am so overwhelmed at the sight of this magnificent meeting that nothing but a strong desire to call upon you to adhere closely to the resolution under discussion could have induced me to address you at this time. I cannot, however, omit the opportunity of expressing the delight I feel in witnessing the triumphant advancement of our righteous cause. We are in the civilized and polite city of Paris—and it is fitting we should be here—we, who are a portion of the old Saxon race—and we love our French brethren, and wish to bring about that union between the two nations that shall promote the interests of peace and civilization throughout the globe. We come to give a practical direction to the floating sentiments in favor of peace, and to adopt a policy that shall command the respect and support of all the friends of human improvement. There are many here—and I am one—who regard war to be not only a great curse, but an open resistance to all the morality and spirit of the Christian religion. There are others, whom we highly esteem, who oppose war from commercial and financial motives, and from impulses of a philanthropic and humane nature; and this Congress seeks to combine these great elements of social power, and to guide them into the channels of practical

usefulness. The arbitration question is the first upon which we wish to fix your attention. We wish the quarrels of governments to be settled without an appeal to arms, and we think there is nothing Utopian in this wish. Now, I caution you against discussing probabilities and difficulties that may or may not occur in the present state of public opinion. It is because difficulties exist that we are assembled in this Congress. Our design is to convince the governments and people that "arbitration" is more Christian, more humane, and more economical than war. This sentiment once created and diffused will soon devise the most effective method for accomplishing its object. I differ from my American friend who thinks we must necessarily discuss the details of our system here. That is the business of a smaller meeting. Our duty is simply to demonstrate the value of our principles; and whenever governments are disposed to adopt them, other difficulties will immediately vanish. And may we not appeal, to some extent, to the practice of nations, civilized and savage? Arbitration always exists in one form or another; but it is seldom used in time. I ask the illustrious orators and senators around me, whether war ever settled a single dispute? War complicates a quarrel, extinguishes a sense of justice, inflames old national animosities, creates new antipathies, enkindles unholy passions, wastes the resources of nations. But arbitration must commence before peace can be restored. We say, therefore, that arbitration should precede a war, not follow it. We say that if but a small proportion of the effort expended upon war were expended upon the policy of arbitration, our victory would be complete. Our progress, too, is so encouraging that we have the strongest faith in our future success. Already in the National Assembly of France—and in the Parisian press—are voices raised in response to our own. In the English Parliament our distinguished countryman, Richard Cobden, raised this question amid general sympathy. In spite of sneers from a few, he succeeded in fixing the idea in the mind of parliament, and in securing for it the most respectful attention at the hands of the existing ministry; and I, who know something of the spread of public opinion, know of no cause that has lately made more way in England than this. Encouraged by what we have done, let us advance. Let this great Congress influence our zeal. Let those who believe in the essential sinfulness of war rejoice with me in the rapid diffusion of our principles, and in the fact that the great moral, unsectarian truths of the gospel are at the basis of this movement, and

see how all the intellectual and material influences of the age are working with us. Education aids in the work of civilization, and makes inroads upon the domain of brute force. Science, in ministering to the wants and comforts of man, aids us in our great endeavor. The free-trade policy, that everywhere grows in public esteem, calls the commercial and industrious spirit to our side. That steam power that wafted us in one day from London to Paris is our friend, it breaks down the barriers of distance and time—it runs nation into nation, annihilating and scattering national hatreds around it. Be cheerful, then: all modern influences are with us; and this Congress will aid in blending the moral power of France and England together until these great nations are united in the holy resolve to give, by the force of their example and teaching, civilization and peace to the world. We shall surmount all difficulties and conquer all prejudices, and enter even the true Utopia, by basing all our aspirations upon the laws of God, and upon the progressive characteristics of our noble race.

The first resolution was put to the vote, and adopted unanimously.

SECOND SITTING—Thursday, the 23d.

The Salle St. Cecile again presented a very animated appearance to-day; the galleries were well filled with elegantly-dressed women, and the body of the salle was closely crowded.

The Chairman rose and said that the society had received a communication from six towns—Berlin, Breslaw, Dantzic, Calvet, Jeahsburg, and Cassel—through M. Borenstadt, the secretary of the German Peace Society, giving in their full and heartfelt adhesion to the objects which the Congress had in view. He considered that after such a manifestation from these northern towns, the society could not do less than pass a vote of thanks by acclamation.

The vote was then passed amidst loud cheers.

M. Coquerel had to inform the meeting that the Minister of Public Works had signified to the members of the Congress that all the palaces and public buildings of Paris and its vicinity should be opened to all the strangers who had come to the French capital to attend the Congress, and particularly to the English and the Americans, on the mere exhibition of their blue cards of members of the Peace Society.

A member said that in his opinion the meeting could not do less than express their sense of the kindness of the Honorable Minister. A vote of thanks was then passed.

The Chairman—the preliminary proceedings

of the day having been now disposed of—proceeded to the examination of the second resolution, which is thus worded:—"It is useful to call the attention of all governments to the necessity of entering, by a general and simultaneous measure, on a system of disarming, in order to reduce the expenditure of states, and at the same time to remove a permanent cause of inquietude and irritation amongst states."

M. Coquerel, representative of the people, then came forward. One subject, he said, had much struck him, in considering the circumstances connected with the present meeting. Here were 700 or 800 Englishmen and Americans, who had left their own countries to bear testimony to their faith in the blessings of peace. A Congress, representing the principal states of Europe, had come together to concoct the best measures to carry out their principles; and where had they thought fit to fix their place of meeting? In Paris, the centre of the most military nation in the world, where the noblest triumphal arch in existence was to be seen, and which had been erected in commemoration of the brilliant career of the greatest French captain of modern days; where a gallery had been formed with the significant title of the Musée des Batailles—it was in such a city the friends of peace had come to proclaim their principles. He maintained that such an act was exemplificative of great courage; it showed that they had faith in the final success of their ideas, that they believed them to be based on truth—since truth was the thought, the emanation of God himself, and as such was certain to triumph. The object of the society was to induce all nations to adopt the principles of peace, and to settle their disputes by means of arbitration; and in order to carry out that idea, the second resolution proposed as a necessary measure that a general disarming should be agreed to. It should be borne in mind that this course was to apply not only to Europe but to the whole world. France was essentially an inventive nation, and amongst others, she had invented that of permanent armies. It was in 1139, at the general states of Orleans, under Charles VII.—he ought perhaps to apologize for mentioning Charles VII.—it was at that period, he said, that this step was decided on. And yet, paradoxical as might appear this assertion, this was the first step, though a very remote one, towards universal peace. Before that period every man was a soldier, as the feudal system was then in all its vigor, and each chief was obliged to be at all times prepared to furnish his contingent of men. The act of establishing a permanent army lessened the number

of soldiers previously existing, since in place of all being soldiers, only a certain number was kept. Now the object was to go still further—it was to disarm the army itself. What was it that constituted a soldier? Did a gun and a knapsack make a foot soldier, or a horse and a helmet a horse one? No; there was something more than that required—there was the discipline and instruction, without which he could do but little.

If the objects of the society were carried out, all that preparation would be rendered unnecessary. It was said that these objects were impossible to be carried out. But why should that be affirmed? or, if affirmed, believed, when it was notorious that when Christianity had commenced its career, it had also been declared that its success was impossible; it had been the same with the system of feudality, which, in its day, was looked on as impossible to be altered. The system of slavery had also been held by the great philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, as absolutely indispensable, and its abolition as impossible. Yet had not all these impossibilities successively yielded to the strenuous efforts of enlightened and determined minds? It would be the same in the course of time with the disarming of armed forces, and he could not but imagine that a very considerable progress had been made, when at such a meeting as the present the chairman was supported on the one side by a Protestant clergyman, and on the other by a venerable cure of the Roman Catholic Church. He thought that France ought to give the example of the general disarming: such a step would add the brightest laurel to her wreath of glory. Practical minds had already effected, as it were, the apotheosis of peace. The state of things, of which that was the type, must surely in the end become the moral situation of the world. God had established Christianity as the religion of peace and good will towards men. War was contrary to the state of things so ordained; and were the hopes which the Congress entertained in this respect not to be realised, man would not be man, and God not God. When M. Coquerel proceeded to his place, the Abbe Duguey stretched out his hand, which M. Coquerel shook heartily.

The President called upon R. Cobden, M. P., who spoke in French as follows: M. le President—I join with all my heart in the wish expressed by one of the speakers, that we could have one universal language. Nevertheless, I am a little afraid that there might be a dispute, even amongst the friends of peace, as to which of the thousand dialects of the world ought to prevail, and that oceans of ink, at least, would be shed before it

was decided. In the meantime, let every country enjoy in peace its own dictionary and grammar; and it is on this principle, recollecting that I am in the metropolis of France, that I prefer to throw myself upon the well-known politeness of a French audience, whilst I address to them, a few words in broken French, rather than be guilty of an act of foreign intervention, even in the matter of language. So much has been said, and so well said, by the eloquent speakers who have preceded me, that I do not feel it necessary to add a word to the general argument; but I should wish to draw your attention for a moment to the manner in which the governments of your country and mine have augmented their standing armaments in mutual rivalry and defiance of each other. I speak only of our navies and coast defences, for we do not pretend to enter into a competition with you in respect to your army. Do not be alarmed, Mr. President, I am not going to infringe upon the wise regulations of the Congress, which forbid our alluding to the politics of the day. Unfortunately, my grievance extends back for many years, and implicates several ministers in both countries; although your present government must certainly be exempted from all responsibility in the matter. Now, during the last thirteen years you and we have been constantly increasing our navies, adding to our coast defences, enlarging our arsenals, building new basins for steam-vessels, and constructing fresh harbours for refuge. No sooner is the keel of another line of battle ship laid down in your dock yards than forthwith new hammers begin to resound at Portsmouth. A new forge has hardly begun to work at Cherbourg, when immediately the sparks are seen to fly from fresh anvils at Plymouth, and *vice versa*. The consequence has been that the cost of our navies has been increased fifty per cent. in a time of peace. My first objection to this is its supreme folly, for as both countries increase their naval strength in equal proportion, neither party has gained anything by the change, the only result being a pure waste to the amount of the augmentation. My next objection is to the extreme hypocrisy of this system; for at the very time that all this increase of armament has been going on, our respective governments have been exchanging assurances of mutual feelings of friendship and goodwill. If these professions are made in sincerity and truth, where was the necessity for more ships of war and more coast defences? An individual does not cover himself with armour in the presence of his friends, unless indeed he happen to be mad. But my greatest objection to

these vast armaments is, that they tend to excite dangerous animosities between the two nations, and to perpetuate fear, hatred, and suspicion—passions which find their gratification instinctively in war. And here is the great reason why this Congress desires, in the terms of the motion before it, to bring the nations into a system of disarmament. Now, how shall this be accomplished? Why, by teaching our respective governments this little arithmetical problem, of which in times past, they seem to have been ignorant—namely, that if two nations are both armed in time of peace, up to a certain point, say six, they are not relatively stronger than if their armaments stood both at three, and that they would be equally strong relatively if they disarmed altogether. But you, the tax-payers of France, will see that there is an immense difference to your pockets. Do not, however, let us deceive ourselves with the idea that we shall easily succeed in teaching this little arithmetical lesson to our governments. I speak from long experience when I say that no men are so difficult to teach as professional statesmen. They are so devoted to routine, and so fortified in self-sufficiency, that they do not easily believe that any wisdom exists in the world, excepting that which radiates from their own bureaux. Do you suppose, then, that they will listen readily to the advice of this Congress? On the contrary, they are at this moment laughing at us as Utopists, theorists, and dreamers. And yet I think the result of this system, in a financial point of view, ought to make them more modest. I ask the governments of Europe, can you continue your present financial system for ten years longer? With scarcely one exception they must answer, "No!" Is it then Utopian on the part of the Congress to arouse their attention to the subject, to point to the great gulf which yawns before them, to show that the danger of financial ruin which they lose sight of is far more imminent than the risk of foreign attack, which they so constantly dread and so diligently provide against. Even in this, the lowest point of view, as a question merely of finance, you stand justified before the world for holding this congress of nations. It is time that the people interfered, and the governments of the world ought to tender you their thanks for having, by this fraternal shaking of hands across the Atlantic and the channel, facilitated that process of disarmament which is called for alike upon every principle of humanity and sound policy.

The resolution was then put to the vote and unanimously adopted—as were paragraphs four,

five, six, and seven of the next resolution; paragraphs one, two, and three being reserved for discussion to-morrow.

THIRD SITTING—Friday 24.

The sittings of the Congress were more crowded to-day than on the two previous occasions, and crowds were assembled in the side galleries, who were unable to obtain seats in the body of the building.

M. Coquerel said he held in his hand a small volume entitled "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Diet, Parliament, or States." One motto in this volume was, "*Beate Pacifice*," another, "*Cedunt arma Togæ*." It was printed in London in the year 1693, and its author was William Penn. The very volume he held was the volume itself which William Penn offered to Queen Anne of England. It was marked with her royal initials in two places, and it has now been presented to the library of the Protestant Church de l'Oratoire, by the eminent writer, Andre Bacher, as a monument of the first congress of peace.

The volume was given to M. Coquerel by M. Barbier, who accompanied it by the following letter:

"Sir,—The idea of Henry IV. had inspired to William Penn in the midst of the wars of Louis XIV., 'An Essay on the Peace of Europe.' Allow me the honor of offering it to the library of the Oratoire of Paris. None better than you can show its merits to an assembly wherein the children of William Penn shine in such numbers. The smallness of the volume has no doubt contributed to its rarity. Its intrinsic value will no doubt seem to you increased by its binding, which shows that it is a homage paid by Penn to Queen Anne, A. R. (Anna Regina) at a time when a false accusation placed difficulties in the way of his project in favor of America.

(Signed)

"BARBIER."

"Paris, Aug. 23."

M. V. Hugo announced that at the present meeting, it being the last of this session, no written memoir could be admitted with the sole exception of one by Elihu Burritt, who had come from America to spread the cause of peace throughout Europe.

The Abbe Deguerry followed and said—After having voted arbitration amongst nations, after assisting at the ruin of armies, by the word of an illustrious publicist, and by the language of a holy man, who is at once eloquent and mathematical, it remains for us to fix the means of disarming. There is no doubt that, were an

international congress in existence, which would form a supreme court, judging all differences, a general pacification would be realised, because it is truth, and because truth is the thought of God, which must succeed sooner or later. It is a Samson, who sooner or later will carry off the gates of his prison. The idea of universal peace is that of God. It is the wish expressed in the gospel and that of humanity. None can contest this, and yesterday I was happy to hear it said that the idea of war was supreme folly. Yes, war is an impious folly, where those who strike best and hardest are most considered. That, surely, was not the idea of God. Therefore do I, for my part, give praise to those governments who have prosecuted, as you do, the great work of pacification.

Charles Hindley, M. P., President of the London Peace Society, then said in French—Gentlemen, my French brothers, I much regret that I cannot speak your language with a facility which would render my speech more agreeable to you—and not wearisome to myself. But in this very circumstance I perceive one manifest consequence of the war state. When I was a young man war was raging between your country and mine. I was forced accordingly to learn the French just as I learned the Latin language, the Greek, and other dead languages not now in use amongst us. I had then never seen a Frenchman, and never expected to see one. I learned to read French, not to speak it, which seemed wholly superfluous, and now you hear the result, that I cannot express myself as I fain would on this interesting occasion. I cannot throw my mind into yours. I cannot mingle my heart with yours as I fain would. Fortunately, however, there is a secret magnetism pervading the entire of this assemblage, spreading from heart to heart, a silent language speaking within us with a more peaceful eloquence than could be supplied by the most potent language that the ears could receive. Now every soul feels the fervor of our principle—the principle of an universal charity; now, I do not feel that I am English as contradistinguished from French. I know and feel that I am a man—and I repeat with the old poet, "*Homo sum et nihil humanum alienum a me puto*." Yes, I no longer look in this assembly to French, English, German, Dutch, Belgian, American—I occupy myself only with the thought which occupies all—that we are all men—that we are all brothers. To return to the days of my youth. The default of language I spoke of was the smallest fault of our education at the time. We were not allowed to regard you as friends, my French

brethren—nay, we were taught to regard you as enemies, whom patriotism called upon us to hate and to injure. It was not only the fashion, it was the principle, with the sons and daughters of England, to scorn and hate the French. But other days came. War was at an end. Peace came, and with it the English visited Paris, and found they were not the natural enemies of France they had supposed. Such was the grand result of temporary peace. And now let permanent peace be instituted by all the English members of the Congress saying to Frenchmen, and to all foreigners by birth, "We are brothers. Adieu war! Adieu hatred! In future let charity, love, and peace be amongst all nations." Accept, my dear French brethren, these words—they come from the heart.

The resolution was then put to the vote, and adopted.

The Chairman, proceeded to read the fourth resolution, thus worded: "The Congress strongly disapproves of all loans and taxes destined to promote wars of ambition or conquest."

R. Cobden, M. P., addressed the meeting as follows: I have the honor to submit to your consideration a motion condemnatory of loans for warlike purposes. My object is to promote peace by withholding the sinews of war. I propose that this Congress shall make an appeal to the consciences of all those who have money to lend. I do not allude to a few bankers who appear before the world as loan contractors. They are the agents only for collecting funds from smaller capitalists. It is from the savings and accumulations of the merchants, manufacturers, traders, agriculturists, and annuitants of civilized Europe, that warlike governments can alone supply their necessities, and to them we will appeal by every motive of self-interest and humanity not to lend their support to a barbarous system which obstructs commerce, uproots industry, annihilates capital and labor, and revels amidst the tears and blood of their fellow-creatures. We will do more; we will, in every possible way, expose the character and objects, and exhibit to the world the true state of the resources of every government which endeavors to contract a loan for warlike purposes. The time is gone by when barbarous nations devoted to war could conquer civilized Europe, unless, indeed, the latter will be so very complacent as to lend the money necessary for its own subjugation. War has become an expensive luxury. It is no longer a question of bows and arrows, swords and shields. Battles are now decided by artillery, and every

discharge of a cannon costs from 12 to 15 francs; I wish with all my heart it was ten times as much. The consequence is, that when countries behind the rest of Europe in civilization enter upon hostilities, they are obliged immediately to draw upon the resources of more civilized states—in other words, to raise a loan; and how is the money thus borrowed from the savings of honest industry expended? What is war in our day? Has it learned any of the charities of peace? Let us see. I hold in my hand an extract from a proclamation issued at Pesth, dated 19th July, and signed "Haynau." Praying forgiveness for your outraged feelings, I will read it: "Any individual who shall, either by word or action, or by wearing any revolutionary signs or emblems, dare to support the cause of the rebels; any individual who shall insult one of my soldiers, or those of our brave allies, either by words or blows; any individual who shall enter into criminal relations with the enemies of the crown, or who shall seek to kindle the flame of rebellion by reports spread for a sinister purpose, or who shall be rash enough to conceal arms or not deliver them up within the time fixed by my proclamation, shall be put to death within the shortest possible delay, and on the spot where the crime shall be committed, without distinction of condition or sex." This was addressed to the inhabitants of Pesth; and a few weeks afterwards the same signature appeared to a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of the countries of the Theiss, from which I will also read a short extract: "Take care not to incur my vengeance by revolutionary movements. Not being able in such a case to find out the guilty party, I shall be compelled to punish the whole district. If on the territory occupied by my army, or on the rear, any attempt shall be committed against my soldiers, or if any of the convoys should be stopped, or a courier, or the transport of provisions prevented, an immediate punishment shall be inflicted on the guilty commune; it shall become the prey to flames, and shall be levelled to the ground, to serve as a frightful example to other communes." I ask you, whilst your flesh creeps and your hair bristles with horror at these quotations, has war borrowed any of the charities of Christianity? Have modern warriors repudiated the practice of the barbarians of antiquity? For my part I can see no difference between Attila and Haynau; between the Goth of the fifth and the Goth of the nineteenth century. But we address ourselves to those who, by their loans, really hire and pay the men who commit these atroci-

ties, and we say—"It is you who give strength to the arm which murders innocent women and helpless old age; it is you who supply the torch which reduces to ashes peaceful and inoffensive villages, and on your souls will rest the burden of these crimes against humanity." I shall be told that it is useless to make an appeal to the sensibilities of men who, with money lying unproductive at the bottom of their pockets, are thinking of nothing but five per cent. I will undertake to prove, though I shall not weary you with an opinion upon the subject, that peace will offer a far better field for the employment of the savings of agriculture than the field of battle, and that she will afford a much more profitable investment for the accumulations of industry than in partnership with Haynau and Co. This discussion will be raised again and again in various places. The Congress of Nations will make the tour of the civilized world. You, French men and French women, who have received with so much enthusiasm your English visitors, in whose name I thank you—who have known so well how to show the noble zeal in the cause of humanity which has prompted your American guests to cross the great Atlantic—who have welcomed the presence of Germans, Belgians, and Dutchmen, and the representatives of other nations in this hall—you have imparted to the Peace Congress a great moral power, which its members will endeavor to use for the benefit of humanity. We shall leave you with renewed hope and courage, confident that we have only to persevere resolutely, but legally, and always in a moral sense, and step by step we shall propagate the sublime idea which now reigns in this hall, till it embraces within its influence all the nations of the earth.

The resolution was then adopted by acclamation.

The last resolution, thus worded—"The Congress decides that the committee be instructed to draw up an address to all nations embodying the resolutions of the Congress; and that this address shall be presented to the various governments, and that special means be taken to bring it under the attention of the President of the French Republic,"—was adopted unanimously, without discussion.

M. Wisscher, one of the vice-presidents charged to report on the various propositions presented during the meetings, and which could not be examined and discussed from want of time, proposed that a committee should be constituted at Paris, which should correspond with those of

England, the United States, Belgium, and any others that might be formed; the said committee to be formed of the members who had prepared the meeting of the Congress at Paris.

This double proposition was adopted.

Mr. Durkee, another of the vice presidents, next addressed the meeting. He should not, he said, then trespass on the attention of the meeting, but for the remarks that had been made by a previous speaker (W. W. Brown). He fully agreed with that gentleman that slavery was a great curse to his country, and he was happy to say that a great struggle was now going on in America to get rid of the evil. There was in fact a war waging in that country against slavery and against oppression. From what he had witnessed since he had come into the place in which he now addressed the meeting, he was convinced that ideas of peace and harmony must ultimately triumph. The smiles of sympathy which there met the advocates of peace were a proof that it was acquiring strength in the minds of the people; and the cheers which greeted those who advocated the glorious cause of peace were, in his mind, a certain proof of its ultimate triumph. The day, he trusted, was not far distant when war among nations would cease, and that the only rivalry between them would be in arts and civilization, and by so doing promote the general interest and happiness of mankind.

J. W. Pennington, an escaped slave, and now a minister of the Presbyterian Church in America, next came forward. He apologized for trespassing on the meeting at that late hour, but he was desirous of adding his humble voice to the declarations in favor of universal peace, which had been so eloquently put forth from that tribune. It had been suggested that the ministers of religion should use their utmost exertions to influence it into the minds of the rising generation, but he would observe that in the present state of the public mind, it required a vast share of moral courage to inculcate such a doctrine. A love of war was looked upon by too many to be a mark of patriotism, and fighting for his country the best means of displaying that patriotism. It would therefore, he said, require great moral courage to tell men that such was not the way to show their love of their country. Another reason why he was anxious to address the meeting was, that if he had not done so he should have been considered as unfaithful to and unmindful of his brethren in captivity. He fully agreed with W. W. Brown that slavery was a great element of war, and that every man of real Christian feeling

should put shoulder to shoulder to get rid of such a curse. He was sure that with the assistance of that society the advocates of the abolition of slavery must triumph, when universal peace would reign on the earth, and when no other sentiment would be heard or expressed than that of peace and good will to all men.

On leaving the tribune, the speaker was shaken heartily by the hand by the Abbe Duguerry, M. Coquerel, and the chairman, and received the congratulations of a number of other parties on the platform.

R. Cobden, M. P., then rose to propose votes of thanks to the French government for the marked kindness and liberality which had been shown to the members of the Peace Congress and the English visitors since their arrival in Paris; next, to the Chairman, for the able and courteous manner in which he had presided over the business of the meeting; and, lastly, to the members of the bureau and the secretaries, for the zeal and energy with which they had discharged the functions of their office.

J. Brotherton, M. P., supported the motion. He had not, he said, intended to have addressed the meeting, but he could not refrain from expressing his gratification at the noble hospitality which had been accorded by the French government to the Peace Congress, and he was sure that such a reception as they had met with augured well for the success of the object they had in view. He should therefore give his cordial support to the proposition.

The propositions were then severally put to the vote, and adopted.

The Chairman then rose to return thanks. My address (said he) shall be short; and yet I have to bid you adieu! How resolve to do so? Here, during three days, have questions of the deepest import been discussed, examined, probed to the bottom, and during those discussions councils have been given to governments which they will do well to profit by. If these three days' sittings are attended with no other result, they will be the means of sowing in the minds of those present germs of cordiality, which must ripen into good fruit. England, France, Belgium, Europe, and America, would be all drawn closer by these sittings. Yet the moment to part has arrived; but I can feel that we are strongly united in heart. But, before parting, I may be permitted to congratulate you and myself on the result of our proceedings. We have been all joined together without distinction of country; we have all been united in one common feeling during our three

days' communion. The good work cannot go back—it must advance—it must be accomplished. The course of the future may be judged of by the sound of the footsteps of the past! In the course of that day's discussion, a reminiscence had been handed up to one of the speakers, that this is the anniversary of the dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew. He who was then speaking turned away from the thought of that sanguinary scene with the pious horror natural to his sacred calling. But I, who may boast of firmer nerve, I take up the remembrance. Yes, it was on this day, 277 years ago, that Paris was roused from slumber by the sound of that dread bell which bore the name of the *cloche d'argent*. Massacre was on foot, seeking with keen eye for its victim—man was busy in slaying man. That slaughter was called for by mingled passions of the worst description. Hatred of all kinds was there urging on the slayer—hatred of a religious, a political, a personal character! And yet, on the anniversary of that same day of horror, and in that very city where blood was flowing like water, has God this day given a rendezvous to men of peace, where wild tumult is transformed into order, and animosity into love. The stain of blood is blotted out, and in its place beams forth a ray of holy light. All distinctions are removed, and Papist and Huguenot meet together in friendly communion. Who that thinks of these amazing changes, can doubt of the progress that has been made? But whoever denies the force of progress must deny God, since progress is the boon of Providence, and emanates from the great Being above. I feel gratitude for the change that has been effected, and pointing solemnly to the past, I say, Let this day be ever held memorable—let the 24th August, 1572, be remembered only for the purpose of being compared with the 24th of August, 1849; and when we think of this latter, and ponder over the high purpose to which it has been devoted—the advocacy of the principles of peace—let us not be so wanting in reliance on Providence as to doubt for one moment of the eventual success of our holy cause!

The immense crowd then slowly left the building, and the last day of the Peace Congress of Paris closed at a quarter past six.—*London Non-Formist*.

From Friends' Review.

OPPRESSION OF THE COLORED RACE UNDER SANCTION OF LAW.

A letter from a respectable inhabitant of Wilmington, Del., recently published in the Pennsylvania Freeman, gives in substance the follow-

ing account of a case which occurred a few miles from that city, in the course of last month. A free colored man, residing four or five miles from Elkton, Maryland, was taken sick, and sent for his son, who lived in Wilmington to pay him a visit. The son, as well as the father, was a free-man, and had been raised in the neighborhood of Elkton. Upon receiving the message, this son, in company with another colored freeman, likewise a native of the same neighborhood, took passage in the cars to Elkton, with the design of proceeding directly to the abode of the sick parent. But, immediately after leaving the cars, they were arrested by a constable, whose name is given, and taken before a magistrate, who fined each of them twenty dollars, for the offence of coming from another state into Maryland. As they had not with them the money to pay these penalties, they were committed to prison; but next day some person had the humanity to advance the amount of fine and costs, making together about forty-five dollars, and procured their release. Whether the colored men were expected to refund the sum thus advanced, we are not informed.

Now, our readers will naturally inquire, what would have been the result, in case no person had appeared to pay this demand. An act of the State, passed in 1831, contains the following provisions:—

"No free negro or mulatto is permitted to emigrate to, or settle in this State; and no free negro or mulatto belonging to any other state, district or territory, is permitted to come into this State, and therein remain for the space of ten successive days, whether such free negro or mulatto intends settling in this State or not;—under the penalty of fifty dollars for each and every week such person coming into, shall thereafter remain in this State;—the one-half to the informer and the other half to the sheriff for the use of the county, to be recovered on complaint and conviction before a justice of the peace of the county in which he shall be arrested."

"Any free negro or mulatto, refusing or neglecting to pay the fine above mentioned, shall be committed to the gaol of the county, and shall be sold by the sheriff at public sale, for such time as may be necessary to cover the aforesaid penalty, first giving ten days previous notice of said sale: and the sheriff, after deducting prison charges and a commission of ten per centum, shall pay over one-half of the nett proceeds to the informer, and the balance he shall pay over to the levy court or commissioners, as the case may be, for the use of the county."

By this act the penalty would not be legally incurred till the offender had remained ten days in the State. But in 1839 a supplement to the act of 1831 was passed, in which the following provision appears:

"Sec. 1. After the passage of this act, no free negro or mulatto, belonging to or residing in any other state, shall come into this state, whether such free negro or mulatto intends settling in this state or not, under the penalty of twenty dollars for the first offence; and no free negro or mulatto shall come into this state a second time where he or she has been arrested under the provisions of this act, under the penalty of five hundred dollars, the one-half of the said sum of five hundred dollars to the informer, and the other half to the sheriff, for the use of the Colonization Society of the state of Maryland, to be recovered on complaint and conviction before the county court of the county, or during the recess, the orphans' court of said county in which he or she shall be arrested; and any free negro or mulatto refusing or neglecting to pay said fine, shall be committed to the jail of the county, and shall be sold by the sheriff at public sale, to the highest bidder, whether a resident of this state or not, first giving ten days' notice of such sale, to serve in the character and capacity of a slave; and the said sheriff, after deducting prison charges and a commission of ten per cent. shall pay over one-half of the nett proceeds to the informer, and the balance he shall pay over, if sold in a county on the eastern shore, to the treasurer of said shore, or if sold in a county on the western shore, to the treasurer of the western shore, for the use of the Colonization Society of the state of Maryland; and for all sums of money so received by the said sheriff, his bond shall be answerable on his failure to pay the same over, in an action at law in the name of the state of Maryland, for the use of the parties entitled to receive the same by this act; and all sheriffs and constables are hereby required to arrest any free negro or mulatto, who may come into this state contrary to the provisions of this act, and all other persons are authorized to arrest any such free negro or mulatto; and such sheriff, constable, or any other person as may arrest any free negro or mulatto, who shall have come once into the state contrary to the provisions of this act, shall be entitled to the penalty of twenty dollars hereby inflicted, to be recovered on complaint and conviction as before stated, and such free negro or mulatto shall pay the said penalty of twenty dollars, and all jail fees and expenses incident to his or her arrest and detention, or upon his or her failure to do so, he or

she shall be committed and sold as herein provided in relation to those who have incurred the penalty of five hundred dollars; *Provided*, that if said negro or mulatto shall not remove out of the state within five days after he shall have paid the said sum of twenty dollars, he shall be deemed to have come a second time into the state, and shall be liable as if he had so done."

Such is the law in our sister republic, in regard to this oppressed part of our race; and yet in the same act, care was taken to prevent white persons coming into, and travelling through the state, from being deprived of the service of colored servants, or attendants, whom they might wish to employ. That such laws could be enacted in our age and country, may appear incredible; but my readers may be assured that the volume (*Latrobe's Justices' Practice*) containing these acts lies before me.

E. L.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

THE CHESTER COUNTY ABDUCTION CASE.

Thomas Mitchell, the victim of the late abduction, is a native of Maryland, where he resided as a slave, claimed by a Mr. Hays, of Cecil county. About the year 1837—12 years ago—he came to Pennsylvania, and has since resided in Lancaster and Chester counties, where he has been considered a free man, even according to the laws of Maryland. He always spoke of himself as such, and he still asserts that he was a slave only for a term of years, and is legally free. During his residence here he had married and become a father, and obtained for himself and family a snug and comfortable home, near Unionville, where by industry and honesty he had won the esteem of his employers and acquaintance.

After midnight on the 21st of August, cries of "murder" and shrieks of distress were heard by his neighbors, one family of whom lived but a few rods distant. Instantly they repaired to the spot, and found Mitchell's door battered in, his wife half insensible with fright lying within, but he was gone. Near the fallen wife lay a pistol loaded with three balls, the percussion cap of which was exploded. It was found that the door had been broken in by a large log wielded by several men; that Mitchell had been seized in his bed, and spite of his resistance, torn from the arms of his wife by three or four stout ruffians, and hurried into the carriage almost without clothing. To silence her cries, and compel her to relax her grasp, a pistol was presented to the breast of the wife, and her life was threatened.

Little more than this could be learned from the terrified woman.

An alarm was instantly given throughout the neighborhood, and long before the dawn two parties were formed for pursuit; one going to Wilmington and the other to Elkton, and thence to Baltimore by railroad.

Before reaching Baltimore, they discovered that the kidnappers, (with their victim handcuffed in their midst) were on board the same train with themselves. On their arrival they found Dr. Snodgrass, who had been informed of the outrage by a telegraphic despatch from Thomas Garrett at Wilmington, at the depot, with an officer, to arrest the kidnappers. But the slave prison was near, and the men-thieves had everything in readiness, and before they were intercepted, had lodged poor Mitchell in the slave trader's den, where they were followed by friend Martin, while his companion proceeded to procure advice and assistance from friends in Baltimore.

The slave-dealers learning incidentally that Mr. Martin had formerly employed the man they claimed as their slave, arrested him on an assumpsit for the hire of the slave, and he was thrown into prison, though good and sufficient bail was offered for him. The Sheriff's deputy fearing the wrath of the slaveholders, refused the bail on the paltry pretence that it was not offered by "freeholders." Able counsel were employed, and the case was brought before Judge Le-grand by a petition for the discharge of Mr. M., under the provisions of a law of 1846 for the relief of non-resident debtors. It was readily proved that Martin resided in Pennsylvania, and was, of course, not liable to Maryland laws.

Though Mr. Martin is personally discharged, the suit is continued, and will be tried at the October session of the Court, should the plaintiffs press it, which is not probable.

In the mean time Thomas Mitchell has been sold to the slave trader, and is confined in Wilson's den, (pen is not the word) and probably would immediately be sent South—as the trader threatens, when trying to speculate upon the sympathies of Pennsylvanians—but that his shoulder was dislocated, and he was otherwise disabled in the scuffle when he was taken.

The names of three of the wretches engaged in this bold outrage are known, and measures will undoubtedly be taken to procure their delivery to the authorities of Pennsylvania, to be tried for their crimes of burglary, the threat of assassination against a peaceable woman, and the kidnapping of a Pennsylvania citizen.

POETRY.

Communicated for the Non-Slaveholder.

MY TWENTY-SECOND BIRTH-DAY.

Well twenty-two years
With their sunshine and tears
Have to-day set their seal on my brow;
The dark clouds which lower'd,
The blessings which shower'd
Upon me are over me now.

As backward I gaze
Through the dim, veiling haze
Which now pales the years of my youth,
Flowers are springing there,
Sweet birds are singing there,
Love hangs o'er the pathway of Truth.

With sunshine o'erhead,
Flowers 'neath my tread,
A shadow was still on my heart;
Though odors were mine
From affection's pure shrine,
That shadow and I could not part.

None loved more than I
The blue of the sky,
Or the night watch still wheeling away,
But by day or by night,
Would that shadow alight
By my side, and it whispered decay.

Now childhood has gone,
The bright hues have flown
That enveloped the morning of life;
My dreams of the earth,
Ever peopled with worth,
Soon waned in the glare of its strife.

That heavenly love,
Which is glowing above,
For the sole of her foot finds no rest;
But the olive she bears,
As a promise appears,
That the earth will yet claim her a guest.

So when I looked round,
And no solace found,
Till pale grew the sunshine and flowers;
When friend after friend,
Would their weary way wend
To fairer than earthlier bowers:

When I saw each depart,
With such peace at their heart—
So gently await their day's dawning—
I longed that the night
Might too pass from my sight,
And I open my eyes to the morning.

The shadow passed by,
And Azriel to my eye
Was clothed only in mercy and love;
Though stars fall, and the flowers
Decay in their bowers,
We have mansions provided above.

Oh, Father of Heaven!
To me thou hast given
To toil in thy vineyard, the earth;
Wilt thou not be near,
And my drooping soul cheer,
Till sure of its heavenly birth.

A promising child,
Soon by pleasure beguiled;
So swayed by the earth she distrusts;
So weak and so wailing—
So selfish, so failing,
Oh, Father, be near the frail dust,

And grant me the strength
That my spirit at length
May faint not when the noonday is high,
But bear all for thee,
By thy mercy made free
From the bonds in which helpless I lie.

I dare not for me
Ask forgiveness of thee
For the follies and sins of my youth;
But oh, by thy love
May I lift me above
All my frailties to live in thy truth.

That my work may be o'er;
When thou knockest at the door
That my lamp may be trimmed but for thee;
That with heavenly peace
I may enter that bliss
Where hours and days may not be.

S. P.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE WATER CURE JOURNAL and Herald of Reform, is published monthly, at ONE DOLLAR a year in advance, by Fowlers and Wells, New York.

This valuable and interesting Journal is devoted to the Philosophy and Practice of Hydropathy; embracing the true principles of health and longevity, together with directions for the application of water, air, exercise and diet, to the various diseases with which we are afflicted.

HAT AND CAP STORE.—E. Kimber, Jr., and Thomas Carpenter, under the firm of Kimber & Carpenter, continue the Hat and Cap business at No. 19, North Fourth street, Philadelphia. Particular attention is given to the manufacture of hats for *Friends*.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. V.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1850.

[NO. 5.]

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☞ All communications and remittances should be directed to SAMUEL RHOADS, PHILADELPHIA.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE PHILAD'A. FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

In surrendering the trust confided to them, the Managers report that during the past year they have endeavoured to give attention to the objects of their appointment. Owing to previous arrangements by which the Board were relieved from the details of the business department originally undertaken, and the whole labor of providing cotton and having it manufactured into the various fabrics needed for the store, devolved upon one of our number, the Managers have been excused from this care and labor, and have confined their attention to the advocacy of the principles of our cause, and the collection of useful information upon the subject, as opportunity offered. In the prosecution of this concern, the managers prepared and circulated an Address to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends on the subject of Slavery and the Slave Trade. A considerable part of the edition has been distributed in this city and elsewhere, and it is hoped a wider circulation among the members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting may now be given

through the agency of Friends in attendance at the Yearly Meeting. We would take this occasion to request that Friends whose views on this subject are nearly correspondent with ours, would endeavor to procure, for this address, a serious and careful perusal. And we would particularly desire the younger portion of the Society to reflect upon the numerous wrongs, which the descendants of the African race have long suffered and continue to suffer, from our hands, and carefully to inquire how far they are contributing to the infliction of these wrongs.

When the forerunner of the Messiah, apparently in doubt and under discouragement, sent to inquire, whether the Saviour was actually come or whether they should look for another; the emphatic and conclusive reply was a reference to the things which the messengers heard and saw. He taught them by the works which he performed, whence his authority was derived. From that time to this, the test, which was proposed on another occasion and which was substantially the same as that offered to the messengers of John, has been equally clear, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The Society of Friends have long agreed that the whole system of slavery is radically unjust and totally irreconcilable with the doctrines of Christianity. But do they prove their faith by their works? Do they carry their principles into action, while they freely use, and trade in the products of slave labor! If the slavery of the negro race is unquestionably wrong, as we all agree it is; and if the system is supported by the market for its products, as no one can deny it to be; how can we avoid the imputation of participating in the wrong, if we voluntarily sustain the market? If the principle of truth in the mind of man bears an unwavering testimony against violence and oppression, may we not justly question our sensibility to its monitions, if we feel no scruple in regard to supporting, by

our custom, a system which is founded on violence and oppression?

Under a firm conviction that the use of articles which are the product of the compulsive and uncompensated toil of our fellow-men, as those articles are which are produced by the labor of slaves, is giving countenance and support to the wrong-doer; is sustaining the slaveholder in his unrighteous oppression and robbery, we feel solicitous to press upon our fellow professors of the Christian name, and especially upon those who, like the members of our religious Society, have been trained from childhood to believe that slavery is wrong, the careful and earnest consideration of their accountability in this matter to Him who declared, "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not to me!"

Associated as we have been during several years, though but a little band, in efforts to procure, through unpolluted channels, a supply of such articles of daily use and seeming necessity, as are ordinarily in the present age procured for consumption in the United States by the labor of slaves, and now having it in our power to point to a well filled store regularly supplied with a large variety of those articles obtained through satisfactory channels, we invite our friends to supply their demands for such articles from this unexceptionable source.

To the Association we would say, what to most of the members is already known through the columns of the Non-Slaveholder, that the Board again sent our devoted friend and coadjutor, N. Thomas, and our friend H. Charles, as travelling companion and assistant, to the South to explore still further the cotton region, and seek out the little oases cultivated by the labor of freemen, thinly scattered over the wide waste of slavery's domain. Passing through West Tennessee and Northern Mississippi, their aim was principally to explore Alabama and Georgia. They travelled through Alabama with satisfactory results, but did not extend their visit into Georgia, and returned, after an absence of nearly three months, by way of Tennessee and Kentucky.

For the satisfaction of those who are not already informed on the subject, it may not be amiss to state that our friend, George W. Taylor, has procured, during the past two years, sufficient free labor cotton to keep a small manufactory supplied, where he has a variety of heavy goods made, such as muslins, drillings, flannels, ticking, pantaloons, stuffs, yarns for gingham, knitting cotton, &c., the whole of which are

sold at his store, besides finer muslins, prints, cambrics, hosiery, and a variety of other fabrics, which he has had manufactured at other establishments, by requiring that the free-labor cotton should be kept separate, and all the goods made of such part of the free cotton as could be kept from mixture, furnished for his store. In this way he has supplied the free-labor stores in New York, Cincinnati, Mount Pleasant, Indiana, and many partial stocks for stores in nearly all the Northern and Western States from Maine to Iowa, besides supplying his immediate customers, by retail, in Philadelphia and vicinity, and many families and parts of families scattered in all the New England, Middle and Western States, except two or three Western States; some small orders from England have also been supplied. This statement is made, not to give the appearance of a large demand, for such is not the fact even in the aggregate, but to show the friends of the cause, that there is a leaven at work all over the free States, and in Delaware and Maryland also, which we may hope will work for the deliverance of the oppressed, in the sight of those who have the power, if they will exercise it, to put away our national disgrace in this respect, by the quiet, inoffensive, unobjectionable remedy of simple non-participancy. But it will be asked how can this be effected? We answer, in many ways. How does a little leaven, leaven the whole lump? How does a grain of mustard seed cast into the earth, grow and become the greatest among herbs, so that the fowls of the air may lodge on its branches? A good cause advocated by a few, whose practice accords with their precepts, will gain strength and attract more advocates; thus it will spread. And the moral effect of good example will have a restraining, rebuking effect even on those who will not acknowledge its influence. A bad custom may thus grow unpopular, and pass gradually away even from among those, the greater part of whom may not seem to have abandoned it from the convictions of religious principle. The history of mankind in various ages abounds in exemplifications of this position. Thus may the good continue to grow and prevail until all evil is extirpated from the earth.

Not the least among the favorable signs of the times, we may regard with encouragement the fact that during the last Yearly Meeting in London, a meeting of Friends was held in Grace-church street meeting house, to consider what practical measures could be best adopted to encourage the use of free grown products. The

meeting had been announced in the Yearly Meeting, and the attendance of both men and women was very large, the Meeting House being nearly filled. At this meeting a large committee was appointed to carry out the objects of the meeting.

In the 6th month last, a meeting was held at Friend's Meeting House, Newport, R. I., pursuant to an adjournment of a Meeting held at the same place the 14th of 6th month, last year, for the promotion of the use of free labor productions in the place of those of slave labor. The proceedings of this latter meeting are given at page 193, vol. 4, Non-Slaveholder, and indicate the right spirit at work.

This interesting subject has also claimed the attention of the Meeting, for Sufferings of Ohio Yearly Meeting, and also of the Yearly Meeting itself. The Free Produce Association of Ohio held a meeting on the 5th of 9th month last at Short Creek Meeting House, and has adopted active measures to promote the object. Even in North Carolina, in the heart of the slave country, Friends are waking up to this matter. At the time of the last Yearly Meeting held at New-Garden, Guilford County, interesting meetings were held for the promotion of the free labor movement, and committees were appointed out of the various Monthly Meetings within the Yearly Meeting. The business of these committees is to correspond with one another and with Friends in various situations, with a view of collecting and disseminating information relative to the means of procuring free produce. For an account of these meetings, we refer to a letter from our friend Enoch Lewis, in the Non-Slaveholder, Vol. 4, No. 12.

It is also a pleasing circumstance to record that the Boarding Schools at Providence, Nine Partners, Haverford and West Town are now supplied with free labor groceries, and it is hoped in future, when cotton goods are wanted at either of those establishments, care will be taken to procure such as are the products of free labor. Some cotton sheeting is now in the course of manufacture for the dormitories of Haverford. The impression likely to be made on the minds of the pupils in those institutions, by the care thus taken to supply them with those necessities only which are honestly obtained, cannot be otherwise than beneficial towards building them up in the love of justice and mercy, and preparing them to take a part in the active scenes of after life, in promoting the well being of their fellow creatures.

We should incline to make some extracts from the interesting letters of our travelling agents, but they have already been given in the Non-Slaveholder, and may be supposed to have met the eyes of those who may hear or see this report. It is an interesting circumstance that our friends N. Thomas and H. Charles, were permitted to pass through the centre of the Slave states during the late time of intense excitement on the slave question in that quarter, growing out of the discussions of the subject in Congress, particularly, as the nature of their business unavoidably suggested the topic of slavery for conversation. We feel at liberty to conclude, that the ease with which they made their way, was probably owing in great measure to the consistency of their lives with their professions being perceived by slaveholders, and hence the respect and frequent kindness extended to them, as stated in their letters. Indeed, they had an opportunity of observing, in one intelligent instance, at least, how unaccountable it appears to Southern men, that Friends, with all their profession of opposition to slavery upon principle, should yet be willing to partake freely of the cotton, sugar, and rice which is "whipped out of the slaves." And no wonder they should be accosted by a man of note with such words as these, that "he did not understand what the North meant in their opposition to the extension of slavery, seeing the South had all the trouble and difficulty with the slaves, while the North got at least half the profits." This man, though a strong advocate for slavery, was willing to concede that many were opposed to it on religious grounds, and that he could not object to them. We have often been pained with the frequent assertions made by moderate, well disposed men of the North, and by some who claim to be opposed to slavery, that the agitation of the slavery question in the free states tends only to rivet the chains of the slave, and make his situation more uncomfortable. It was therefore no small gratification to us to hear the sentiment as expressed by Southern men, even in Alabama, that in their opinion "the action of the North on the slavery question is the prime cause of the attempts to improve the condition of the slaves, (which is bad enough yet) and has done more than any thing else in this respect."

In conclusion, when we reflect that seven and a half millions of the descendants of Africa are at this moment groaning under the galling yoke of hopeless bondage on this continent, where a bountiful Creator has spread a wide and richly furnished table for his rational family, our minds

are overcast with gloom and sadness, and we are constrained to yield to emotions of pity for the miserable victims of this heartless cruelty. And while we would refrain from contributing towards this fearful aggregation of oppressive inflictions, we would reverently raise our hands and hearts to our common Father in Heaven, and in the language of earnest sympathy, exclaim, "How long?" For, looking at the future with our limited vision, we can only behold that great as have been the efforts in various ways, in Great Britain and America, to put an end to the slave trade and slavery, these gigantic evils still continue to extend, with little hope of their extirpation, while the great body of the Christian world are content to luxuriate upon their fruits.

Signed on behalf of the Managers,

SAMUEL RHOADS, Sec'y.

Philada., 4th mo. 16th, 1850.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

MEETING AT SALEM, IOWA.

Believing that one of the most vital testimonies taught by the Christian religion, and to which the Society of Friends is becoming renewedly awakened, is not duly appreciated by many in this Western land, and believing at this moment slaves are toiling for us under the infliction of cruelties far greater than were practiced in former times, and being convinced that we are directly hiring oppression by purchasing its fruits and giving the slaveholder and overseer the pay for which, chiefly, this wrong and iniquity are committed—those interested in purchasing articles which are free from the stain of Slavery, met at Friends' Meeting House in Salem, Henry County, Iowa, 3d mo. 29th, 1850, for the purpose of considering what practical measures could be best adopted to encourage the use of free grown products. The meeting organized by calling Joseph D. Hoag to the chair, and appointing Reuben Dorland Secretary. The following resolutions were offered, which, after pertinent remarks by the friends of the cause, were unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the friends of the slaves in this and other countries, have a great individual, as well as collective duty to perform towards the suffering and oppressed millions of mankind, now in bondage, in abstaining, as far as practicable, from the use of slave labor produce, and in the encouragement of that alone, which is grown and manufactured by the compensated labor of freemen.

Resolved, That we believe it to be our duty to set a worthy example ourselves, and also to encourage and sustain every well directed effort to induce the public at large to adopt similar views and practice, as one great and powerful means of securing the universal abolition of slavery: and in order perfectly to carry out our principles, we pledge ourselves that if a free labor store is established in Salem, Iowa, we will give it our encouragement and support, in preference to stores selling other articles, so long as it is conducted upon honorable principles.

The following named persons were appointed a committee to procure the names of those who are willing to pledge themselves to patronize a free labor store, if one should be established in Salem, Iowa, and make report to an adjourned meeting to be held at this place on Seventh-day, the 13th of 4th mo. next, viz: Eli Jessup, Reuben Dorland, Peter Collins, William Marshall, Abraham Gray, Samuel Stevenson, Thomas Frazier, Willet Dorland, and Marmaduke Jay.

Much sympathy and feeling were felt and expressed for this much injured portion of our fellow men, and from information communicated to the meeting, we are encouraged to believe, that a growing interest is felt in various parts of the country, and of the religious society of Friends in particular, in the disuse of slave-grown productions, and we rejoice to find that measures are being taken to meet the demand for the various articles required for domestic purposes, the produce exclusively of free labor.

The meeting then adjourned to meet at Friends' Meeting House in Salem, on Seventh-day, the 13th of 4th month next at 1 o'clock, P. M.

JOSEPH D. HOAG, President.

REUBEN DORLAND, Secretary.

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND DUTIES OF NON-SLAVEHOLDERS.

Soon after the introduction of Slavery into this country, there were individuals who saw the injustice and cruelty of the system, and some of these shortly engaged in labor for the amelioration of the sufferings of the slave, and the ultimate extinction of his bonds. But time has evinced, that the system has been prolonged far beyond their anticipations. They could not have believed that in an age like the present, under

the march of civilization and christianity, a system of slavery worse than marked the dark and barbarous ages, could so long continue, and especially under a government professedly securing civil and religious rights and liberty to all the inhabitants.

But the system diffused its effects through the community by connecting itself, directly or indirectly, with nearly all the various occupations and institutions. It struck its roots deep, and they spread far and wide. Its power to darken the understanding was not fully estimated. It was reasonable to expect that the slaveholder should become insensible to the dictates of justice and sound morality; but moral blindness has not fallen upon the slaveholder alone; the non-slaveholder has shared with him; he, too, has far underrated the criminality of robbing the colored man of his liberty and all his rights; for, while robbing a man of his property upon the highway is deemed a scandalous and reproachful offence by the community, do they, even in the free States, look upon it to be more reproachful, more unjust and cruel, forcibly to rob the colored man, and his posterity after him, of his liberty and his earnings? No! far otherwise. This act of reducing a man to a piece of merchandize, if only done in a State where it is tolerated by law, is not viewed generally by non-slaveholders with that deep disgust with which they regard the stealing of a sheep or a horse. This cannot be denied; then what more positive proof can be had, that even this class, from their long familiarity and connection with the system of slavery, have become sorrowfully blinded in their moral perceptions? Every man of sense, disabused of interest, partiality and prejudice, would determine it a worse act, a greater violation of right, to enslave a man and rob him of all that he can have, than to only rob one of the property he may have in possession, leaving him at liberty to acquire more and enjoy the same. If robbing the colored man of his liberty, and his all, were considered by the non-slaveholders, generally, as odiously disgraceful and unjust as robbing a white man of his property, the disgust pervading public sentiment at such injustice, would produce a moral force that would ensure the speedy liberation of the last slave in these United States; but, lamentable to say, such is not the case. Hence the prolonged disappointment to the philanthropist has arisen from the fact of the prevalent insensibility in regard to the slave's rights, and the consequent indifference to his wrongs; hence, too, the declara-

tions in behalf of the system, that the slave is so deficient in intellect that his labors, to be rendered useful, require the direction of a master; that his morals are so corrupt as to unfit him for liberty; that his condition is better in slavery than in his native country; that the slaves in the Southern States are better off than the free blacks of the Northern; that the slave, having out of his earnings a subsistence, receives a tolerable equivalent for his labors, &c. These and the like slaveholding declarations, have been so long and constantly repeated, publicly and privately, that they are received as truths by many; thus giving a tone, even down to this day, to public feeling and sentiment, and greatly embarrassing the restoration of the slaves to their liberty and rights. Erroneous and absurd as are these declarations, those who use them are indisposed for investigation or information, and consequently can only be moved by a weight of evidence of sufficient force to propel whole communities.

These declarations I have denominated slaveholding (for with the slaveholder they must have originated.) Whether put forth in the North or South, they have their bearing in support of slavery, directly or indirectly. I will not occupy time and space in proving the incorrectness and unfairness of these declarations, because it has been so often done by others; but such declarations are essential to the existence of slavery; they produce that countenance and action upon which the system is most essentially dependant for its support, so that when we hear an individual reiterating any of these sentiments, no matter what his standing in civil or religious society, no matter whether he is the owner of slaves or not, no matter whether his residence be in the North or South, and even though he may profess himself "as much opposed to slavery as anybody," he can only be regarded as having placed himself upon the slavery platform; and however ignorant he may be of his position, he is nevertheless prepared to give such countenance or aid to slavery, as interest, prejudice, or popularity may prompt, either commercially, politically, or religiously, as the case may be. These are among the prominent means by which slavery has so long existed, and continues to exist, and of which non-slaveholders furnish no small share. Now, I have no idea that the inhabitants of this country, generally, would desire the continuance of slavery, if they had a right view of the character and enormity of the evil. I have no idea that all who actually aided the foreign slave trade, would have approved of that inhuman

traffic had they possessed a just sense of the great injustice and inexpressible cruelties it inflicted upon its victims. Interest, prejudice or partiality blinds the eye, closes the ear, blunts the moral perception: hence those interested in this foreign trade in their own species, though attended with all the sufferings and horrors imaginable, (and now deemed a crime punishable with death,) were hard and slow to be convinced, that justice, humanity, and policy required its abolishment. This seems to be the case in regard to the continuance of slavery and the slave trade within the United States, as much the larger portion of the inhabitants are also commercially or otherwise contaminated by the system of slavery; consequently are too insensible of the injustice and cruelty inflicted by it upon the helpless slave, and are now as hard and slow to be convinced that justice, morality, and policy require the abolishment of the system, as the supporters of a foreign slave trade were to yield to the abolishment of that barbarous traffic, now despised by all respectable men as among the worst of crimes. How soon would a change of place with the slave remove all this morbid insensibility to his rights. Not a man, no not a single individual, could he feel the anguish and sufferings of slavery, especially that part called the domestic slave trade, but would at once be convinced of the inhumanity of the system, and that it is far worse than highway robbery, and justly deserving the reprobation of every class of the community, without evasion or compromise. We who have never experienced slavery's iron grasp, can form but a faint idea of the condition of a slave sold to go to some Southern market, cast into prison to prevent escape, having attachments which belong to the relations of wife, husband, brother, sister, parent, or child, as the case may be. All must be given up, the strongest ties in human life must be sundered; the mandate of the trader must be obeyed—to go to a comfortable home, with the hope in a few years to return again? No! but to go never to return; to be driven about to labor as a beast of burden by some hard hearted tyrant, whose object is to procure the most labor he can with the least expense, unprotected too from all manner of abuse. This is but an imperfect picture of the realities produced by the slave trade, briskly prosecuted at this day between the slave States, grasping its thousands of helpless victims annually. Now if the system in one of its branches is fraught with such appalling barbarity, how frightfully odious it must be in the whole. Who then but

those that have by its influences become blind to the dictates of humanity, or wilfully disobey such dictates, can longer willingly give countenance to its support either by word or deed? To withhold all such support is what morality and christianity imperatively require. The injunction of one formerly to "touch not, taste not, handle not," is peculiarly applicable to the abhorrent system in question, and this non-participating, even observed by the inhabitants of the non-slaveholding states alone, would be a means of breaking the last fetter from the suffering bondmen in this country. On the other hand, if not observed, they not only aid in the continuance of slavery, but also share in the awful responsibility for those evils which are inseparable from a system of slavery. We ought to seriously consider that we are individually by our own choice, in the free States, ranking ourselves in one or the other of these classes; bearing testimony against slavery, or giving it countenance and support. "He that is not with me, is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."

D. I.

Quaker Hill, 6th of 3rd mo., 1850.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

Milledale, Ontario Co., N. Y. }
4th mo. 7th, 1850. }

When I was in Virginia and North Carolina, a few years since, I observed that there were numbers of the colored race under the care of individual members of the society of Friends in those States, placed in their hands by the bequest of their former masters. They are thus made virtually free, though legally slaves, and Friends thus become legal slaveholders. This is the only mode by which the slave can enjoy any tolerable share of freedom in his native land—the laws of those States being such that he can not be emancipated on the soil—and is no doubt justifiable, and an act of great kindness and benevolence on the part of those who accept these bequests and take charge of the colored persons who thus happily escape from the grasp of slavery.

I received the impression that the number of these persons was increasing and becoming burdensome to some Friends. The situation of both parties, I think, calls for the sympathy of Friends in the free States, many of whom are far removed from the sight of slavery, and some of whom are perhaps hardly aware of the existence of the facts to which I have alluded. If, as is suggested by the sound and discriminating mind of our

beloved and valuable friend T. W., in a letter published some time since in the *Non-Slaveholder*, the existence of slavery in its present extent is in any degree chargeable to the unfaithfulness of Friends in not fully carrying out in practice those views to which their profession of a deep sense of the sinfulness of slavery leads; a sentiment in which I fully concur; and if they have given it their full proportion of efficient support by "furnishing the motive," then there is a fearful amount of responsibility resting on the *Society of Friends*, and it becomes us to enquire after the most feasible and effectual methods by which we can in some measure atone for the wrong, and promote the best interests of that suffering class of our fellow creatures.

While I fully accede to the truth of the proposition that abstinence from the use of slave grown produce is a duty, and one which I greatly desire to see carried out in practice, both as an unobjectionable and peaceful method of operating upon the system, and as the only way by which we can keep our hands clean from our brothers' blood, I would ask if there is not another way in which we might subserve the cause of freedom and advance the interests of that class of our colored brethren to which I have alluded. Might there not a tract of land be purchased in some of the Western States, where land is cheap—say in Iowa—and a Manual Labor School established, where they might be instructed in literary knowledge, and in the art and means of obtaining a livelihood, and of "taking care of themselves?" I make this suggestion with a full understanding of the difficulties to its accomplishment which present themselves at first view; one of which is that of obtaining money to defray the expenses of such an establishment; but I cannot doubt that if Friends who are in possession of much of this world's goods would enter into the concern with the same feeling of interest that they do into many other benevolent engagements, and especially if those who have become rich by trafficking in the products of slave labor would consider part of their wealth belonging to the slave, a sufficient amount of money might be raised for all the necessary purposes of such an establishment. If, in addition to the blessings and advantages that would result to the recipients of such benevolence, in a moral and physical point of view, as well as the effect it would undoubtedly have in doing away the prejudices that now exist against the intellectual capacities of the race, we take into consideration the relief it would afford our friends at the

South, and the encouragement it would in all probability give to emancipation in future, a sufficient inducement cannot be wanting, I think, to make an attempt to carry such a plan into effect.
N. C. H.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH 1, 1850.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.—The Fifth Annual Meeting of this Association was held at Clarkson Hall, in this city, on the evening of the 16th of last month. The number in attendance was not large, but, we believe, many more would have attended if public notice could have been given in the Yearly Meeting. Some persons were probably prevented from being present by the fact that this Association is not permitted by the "powers that be," to hold its meetings in the Committee room of Mulberry Street Meeting-house, where the meetings of other Associations of Friends are held.

A minister with whom we recently conversed on this subject, expressed a repugnance to having our meeting-houses "desecrated" by the meetings of the Free Produce Association being held in them! Our faith in the progress of Truth, through the labors of faithful individuals more than from the action of Yearly Meetings, Synods, Conferences, or other ecclesiastical bodies, leads us to hope for the ultimate removal of the unreasonable and unjust prejudice which thus closes the meeting-houses of the Society of Friends against its members, who, in a legitimate and unobjectionable manner, are endeavoring to *practice* the principles which the Society *professes*.

The Managers' Report for the past year was presented, and directed to be published. It will be found in another part of this paper.

The proceedings of the meeting derived much interest from the information imparted by our esteemed friend, Nathan Thomas, of Indiana, who was present. His investigations in the South have been of great value to the Free Labor movement, and we are inclined to believe that the tendency of his intercourse with both slaveholders and non-slaveholders is not less important and beneficial to the cause of the slave.

The following officers of the Association were appointed for the ensuing year,—viz: Secretary, G. W. Taylor; Treasurer, Marmaduke C. Cope;

Managers, Enoch Lewis, Abraham L. Pennock, Samuel Rhoads, John Farnum, Dr. T. E. Beesley, Edward Garrett, Thomas Wistar, jr., and Samuel Allinson, jr.

MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—In the eighth number of our last volume we inserted a copy of a Memorial, then circulated for signatures amongst the women of England and intended to be laid before Queen Victoria, on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade, and the disuse of slave-labor produce. Recent accounts state that the Address, having 59,686 names attached to it, contributed from most of the counties of England and from many parts of Scotland, has been presented. No official acknowledgment of its reception had been received, but there is reason to believe, from private information, that the Queen has manifested a strong interest in the subject.

The Ladies' Committee, who had charge of the Address, proposed in a letter to Sir George Grey, that it should be accompanied by Alexander Crummell of New York, an Episcopalian clergyman of African descent, who rendered important service at several meetings held to promote the Address, and is now at the University of Cambridge, and by another of his race. Sir George Grey stated, in answer to this letter, that the rules observed on such occasions would not admit of the request being granted, but promised that he would forward a copy of the petition to the Queen, and at the same time call her particular attention to the contents of the letter.

The memorialists, after praying that every legitimate and peaceful means may be resorted to on the part of the Government, to induce Spain and Brazil to fulfil certain treaties, use this language:—"And as nothing can be more clear than that slavery is sustained by the purchase of its productions, we propose for ourselves an immediate and wide-spread abstinence from the slave productions of Cuba and Brazil; and in this we venture to hope for the high sanction of your Majesty's example, and that you will be graciously pleased to exclude these productions from the royal household."

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.—An important debate took place a few weeks since in the House of Commons, on a motion to withdraw the squadron from the coast of Africa, and desist from all acts for sup-

pressing the slave-trade by force of arms. When the House divided there were 154 for the motion, and 232 against it, giving the ministers a majority of 78. It has been stated that if the motion had carried, the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, would have resigned his office.

Baillie, in rising to second the motion, said, "He asked the Government to adopt an honest and straightforward course with regard to the slave-trade. When the legislature passed the Bill of 1846, the question assumed a new aspect. It was then boldly proclaimed that England had already paid sufficiently for her philanthropy, and was determined to pay no more; and there could be no doubt that one result of the change of policy which took place at that period was, that England now derived more profit and advantage from the slave-trade than any other country in the world. The English people had, in fact, incurred all the guilt which attached to that abominable traffic. To deny this was to deny that the receiver of stolen goods was equally culpable with the thief. For his own part, he preferred the thief—forasmuch as the thief incurred all the risk of danger which arose from his act; the receiver, while assuming an appearance of honesty, tempted others to the commission of crimes of which he shared the proceeds. Slaves were purchased on the coast of Africa with goods manufactured in Manchester and Birmingham, having been previously sent to Cuba and Brazil, to be exchanged for the produce of slave labor. Brazilian mines and estates had been stocked and worked with slaves purchased with British capital. Lastly, England supplied the best market in the world for the produce of slave labor. Could it be denied, then, that England derived more profit than any other country from the slave-trade?"

Another member, Grantley Berkeley, in supporting the motion, "insisted that the only effectual mode of putting down the slave-trade, was to stop the admission of slave produce into Great Britain.

These views correspond with the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed two years since to investigate the condition of the slave-trade. They stated that "the extent and activity of the slave-trade, though in some degree affected by foreign interference, and at times restrained by the Governments of Spain and Brazil, have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave-labor in the markets of Europe; and that the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has

tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African slave-trade, as to render an effectual check more difficult of attainment than at any former period."

Why do not the friends of the slave, who are anxiously seeking for effectual means of putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade, and who acknowledge the powerful support these evils receive from the "demand for the products of slave labor" and the "admission of slave-grown sugar" into Great Britain, also perceive the simple but all-important truth, that both the *demand* and the *admission* mentioned are absolutely dependent upon, and the result of the CONSUMPTION of the articles demanded and admitted? The individual course required by a perception of this truth is sufficiently obvious.

The editor of the *London Anti-Slavery Reporter* makes the following remarks in reference to the policy of the British Government for the suppression of the slave-trade. Heartily approving his sentiment, that it is the duty of the *Government* to "put the brand of reprobation on the productions of slavery," we could wish that the *people* also might see the necessity of adopting the same consistent mode of action.

"It must not be supposed that we view the course which the Government have pursued with satisfaction. They find fault with Mr. Hutt for not indicating a substitute for the squadron, whilst, admitting themselves the failure of the squadron, they propose no substitute, nor even an efficient auxiliary to its operations. The fact is, they have embarrassed themselves by the application of free-trade principles to slave-trade produce; and they know not how to secure, at one and the same time, the suppression of the slave trade, and an extensive commerce with the countries which carry it on. How marvellous their inconsistency! They send their cruisers, at an immense cost of men and money, to the coast of Africa to suppress the traffic; and they open the markets of this country to the reception of the blood-stained produce on which the traffic depends. Eloquent and Christian as was the peroration of Lord John Russell's speech at the close of the debate, we were compelled to confront with it the Sugar Act of 1846, which doubled the slave-trade, and to ask ourselves how it could be made to harmonize with that appalling fact. If the Government be sincerely desirous of destroying "the curse and crime of slavery," and of maintaining the lead in the championship of this great ques-

tion of freedom and humanity to the people of this country, let them put the brand of public reprobation on the productions of slavery, and use all other means a great and Christian country can properly employ in its extinction, and they may reasonably expect the continuance of the Divine mercies, and the blessings of mankind at large; but if they will persist in sacrificing the highest interests of humanity to the exigencies of commerce—if they will continue to prefer the prosperity of Manchester and Birmingham to the freedom and civilization of Africa—then it requires no prophetic vision to declare, that to this country will not be reserved the honor of securing the triumph of freedom over slavery; and that it would be sheer presumption for it to expect the benediction of Heaven."

THE PENNSYLVANIA FUGITIVE LAW.—The Bill to which allusion was made in our last number, as having been introduced into the Legislature of this State, for the repeal of portions of the Act to prevent kidnapping, has since passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 50 to 29. We are glad to learn, however, that the Senate Committee, to whom the bill was subsequently referred, has reported it with a recommendation that it be *negatived*. This, we trust, may be the final result.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."—A late number of the *Liberator* contains a report of the proceedings of "a very large and enthusiastic meeting" of the "Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society," recently held at North Bridgewater, and among the resolutions adopted was the following: "Resolved, That the mercantile and manufacturing interests of Massachusetts are in *alliance* with the cotton-growing and slave-whipping interests of South Carolina," &c.

It seems to us that the motto of the *Liberator*, "No union with slaveholders," as well as the voice of this meeting, is condemnatory of this alliance. Can those who took an active part in the above meeting, the editor of the *Liberator* included, consistently advocate the purchase and use of slave-grown cotton?

RICHARD DILLINGHAM.—In the account we gave two months since of the visit of our friends, Nathan Thomas and Henry Charles, to the Penitentiary at Nashville, we stated that Richard Dillingham was from Indiana, and was sentenced to two years imprisonment for aiding

slaves to escape from bondage. By a letter received from a relative of the young man, we are informed that his residence was in Ohio, and that the term of his imprisonment is three years; this being the shortest time the law of Tennessee allows for the offence.

Our valued correspondent has kindly furnished us with a brief history of the case, which we think will be interesting to many of our readers who may be unacquainted with it. "Richard Dillingham was arrested about eleven o'clock at night, in the 12th month, 1848, and lodged in jail without violence, but few persons being apprised of his arrest at the time. The next day the excitement was so great that the people crowded to the jail by hundreds, to see the prisoner, and many examined him very closely, to ascertain whether he answered the description of an advertised rogue. The Justice went to the prison and committed him legally, in order to prevent his exposure to the mob by bringing him out; but in the course of 14 days the excitement so far subsided, that he was taken before the Court without molestation. It was believed, however, that the excitement was too great to have justice done him, and the trial was postponed until the 4th month following. This was a very favorable circumstance, inasmuch as it furnished the people with an opportunity of becoming acquainted with him, to some extent, and also with the character of many of his friends and relatives, by their correspondence with him; but it subjected him to the disagreeable alternative of being confined all winter without feeling the warmth of fire, and without any glass in the windows of the jail; yet he was treated as kindly by the jailers as circumstances would permit.

"There were two indictments against him, but he was tried upon one only; the prosecuting attorney being disposed to be as favorable as a compliance with the duties of his office would justify. R. D. plead guilty to the indictment, and threw himself upon the mercy of the jury.

After short but pathetic speeches by his counsel, Ferguson and McDonald, and a brief charge from the Judge, favorable to leniency, the jury retired, but in the course of a few minutes returned with a verdict, fixing the shortest term of imprisonment, which was more favorable than any of us anticipated. His mother's presence had great influence in his favor, and notwithstanding the jury, with one or two exceptions, was composed of slaveholders, I believe they would have acquitted him if it had been in

their power. Several of them spoke to us after the trial, and one observed that he had a runaway slave then in Ohio. The Attorney General also spoke kindly to R. D.'s mother, and told her that her son would be cared for, and that he would use his influence with the keeper of the Penitentiary in his favor; remarking, that there was no one who had become acquainted with R. D. but would place implicit reliance on anything he asserted. Yet many who did not attend the trial were dissatisfied with the leniency of the verdict, and the keeper of the Penitentiary being one of these, we feared he would treat him with severity; still we did not doubt that his feelings would change, should he become acquainted with R. D., who is well-informed, and remarkably amiable and ingenuous in his disposition, and, I may add, his moral character stands unblemished in his native State. He has borne his trials like a philosopher, and, I think I may safely say, like a Christian.

"By our latest accounts from him, it appears that he is something of a Joseph among them; his employment having been changed from the laborious business of sawing stone to that which was lighter, until he was placed as Steward of the Hospital, and as there are but few sick at present his employment is light. He has also the privilege of reading during his leisure time, and sitting by a comfortable fire in the evening for that purpose."

COTTON CULTIVATION IN JAMAICA.—The cultivation of cotton in the British West Indies, and in other possessions of Great Britain, is becoming a topic of great interest and attention with the British Government and people, principally from an apprehension that serious difficulties may arise from the present dependence of Great Britain upon the United States for a supply of an article so essential to the mercantile and manufacturing prosperity of the former country.

From an advertisement in a New York newspaper, we learn that a Cotton Company is now being formed for the cultivation of cotton in Jamaica, and the advertiser, as agent, wishes to receive applications for shares. It is proposed to purchase a certain estate of between 2,500 and 3,000 acres, in the vicinity of Spanishtown, the metropolis of Jamaica. Cotton grown on the island is stated to be remarkably fine in quality and, when once planted, the friendly nature of the climate and soil renders it independent of much care on the part of the planter.

We would be glad to hear of the success of this, and every other effort to increase the supply of cotton cultivated by free labor.

CONGRESS.—Various questions connected with the extension of slavery, engrossed the attention of Congress during the past month, to the exclusion of almost every other business, but no Bill relating to the subject has yet been passed.

YOUTH'S DEPARTMENT.

From the Ohio State Journal.

REMARKABLE PRESERVATION.

The following beautiful stanzas were written many years ago by Mrs. Seba Smith, on the death of Mrs. Blake, who perished among the Green Mountains of Vermont, under the following circumstances: She and Mr. B. and their child were overtaken on their journey across the mountains by a violent snow storm. The horses which conveyed them gave out, and sank exhausted in the snow drift, and for a while they pressed forward on foot—but finding their strength failing, Mr. B. hastened forward alone, to obtain assistance, but became so benumbed by cold, that he sank, and was found on the eve of perishing, unable to speak, but retaining his senses so that he was able by motions to apprise the person who found him that there were others in a similar perilous condition. A short distance further they found Mrs. B. in the cold embrace of death, having stripped herself of her cloak, in which the babe was wrapped and laid in the snow. She was the mother of Harrison G. Blake, of Medina, now a member of the Senate of Ohio.

"The cold winds swept the mountain height,
And pathless was the dreary wild,
And 'mid the cheerless hours of night,
A mother wandered with her child.
As through the drifted snow she pressed,
The babe was sleeping on her breast.

"And colder still the winds did blow,
And darker hours of night came on,
And deeper grew the drifts of snow—
Her limbs were chilled, her strength was gone.
O God! she cried in accents wild,
If I must perish, save my child!

"She stripped her mantle from her breast,
And bared her bosom to the storm,
As round the child she wrapped her vest,
She smiled to think her babe was warm.
With one cold kiss, one tear she shed,
And sank upon a snowy bed.

"At dawn a traveller passed by,
And saw her 'neath a snowy veil,—
The frost of death was in her eye—
Her cheek was cold, and hard and pale.
He moved the robe from off the child—
The babe looked up and sweetly smiled!"

THE GLASS RAILROAD.

[A dream of the "Milford Bard," during one of his fits of *mania a potu*,—and a LOOKING-GLASS for all who touch the "glass."]

"It seems to me," said the bard, "as though I had been suddenly aroused from my slumber. I looked round and found myself in the centre of a gay and happy crowd. The first sensation I experienced was that of being borne along with a peculiar gentle motion—a soft, gliding motion. I looked around and found that I was in one of a long train of cars, which were gliding over a railway. I could see the train, far, far ahead, it was turning a bend of the railway, and seemed to be many miles in length. It was composed of many cars. Every car, open at the top, was filled with men and women—all gaily dressed—all happy, all laughing, talking or singing. The peculiarly gentle motion of the cars interested me. There was no grating such as we hear on a railroad. They moved on without the least jar or sound. This, I say, interested me. I looked over the side, and to my astonishment, found the railroad and cars were made of glass. The track, the body of the cars, and the wheels, were all glass. The glass wheels moved over the glass rails without the least noise or oscillation. This soft gliding motion produced a feeling of exquisite happiness. I was so happy! It seemed as if everything was at rest within me—I was full of peace. While I was wondering over this circumstance, a new sight attracted my gaze. All along the railroad, on either side, within a foot of the track, were laid long lines of coffins, end to end, and a dead body in each coffin. As far as I could see, I beheld these perpetual lines of coffins, one on either side of the railroad, and every one containing a corpse, dressed for burial, with its cold, white face turned upward to the light. The sight filled me with unutterable horror. I yelled in agony, but could make no sound. The gay throng who were around me only redoubled their singing and laughter, at the sight of my agony, and we swept on and on, gliding with glass wheels over the glass railroad, every moment coming nearer to the bend of the road, which formed an angle with the road, far, far in the distance.

"Who are those?" I cried at last, pointing to the dead in their coffins.

"These are the persons who made this trip before us," was the reply of one of the gayest persons near me.

"What trip?" I asked.

"Why, the trip we are now making. The trip in these glass cars over this glass railway," was the answer.

"Why do they lie along the road, each one in his coffin?" I was answered with a whisper and a half-laugh which froze my blood.

"They were dashed to death at the end of the railroad," said the person whom I addressed. "You know the railroad terminates at an abyss, which is without bottom or measure. It is lined with pointed rocks. As each car arrives at the end, it precipitates its passengers into the abyss. They are dashed to pieces against the rocks, and their bodies are brought up here, and placed in coffins as a warning to other passengers; but no one minds it, we're so happy on the glass railroad."

I can never describe the horror with which these words inspired me.

"What is the name of this railroad?" I asked.

The person whom I addressed replied, in the same low voice—

"It is the railroad of Habit. It is very easy to get into these cars, but very hard to get out. For once in the cars, every body is delighted with the soft gliding motion. The cars move so gently! Yes, it is the railway of Habit, and with glass wheels we are whirled over a glass railroad towards a fathomless abyss. In a few moments we'll be there; and then they'll bring our bodies, and put them in coffins as a warning to others, but no body will mind it, will they?"

I was choked with horror. I struggled for breath—made frantic efforts to leap from the cars, and in the struggle awoke. I knew it was only a dream, and yet whenever I think of it, I can see that long line of cars, moving gently over the glass railroad. I can see the cars far ahead as they are turning the bend of the road. I can see the dead in their coffins, clear and distinct—on either side of the road, and while the laughter and singing of the gay and happy passengers resounds in my ears, I only see those cold faces of the dead, with their glassy eyes uplifted and their frozen hands upon their shrouds.

It was a horrible dream.

And the Bard's changing features and brightening eye, attested the emotion which had been aroused by the very memory of the dream.

It was indeed a horrible dream. A long train of glass cars, gliding over a glass railway, freighted with youth, beauty and music, while on either hand are stretched the victims of yesterday, gliding over the railway of Habit, towards the fathomless abyss.

There was a moral in that dream.—*George Lippard.*

Reader, are you addicted to any sinful habit? Break it off, ere you dash against the rocks!

SELECTIONS.

ANTI-SLAVERY MISSION OF JOHN CANDLER AND GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

[Letters from our friend John Candler, relating incidents of the journey of himself and G. W. Alexander, with their wives, in the West Indies, have appeared in the *London Friend*, from which we give the following extracts.—Ed.]

Demerara, 1st mo. 5th, 1850.

On the 10th of last month we went on board the *Eagle* steam-packet at Barbadoes, bound for this colony, and found it crowded with passengers. On the 12th we reached Trinidad, and for the first time saw the coast of South America; then proceeded to Tobago. The next two days we were tossed on awful waves that dashed against the sides of the ship as though they would break it to pieces; the report was often as loud as a cannon, and it seemed as if we might really go to pieces; there was however, no real danger, and we arrived at George Town, Demerara, on the main land of South America, safe and well. The rain was so incessant, that we could not land that night, but slept peacefully in the ship at anchor in a still haven.

Twelfth Month 15th. Came on shore to what was formerly a land of "mud and money," now a land of mud and mosquitoes. This part of the coast of South America, for many hundreds of leagues, is so low as to be seen only a very short distance from land. The sugar estates are all formed on the sea-coast, or on the banks of the rivers, and are secured from the invasion of spring tides by an artificial dam, such as the people of Holland have raised to protect their little kingdom. The estates are all intersected by canals and trenches as in Holland, and these serve at once for draining the land, and as roads for the conveyance of produce. We spent the first day of our arrival in Demerara within doors, for rest and letter-writing: the next day, which was the first of the week, we passed I hope devotionally. Spent the evening at home in reading and re-

tiement. The next morning we called on Governor Barkly, who said he had heard of our coming, and would do what he could to promote the object of our visit. We presented to him a letter of introduction from Earl Grey, and another from the Bishop of Guiana.

The authorities show us much kindness, and manifest every disposition to give us the information we seek. The missionaries also of the different denominations are willing to help us, and we find no difficulty in obtaining evidence of the state of the colony. Our time has been most diligently employed in visiting prisons, hospitals, schools, in going over sugar estates, and in visiting the free villages. This is the rainy season here, or rather the winter rainy season, which we find an advantage to us, as the rain cools the air; but at the same time it moistens the earth, makes the common roads and foot-paths muddy, and impedes locomotion. There are exhalations from the moist ground everywhere, and intermittent fever is quite common; but through Divine mercy our health is preserved, and we go on with great comfort. When the Coolies were imported from India to this colony, there came over among them a large number of men who knew nothing of field labor, but who obtained a livelihood as mendicants, who were in fact the very refuse of Calcutta and Madras. A large number of them have died of destitution, and many still remain who walk almost naked through the streets; they sleep at night below the houses which are built on brick pillars, and when no better food is to be had, subsist on carrion. The mortality among the immigrant Coolies and Portuguese in the hospitals, has been so great, that the return of the numbers has been suppressed; but I found that in the years 1847 and 1848, there died of these people 3278, or a twelfth part of the total number of them in each year. The hospitals still continue full of them. Were the same rate of mortality every where to prevail, the whole human race would be speedily extinguished. But the immigrants are not all alike in disposition; some beg, pick up bad food, get sick and die; but many are industrious and thrive well. The African immigrants are healthy; the Portuguese who are become acclimated can now bear field labor; and when the hard working Coolies came into the town, dressed in their holiday garments of crimson cotton, and a turban, they looked refined and handsome. We have seen some fine specimens among them of both men, women and children: their salaam, or manner of salutation is very graceful.

Almost all the Africans imported from our slave ships seem satisfied with their new country, and would much rather continue in our colonies than return to their own land. "What country come from?" I said to one of them. "Guinea, massa, Congo." "Do you Congo men wish to go back to Africa." "No, massa." "Why not." "In Congo, massa, catch, come sell," was his answer. I asked another what he thought about it, "Me no go back, in Congo too much fight." The truth is that these poor liberated Africans were so hunted in their own country, in order to be made slaves, that Demerara is a sort of Paradise to them; and although to a European eye, they seem to lead only a semi-civilized, almost a barbarous life, with few wants and low desires, their situation is not a despicable one. There is no slavery in our colonies, not even a semblance of it; the common people are wonderfully independent, almost rudely so: they do not work over-hard, and it will be impossible ever again to make slaves of strangers who come among them. The Portuguese, who have passed through the awful ordeal of becoming acclimated, are a quiet, inoffensive, hard working race: they come from Madeira and the Azores; they come out very poor, and are so anxious to make money that they content themselves with insufficient food, and some have died of inanition from this cause.

Now as to their free villages. We have taken drives over very bad roads in the country to visit several of them in this part of Guiana; but the one that pleased us best was in Berbice. On Fourth-day last, we went on board the *Clyde* schooner and in seventeen hours reached New Amsterdam, a town on the river Berbice, 350 miles north of the equator. We there engaged a covered boat or bungalow, and attended by one of the missionaries, made an excursion up the river. These large rivers of Demerara and Berbice are a little south of the Orinoco, and were the scenes of Waterton's wanderings, where he saw so many strange things. Our boat was rowed by four men, and the captain sat at the helm. The river Berbice was full to the very banks, and we rowed in some parts almost close to the jungle or bush, which was covered with a rank, luxurious vegetation: many of the trees were full of scarlet and yellow blossoms, and some of the flowers which grew there would have been thought beautiful in our English hot-houses. Many boats, full of provisions for sale, were coming down the stream, paddled by black men and women, and gave much life to the picture.

We went many times on shore, and visited several large sugar estates, and returned home at sunset, after spending an agreeable and happy day. The next morning we took the same boat, crossed the broad river to its opposite bank, and landed at the free village of Ithaca, which contains 300 houses in the midst of a plantain grove, and has 1200 inhabitants. But what a day! Whilst in the boat we were sheltered from the rain, but on landing it poured upon us. Our boat was landed on the soft mud, and was pulled up by the boatmen over the mud to near a dwelling house. After waiting awhile for the storm to pass by, we sallied forth to the village, but were overtaken by the rain and made wet to the skin. A carpenter who was once a slave, received us into his house, and showed us no little kindness; he allowed us partially to strip and dry our clothes, and prepared some provender for us. Under slavery and during the apprenticeship, a large number of the poor bond-people had managed to save a good deal of money, unknown to their masters; and when freedom came, it was brought out in such abundance to buy land and build houses, that those who looked on and were acquainted with scripture, said, "The Israelites had spoiled the Egyptians." Our good carpenter was one of the many who had money: his house was a model: it had two good parlours, furnished with sofas, pictures, a handsome lamp, and in one of them a sideboard covered with wine glasses, finger glasses, decanters and a set of castors, and many good books were on the table. Freedom has wrought a great change in the condition of this people, not so great morally as we could wish to have seen, nor to many of them even physically; but still a great change and we see strange things. The houses in this lovely village are some of them very good, the roads that run through it are good, the provision grounds look handsome, and the people have a free independent bearing and port that would give you surprise. We now and then find a poor old man or woman that thinks old times as good as the new, but the general feeling is, "Thank God, massa, for freedom." After leaving this pleasant place, we took boat again, and rowed along the coast to a large sugar plantation, and then we recrossed the river to New Amsterdam.

This is now the 2d of First month, 1850. On the 4th, we expect to set sail for Trinidad, and to remain there for a fortnight. Intemperance is the crying evil of this colony. Last evening we attended a temperance meeting convened by advertisement, and addressed a large company on

the importance of total abstinence. A new society was formed in the course of the day to embrace this object, and we have no doubt that our meeting will be useful in its results.

First Month 3rd. This morning the weather is fine; the sun beams out upon us strongly, and we cannot take much exercise. My face has begun to blister a little with the heat, though we constantly use umbrellas. Europeans often wear white masks in this region. Only think of men moving about, as some do, clothed in white from head to foot, and having the face covered with a mask of white linen!

First Month 4th. The packet from England just arrived. Between the Azores and Bermuda the storms were so fearful, that the steamer with all her appliances, was unable to make Bermuda, and therefore brought on all her mails and passengers to the West Indies: she is four days behind her time. What a favour we left England as we did! * * *

We go on board the *Conway Packet* this evening, and expect to reach Trinidad in two days.

Trinidad, First Month 18, 1850.

We are now about to leave Trinidad for Grenada and St. Vincent, and before doing so I shall begin a letter for the next packet. The passage through the *Boccos*, or mouths which divide Trinidad and its islands from the Spanish main, affords some very lovely scenery. The limestone rocks of the islands covered with vegetation, the houses and plantations on the shore, the cocconut and palm-trees, and families of pelicans, young and old, fishing in the clear blue waters, all gave us delight; and added to these tropical objects of interest, we had in view the lofty mountains of Venezuela on the west. On our arrival at Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad, we waited early on the governor, Lord Harris, who, as no horses or carriage can be hired in the city, kindly offered us the use of both during our stay, and on one occasion we availed ourselves of the benefit. The calls made on us have been so numerous, and we have found so many friends, that we have been helped in this and every other way, and have travelled a good deal. One kind friend, a merchant, has taken G. W. A. and myself into the Santa Cruz valley on a visit to his father-in-law, a French cocoa-planter, who married a Spanish lady and has a family of ten children; he conveyed us thither in an open carriage, and a delightful day we had. Cocoa-trees are planted here in walks, with avenues between them, and are shaded from the sun by other trees, called by the Spaniards "*La Madre Cacao*," and by the

French "Le bois immortel," which run up with a naked stem to a great height, and cover the groves with a dense mass of green leaves, intermixed with bunches of orange and crimson blossoms. You can scarcely imagine how grateful is the shade of a cocoa walk, or how beautiful! I was much pleased with the enthusiasm of our host in his business as a planter: "Look, gentlemen, at that avenue, how beautiful it is: look at that running stream: here we bring our family and sit down on the bank under the shade of these fine trees, and enjoy the cool breezes when the houses are too warm for us: here our young ones bathe! And then, those hills! I take my dogs there into the bush, and hunt the deer and the wild hog."

On another occasion we were taken, all four of us, in a phaeton, in another direction; our first call was at a sugar plantation called Aranguez, where we breakfasted with the owner, who was once a slave. The property deeply encumbered with debt, was bequeathed to him since the emancipation act. It then made only 120 hogsheads of sugar, but by skill and discretion, he has raised the annual produce to 600 hogsheads, and expects in five or six years to pay off the whole mortgage. We went through his works and conversed with his laborers and were greatly pleased with the whole establishment. This black man is a very superior planter; he excites the envy of some of the whites around him, and the admiration of all who look on. We then visited two other sugar-estates, one of which is managed by the agent of an English proprietor, where everything is loss and confusion.

Another of our visits deserves a mention; we received an invitation from a very opulent planter to spend a day or two at his house. He lives eleven miles from Port of Spain; his carriage and horses came over night as the road was bad, and early in the morning we all set out on the journey. His mansion stands in a park at the foot of lofty green hills, and is furnished with much taste. This gentleman is a member of the Council, and is supposed to have grown rich in the days of slavery; fifteen years ago we could not for conscience' sake, have entered his house; but as slavery is now at an end, we endeavor in conversation to forget the past, and to act towards men of the old time as if it had never existed. It is, however, a very painful reflection when we think of such houses as these, built as they were out of the gains of oppression. "The stones of the wall cry out against the owners, and the beams out of the timber answer them."

One tour, an extensive one, G. W. A. and I were compelled to take alone; it occupied us four days. We left home on Seventh-day by schooner for San Fernando, 27 miles distant, a town of 5000 inhabitants, in the fruitful sugar district of Naparima. The morning of First-day we spent alone in retirement at the hotel; in the evening, by invitation, we attended the Wesleyan chapel, and had a meeting which was held after the manner of Friends. Early next morning, horses being provided for us, we rode to an estate called Corinth, belonging to Dr. Philip, who so kindly nursed E. O. Tregelles when sick of fever. Here we were received with great cordiality: after breakfast, fresh horses were saddled, and the Doctor took us a ride of several hours through the North and South Naparima, calling as we passed at some large sugar estates, and at sun-set we returned to San Fernando, and addressed a very large temperance meeting convened by the missionaries. Among the immigrants who have come into the islands are numerous Portuguese families from Madeira, who were persecuted at home for embracing the Protestant faith. In one of our rides with the Baptist missionary, we came upon a group of these people; he explained to them in Portuguese who we were and what we had come for; they seemed overjoyed; there was something about them that interested me deeply, and I was glad to find on inquiry, that the whole company of these immigrants, not only stood firmly to their new religious principles, but were an honor by their conduct to the faith they have embraced. About four hundred of the band have lately left Trinidad with a protestant pastor to settle in Illinois.

St. Vincent, First Month 25th, 1850.—During our stay at Port of Spain, we held a temperance meeting in the city of a very satisfactory character; three missionaries gave in their adhesion to total abstinence principles, and a large number of young men pressed forward to sign the pledge. Intemperance is the crying sin of these colonies, and a large number of young men from this cause find a premature grave. Medical men encourage the delusion of drinking by precept and example, and often themselves fall victims to it. Just before leaving Demerara, I saw a paper containing the names of nineteen medical practitioners who had recently died in that colony; six of them had died of intemperance, as certified by the physician who prepared the statement, and two or three others had probably come to their end from the same sad cause, operating on the constitution more remotely. Besides tem-

perance meetings, which we have held in all the colonies, we have succeeded in procuring anti-slavery meetings to be held.

Within twelve hours after leaving Trinidad by the *Eagle* steam packet we were safely landed on the quay of St. George in Grenada. A large vessel called the *Atlantic*, reached the bay a few hours before us, with a cargo of captured slaves from Sierra Leone: we were of course anxious to visit it without delay. The packet agent ordered a boat of eight oars to be got ready, and we went on board almost immediately. Instead of a repulsive sight, as some would have expected, we found a fine, clean, well-ventilated vessel. The captured slaves, 259 in number, men, women, and young people, decently clothed, and in robust health, seated in groups at a plentiful morning meal. We were highly gratified, especially as we found, through our interpreter, that they were rejoiced at having escaped the fangs of the slave-dealer, and that they were come to a free country. We had only two days to spend at Grenada, and we made the most of them. A large temperance meeting was convened for the first evening at the Wesleyan chapel, and a still larger anti-slavery meeting for the second evening at the Court House, in which the Rector of the parish and some members of the Colonial legislature took part; the crowd was so great outside the doors of the large room, that a planter from the country assured us that it took him half an-hour to press through.

Second Month 1st.—During the past week we have been diligently engaged; we have attended one large temperance meeting, and have convened a public meeting for anti-slavery purposes, which is said to have been more numerous attended than almost any the island has known for a long time past. The Rural Dean of the colony took the chair, and several missionaries and planters addressed the company; we also of course took part in the proceedings. In order to give some enjoyment to our wives, and to enjoy a little recreation ourselves, we resolved on making a tour of this beautiful island on horseback. The chief magistrate of police, and the Comptroller of Customs entered kindly into our views, and agreed to make the arrangements for the expedition, and even to go with us the whole way. We set out early in the morning, a cavalcade of six persons with two attendants on foot, and passed over lofty hills and through some lovely valleys, nine miles, to a plantation to breakfast; here we were furnished with horses instead of those that were to go back to Kingston, and we pursued our jour-

ney amidst delightful scenery, to Cumberland Bay, another nine miles. We stopped by the way to look at a rock which in ancient times was a Caribb altar, on which human victims were sacrificed, and on which hideous faces are chiselled, and canals for the blood to run down. About 200 descendants of the Caribb aborigines still exist in the country.

Next day came the great trial. The Souffriere is said to be 4000 feet in height, and to be 3300 feet to the first crater. The road was in some places awfully steep: we had often to dismount, and to lead or drag our horses, and after about three hours of hard toil, reached the great crater. The views from the sides of this mountain are wonderfully fine: we look over the island from shore to shore, or rather from sea to sea: the ravines and hills are clothed with forest trees, and all nature is magnificent. A mist covered the edge of the upper crater or recent volcano; our steeds were weary, and some of us were too much fatigued to mount higher: we did not therefore attempt to reach the top of the mountain, but after taking draughts of water at "Jacob's Well," began to descend.

At noon we rested at a plantation, and what was somewhat remarkable, all of us who sat down to a second breakfast there, were teetotalers! A few miles further on, we found that the people of a "Free village," about a mile out of the high road, had sent a request that we should visit them; we resolved to go, and sending C. A. and M. to a plantation near, the rest of us proceeded to the spot. The people had turned out to meet us; a school of about sixty young people formed a lane for us to pass through: the boys took off their caps and bowed, and the whole band repeated the words "And thus do we bid you welcome!" They then sang in chorus the favorite hymn of the West Indies, "O that will be joyful!" We then proceeded to the house of a black man, a planter, and from the steps of his door spoke to the people, who insisted, in their gratitude, on giving us each three huzzas. This village of emancipated labourers has a population of about 800 persons: the houses are many of them very good; they have no spirit-store in the place, so that G. W. A. left them ten dollars for a tea feast. The people were well dressed, and seemed as happy as they are free. No peasantry in the world, we think, are so well off as the emancipated slaves of our colonies. On returning to the plantation for our wives, the kind planter and his wife insisted on our all remaining there for the night, a request to which we gladly yielded.

Castres, St. Lucia, Second Month 5th.—Having engaged the sloop *Nautilus* of St. Vincent to convey us, we are now on the route to Martinique. We were all either so sea-sick or unwell in beating up against a head-wind, that instead of coming on here to Castres, the capital, as we intended, we turned into the bay of Souffriere, and lodged two nights at a tavern in this port, which is the second best in the colony. We spent the *First-day* there, and were glad of rest.

ADDRESS TO YOUNG PARENTS.

There are various reasons for training children early in the way they should go, so that they may not depart from it when old:

1. Early impressions are the most lasting.
2. The manner of instruction dictated by the Almighty, in the sixth Chapter of Deuteronomy, is exactly adapted to early training.
3. This divine command is the discipline of the Society of Friends on the subject of education.
4. Daily reading and explaining passages of Scripture, adapted to produce reverence to Almighty goodness in a child, excites similar sensations in the parents, and promotes watchfulness and circumspection in themselves.
5. As life is uncertain, parents should embrace the earliest opportunities for imbuing the tender minds of their offspring with that love and fear which preserves from the "snares of death."

EXAMPLE 1. The parents of a child, as early as he would listen to a little story, commenced daily telling him Scripture over and over in a pleasing manner, or reading and explaining passages. He gradually became interested, and soon learned to read by the help of his parents, who explained his lessons so that he understood them. In his fifth year he had acquired a general knowledge of the Bible, and was delighted and seriously impressed with its contents. He died at this early age, much like an old Christian. This greatly comforted the mourning parents.

2. A distinguished woman who was not serious, but feeling anxiety for her little daughter's future well being, commenced reading in an interesting manner, selected portions of Scripture. She soon perceived it had a serious effect on the child, but still more so on herself; so that she became thoroughly awakened, and from motives of duty she took charge of a school in Canada, where she and her pupils were signally blessed.

Young parents, be encouraged to your duty without delay. Natural affection induces pa-

rents to supply the physical wants of their children, but it is *grace* that produces a tender anxiety for their souls; inviting parents to obey the Divine command in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy. "He that watereth shall be watered also himself."

3. A little girl, well known, commenced learning to read in the most easy parts of the Testament. Very short lessons were first explained, which she would spell and read, and be delighted. She was very much interested in the benevolent and miraculous acts of our Saviour, when explained, and her affection for him was manifest. A toy book, ornamented with pictures, was given her. After reading it she laid it away, saying she did not want it, for it did not say anything about the Lord. The progress of this child in learning to read exceeded any other instance we have known.

Christians believe it essential that their children should be well instructed in the Holy Scriptures. Each sect has also its publications for promoting its peculiar views. Those of Friends have been very instrumental in convincing many strangers of the accordance of their principles with the New Testament. They have also been very confirming to many of our young people who have been conversant in them; they should be much read in our families and schools. These volumes have been written by pious, gifted men and women, of deep religious experience, who have devoted a great part of their lives and property to doing good; and many of them in suffering and purchasing liberty of conscience, which we as a Society so liberally partake of. But for want of a distinct knowledge and appreciation of our own literature, some of our young members have been lost to the Society. If parents desire their children to be attached to the Society of which they are members, let them be specially careful that the flood of new, inviting publications, do not steal their affections from their own more pious and edifying publications, and from the Bible itself. Parents must spare no pains to make their children acquainted and interested with these, if they desire the Society of Friends to be sustained.

The books we practice reading, habit will render the most pleasing to us. This the writer knows by experience; and he has much cause to be thankful that he early acquired the habit of reading Friends' writings, and to old age he is often cheered, and his faith renewed, by the very interesting sentiments and exceedingly precious experience of faithful Friends, who have gone

before us. What parents say makes much more distinct and lasting impressions than what they read. Let them make companions of their children; often read with them or hear them read, in the most pious or edifying books, and occasionally parts of our Discipline; converse familiarly, put questions, and answer inquiries, awaken their curiosity, and explain subjects. All this in an easy kind of manner. This will not only interest the young, and store their minds with a fund of useful knowledge, without interfering with school, but also "turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers;" and the more cordial the mutual attachment, the more the children will be likely to adopt the sentiments of their pious parents, to follow their example, and be qualified to fill the stations of the faithful, who will be removed, one after another, from the church militant to the church triumphant, through the merits of a crucified Saviour.

JOSEPH TALLCOTT.

THE CONGRESS BILL RELATING TO FUGITIVES FROM SERVICE OR LABOR.

Men resist oppression, or seek to escape from it, *because they are men*, endowed with a sense of personal, inalienable rights, an inextinguishable love of liberty, and the capacity to enjoy it. That the victim of slavery should flee from its horrors, is no new thing; and that the fugitive should find sympathy among those not interested in perpetuating his enslavement, can excite no surprise among those who understand the instincts and laws of human nature. By the Mosaic code, this sympathy found a sanction for its manifestations in the law which protected the fugitive servant from being seized by his master, and secured to him the protection and hospitalities of the community in which he had taken refuge. The modern Law of Nations, regarding slavery as a municipal, a merely local institution, does not bind one State to surrender fugitive slaves from other States. At times, conventions or treaties of extradition have been made between neighboring Powers, in disregard of the dictates of humanity, in obedience to reasons of State policy. A friend has handed us the following translation of an article in a treaty of peace, entered into in the year 902, between Leon Alexandre V. Constantine, Greek Emperor at Constantinople, and Oleg, Regent of Igor, second king of Russia, on the occasion of the first invasion of the Greek Empire by the Russians, under Oleg.

"If a Russian slave take flight, or even if he is carried away by any one under pretence of having been bought, his master shall have the right and power to pursue him, and hunt for and capture him, wherever he shall be found; and any person who shall oppose the master in the execution of this right, shall be deemed guilty of violating this treaty, and be punished accordingly."

On occasion of a second invasion of the Greek Empire by the Russians, another treaty was formed, in 945, in which it was stipulated as follows:

"If any slave shall fly from Russia into Greece, or shall escape from the Russian merchants residing at Constantinople, the Russian master shall have the right to pursue him, and to hunt for and capture him; and if he cannot be found, the master shall make oath that his slave has escaped, in which case, the Greeks shall pay the said master, according to former treaties, two pieces of cloth for every slave thus escaping into Greece; and if a Greek slave escape into Russia, in the possession of stolen property, and cannot be found by his master, it shall be the duty of the Russians to deliver up said slave, together with the property which he shall have stolen, whereupon the master shall pay to the person so delivering up said slave two pieces of gold, by way of reward."

Of course, the execution of the duty thus imposed, and the manner of executing it, were left to the parties severally contracting. There was no common tribunal for the adjudication of such cases.

It is remarkable, that after the lapse of nearly nine centuries, we find a barbarous stipulation between two barbarous nations reproduced in the compact of union of the most civilized and humane republic of the nineteenth century. We are familiar with the provision referred to:

"No person held to labor or service in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The language of this clause of the Constitution, like the phraseology of the articles above quoted, is that of a stipulation. No power is conferred upon Congress by the language of the clause expressly, and we have never been able to see how it could be fairly implied. It bears the aspect of a stipulation between the States, and it would

seem as if it were left for the States severally to provide measures for carrying it into effect. Such, if we recollect aright, was the decision of Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts, some years ago, and such was the opinion of many eminent jurists, until the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg. That decision set aside, and denied the right of, all State legislation on the subject, asserted the exclusive power of Congress to provide means for executing the provision, but asserted, too, the right of the master to seize his slave wherever he might be found, and bear him back to the State whence he had escaped, without process of law.

The free States, finding their right to act on the subject denied by the highest tribunal of the country, discontinued all such action. Some of them, in view of the decision of the court, that Congress could impose no duty on State officers, in relation to the matter, passed laws forbidding their magistrates and ministerial officers to issue or serve process in the case of escaping slaves—laws clearly in harmony with said decision, and not in conflict with the rights of slave claimants. Some States, too, in consideration of the fact that, as the Court had asserted the right of slave claimants to seize their slaves wherever found, without legal process, the liberties of portions of their own free population might be put in peril by sinister or mistaken claims, passed laws securing to persons claimed as slaves the right to have the question legally determined whether they were not free. And no rightminded man will pretend that such laws were unconstitutional or violative of the rights of slave claimants.

That the barbarous Russ should be permitted in the dark ages to hunt and seize by violence, in the territory of a semi-barbarous Empire, any one of its inhabitants, whom he might choose to claim as his fugitive slave, does not surprise us. But the masses have emerged from degradation since the tenth century. Personal rights are now deemed sacred, and no guaranties against their violation are held to be too stringent. The State that would deny to any person within its limits the writ of *habeas corpus*, in order to test whether he was entitled to his freedom or not, would be wanting in the first duty of a sovereignty—that of the just protection of those within its jurisdiction.

No free State has passed any laws to discharge from service or labor persons fugitive from other States where such service or labor may be due, but many of the free States have severe enactments for the prevention and punishment of kid-

napping. The man, then, who seizes in one of these States a person whom he claims as his fugitive slave does so at his peril. If the person seized be a fugitive from service or labor within the meaning of the Constitution, he is secure against punishment; but should it turn out that he has seized a free person, the law visits him with its penalty.

It may be said that this makes it perilous for the owners of fugitives to assert their just rights. Be it so: a State is derelict of duty which does not protect its inhabitants against danger to their liberties. Even a slaveholder must admit that it is more important to protect the liberty of the free, than to perpetuate the slavery of the bondman. The laws of the free States deprive him of no rights, but are intended to guard every portion of their own people from wrong, and to put him on his guard in the exercise of what he or his agent may deem his rights. The truth is, the decision of the Supreme Court, so far as it affirmed his right to seize and bear off without legal process an alleged fugitive, is justly chargeable with the collisions that have since taken place in the recapture of fugitives from service, and also with the laws to remedy injury from illegal seizures, of which the slave States complain. The reclamation of slaves in States holding no slaves and hostile to slavery, is at best so offensive to the opinions and feelings of their people, that slaveholders themselves must admit that it ought to be conducted with as few irritating concomitants as possible. When legal process is issued, when it is served by the officers of the law, when the pretensions of the claimant are made under shelter of the authority of the United States, there is no danger of collision or violent interference. Americans are distinguished for their respect for legal forms, and they will submit, in the hope that no unconstitutional aggression or claim will be tolerated. But it is a very different thing when a stranger, with a band of armed men, appears in a free State community, and proceeds, without authority of law, to seize by violence another stranger, under pretence that he is a slave. Knowing neither, and nothing of the relations of the two parties, the people see brute force put forth by one to deprive the other of his liberty. Would they not be less than men, did they not interpose to see justice done? State law is resorted to, *for the unknown claimant may be a kidnapper; the unknown claimed, a free man.*

No community, however low in the scale of civilization, will endure the open display of vio-

lence against an apparently unoffending individual. Some of the Judges of the Supreme Court did foresee and predict precisely the consequences that have come to pass. We repeat then, that for the collisions that have taken place in the reclamation of fugitives from justice, the Supreme Court of the United States, and not the legislation of the free States, is to be held responsible.

Southern men, irritated by the consequences of the decision of this Court, without stopping to ascertain their true cause, have suffered themselves to become inflamed against the North, indulge daily in their denunciations of the bad faith of Northern men, and insist upon additional legislation by Congress, to remedy their supposed wrongs, although some of them admit that to the States, rather than to the Federal Government, the work of providing means for executing the fugitive clause of the Constitution belongs. Of the justice of their denunciations and the reasonableness of their demands, we may have something to say in our next.—*N. Era.*

A CRY FROM THE COTTON FIELD.

An English Tract.

By the following extract from a letter written in January, 1850, by a member of the PHILADELPHIA FREE LABOR PRODUCE ASSOCIATION, it will be seen that the internal slave trade of America is in a state of great activity. The quotations it embodies are from the report of the Society's devoted agent, who is now engaged, for at least the third time, on a tour of investigation in the slave States:

"Two years ago, when our agent was in the South, the price of cotton was low, and he wrote to me that slaves were everywhere a *drug* in the market. He saw them in every town in the hands of the disappointed traders. *Cotton was low and falling*, and no planter wished to increase the number of his laborers. Now, mark the present state of things: under date of 11th mo. 28th, 1849, our agent writes:—'The tide of emigration south and west to Arkansas and Texas is immense. While we were in Memphis, it was apparently one continued train, and it is said to have been so more than two months. We saw several droves of slaves on their way, and one of boys about 12 years of age, reaching nearly across two squares in Memphis.' Why this great change since the preceding year? Why is the migration immense from the slavery-impo- verished plantations of North Carolina and

Tennessee to the rich soils of Arkansas and Texas? To what is owing the shocking fact that boys 12 years of age, are collected in droves from hundreds of slave hovels, and driven to labor in the new cotton fields of the south-west? My correspondent incidentally reveals the whole cause in his next paragraph. '*Cotton is high and rising*,' says he; 'a good article is now worth 10½ cents; and it is thought by all the merchants we heard speak about it, that it will be higher.'"

The researches of THE FREE LABOR PRODUCE ASSOCIATION have revealed the fact that cotton is cultivated in two ways in the United States, viz., by free labor and by slave labor. It is now positively ascertained that thousands of bales of excellent cotton, untainted by the touch of slavery, may be readily obtained in the very heart of the slave dominion: and that a large additional quantity might be got if the free cultivators more generally possessed gins of their own, and were thus relieved from the necessity of sending their cotton to be cleaned at the gins of slaveholders. It is gratifying to learn that this defect is likely to be remedied by the introduction of an economical hand-gin on an improved principle. Already has this free cotton, to the extent of several hundred bales, made its appearance in the Liverpool market. Already are British manufacturers working it up into several useful fabrics, without any mixture of the tainted fabric in either warp or woof. Already is there one wholesale warehouse in Manchester, established on the principle of excluding slave produce, and from which these free cottons will be distributed over the country to those shopkeepers who may incline to call for them, and for the use of those families who may be disposed to consume them. It now rests with the women of England to give effect to these arrangements, and to work this engine for the depression, if not the overthrow of a system to which every genuine British heart has an innate abhorrence.

The history of Slavery on the cotton fields of America is the very epitome of human misery. From the testimony of credible eye-witnesses, we learn that the negroes are treated like beasts of burden—that their family ties are disregarded—husband and wife, parents and children, sold away from each other, and separated without remorse—that they are constantly worked under the whip; even the women being flogged unmercifully when they fail in accomplishing their appointed task—that when they venture to run away, they are hunted with bloodhounds, and

not unfrequently shot down like wild beasts—that in some of the States it is a crime to teach them to read, and a punishable offence to give them the Bible.

More than half the whole cotton crop of the United States comes to England! Consumers of slave produce, think of this! More than half of all the slaves on the American cotton field, *toiling for you!* Think of the angel of Mammon, visiting, on *your* account, the dwellings of the negroes, like the angel who inflicted the tenth plague of Egypt, but on a more cruel mission; for the sword of the latter struck down the child of the oppressor at once, while the former drags away his innocent victim to die by inches, exposed to an endless variety of suffering. Think, then, of hovels rifled of their children—women worked under the lash—runaways brought back by the blood-hound, to labor *for your benefit!* Thousands of your fellow-creatures worked to death *this* year, to produce *your* garments for the *next!* To what a climax of inconsistency have we brought ourselves as Britons, when, after paying our own West India planters handsomely for liberating their 800,000 slaves, we have, at least, a *million* toiling for our service, under the cruel lash of the foreign slave-driver!

Women of England, it is for you to say how long this shall continue! It is not in your power at once to abolish Slavery, but we believe it is in your power to make Slavery unprofitable, and in doing this, you prepare the way for its downfall—in doing this, you dig the grave of a monster that preys upon the bodies and souls of your fellow creatures. Cease, then, we beseech you, to give a premium to the Slaveholder, by the purchase of his wares. Ask your tradesmen continually for Free-labor Cotton goods, Free-labor Sugar, Rice, and Coffee. If they say they do not keep them, ask them to obtain them for you; and if they refuse, look out for other tradesmen, possessed of honest Anti-Slavery principles like yourselves. Let others use Slave produce if they will; but determine, for yourselves, to clear your hands of it as soon as possible, and to deal with tradesmen that patronise those Free-labor cultivators who pay wages for their work like honest men. By such a course, even if you stand alone, and fail to make any impression on the slaveholder, you have, at least, the satisfaction of keeping your own hands clean, and of giving your decided protest against a system which dishonours God by brutifying His image.

Practical Suggestions to the Friends of the Slave.

1st. That they exert themselves, in their re-

spective circles, to encourage the consumption of the products of free labor, in preference to articles produced by slaves. Tracts advocating the claims of free labor may be obtained, through the booksellers, from C. Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-Without, London.

2nd. That they use their influence with DRAPERS and GROCERS to induce them to give a preference to free labor articles, and to recommend them to their customers.

3rd. That wherever sufficient interest can be excited, FREE LABOR ASSOCIATIONS be formed for the promotion of these objects; and information of their proceedings forwarded to the Editor of the "Bond of Brotherhood," 3, Winchester Buildings, Old Broad Street, London.

THE DUTY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

The abolition of slavery and the slave-trade is one of the great necessities and duties of the age. Until it be accomplished, an obstacle to the civilization of the human race, and the general diffusion of the gospel, exists of the most formidable kind. Wherever slavery obtains, we find its victims degraded to the condition of property, the most sacred and endearing relations of social life abrogated, and the claims of humanity, justice and religion, altogether evaded or denied. The testimony of a thousand witnesses shows that slaves are treated with barbarous inhumanity, plunged into the profoundest depths of ignorance, their labor coerced by the whip, and practically, their lives placed at the disposal of their owners. Under such circumstances, no wonder that they are embruted and their masters demonized.

But, it is said, however much we may deplore the existence of slavery and reprobate its atrocities, we are not responsible for its existence in foreign countries; and having no power over their legislation, have no right to interfere with their institutions. All we can do, is to express our abhorrence of their practices, and to persuade those countries to abandon them.

The validity of this plea must be admitted wherever it justly applies; but if it can be shown that either as individuals, or as a nation, we directly or indirectly strengthen and extend this system of iniquity, the plea has no force in it, and we must be held amenable for the consequences. This is precisely our relation to slavery in the United States. We have done more than any other people, by commercial intercourse, to give vitality to the slave system of that coun-

try. For instance, the following table will strikingly exemplify how the demand for cotton has extended and consolidated the system of slavery there:—

[This table shows that the exports of cotton from the United States increased from 180,316 pounds in 1790, to more than twelve hundred millions of pounds in 1846, and that during the same period the number of slaves was increased from 657,437 to three millions.]

Commercially speaking, we might rejoice in this large development of the resources of the United States, and of our participation in the material benefits derived therefrom. But when we consider at how dear a cost to human liberty, and at how frightful a violation of the moral laws by which the world should be governed, it has been obtained, we confess that we cannot reconcile ourselves to it. On the contrary, we conceive it to be a solemn duty which we owe to millions of our suffering and oppressed fellow-creatures, no less than to the revealed will of God, that we disengage ourselves as speedily as possible from all participation in its unrighteous gains.—*London A. S. Reporter.*

THE FRUITS OF WAR.

From the report of a Committee of the New York Legislature, appointed to inquire into the present condition of the regiment of New York volunteers for the Mexican war, we gather the following melancholy facts, illustrative of the nature of war.

The whole number that departed originally for the seat of war, was 805.

Of these there died in Mexico, or were killed in battle,	227
Discharged from disabilities, wounds, sickness,	226
Missing and deserted,	35
Died since their return,	56
Known to be living,	106
Leaving wholly unaccounted for,	155
Total,	805

Of those discharged in Mexico, as above stated, in number 226, very few have been heard of. It is supposed that most of them died, being sick when discharged.

Of those known to be living, numbering 106, nearly all are broken down by disease, hardships, or wounds received in the campaign, and are unable to support themselves.

Of the 190 of whom we can learn nothing,

we suppose most have died, and many have doubtless gone away, it may be to California.

We have discovered 18 widows, who are all in a destitute condition, and about 20 children likewise situated.

We presume that a like investigation would bring to light similar results in regard to the fate of the Massachusetts regiment; and yet all these men who have died or are now pining in almshouses and hospitals, were promised glory and the everlasting gratitude of their country as a reward for their sufferings and sacrifices. The country has long since forgotten the names of the dead, and cares as little for the living as it does for the foreign paupers that throng the streets of our large cities. It is known to the Committee that two of the poor fellows have starved to death since their return,—and this is glory.—*Christian Citizen.*

TRANSATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.

John A. Roebling, Esq., Civil Engineer, of Trenton, N. J., has furnished the Journal of Commerce with a long and ingenious article on a Transatlantic Telegraph. Mr. R. has had much experience in the construction of wire cable suspension bridges and aqueducts, and in the manufacture of wire ropes. He considers the construction of a line of telegraph wire across the Atlantic entirely practicable, and the cost not to exceed \$1,300,000, on which he thinks very large dividends may be expected, 25 per cent. at least. It is difficult to judge of the merits of a project so entirely new, and at first view there would seem to be great and insuperable objections to it; but Mr. Roebling shows in his communication that he has considered them all, and taken them into his calculation of the practicability of the plan which he lays down. His design is to sink a strong wire rope upon the bottom of the ocean. The wire rope to be composed of twenty strands of No. 13 or 14 wire, perfectly separated from each other and isolated, so that they will form twenty different and distinct transmitting wires, by which twenty machines can be operated at each end, and twenty messages despatched at one time. It appears, he says, that iron wire of No. 14 size, measuring 50 feet per lb., possesses sufficient conducting capacity for the transmission of telegraphic currents, provided it is perfectly insulated, a necessary condition, no matter what size of wire is employed. The wires being perfectly insulated and protected against the action of the sea water, quietly resting upon the bottom of the ocean, where nothing whatever can disturb them, their efficiency may at all times be de-

pendent on—they will remain free from those vexatious interruptions which are constantly interfering with land telegraphic operations. The communication is a very long one, describing the mode of laying the wires, the strength of the material and the strain it would support without breaking. Coming from this source, the project is at least worthy the attention of practical minds.

Ledger.

FAITH AND WORKS.

On the frith of Forth was an old ferryman, a man of much thought and observation, but of few words; a constant student of the Bible, and a firm believer in its truths. Among his patrons were two loquacious companions, whose business led them across the river once a week. One of them was, as he supposed, a high-toned Calvinist, while the other imagined himself to be equally well grounded in the tenets of Arminius. Their conversation always turned upon some doctrinal point. The ferryman was frequently annoyed by the repetition of *faith* on one side, and *works* on the other, because they were used in a sense so different from their real import, and so destructive of their scriptural harmony.

At length the patient old man felt obliged to interfere. He said nothing, but fell upon the following expedient. Upon one of his oars he painted the word *faith*; upon the other, *works*. It was not long before the zealous but friendly disputants applied for a passage over the Forth. Upon entering the deepest part of the river, where the swollen water rushed down with fearful violence, the ferryman took in "Faith," and pulled away upon "Works," with all his might. The boat went round and round, much to the annoyance and terror of the two passengers. "Put out the other oar," said one of them, in a loud and angry tone. "Very well," was the calm reply of the old man—at the same time taking in "Works," and relying on "Faith" alone. The experiment with this oar produced the same result, and drove the witnesses of it to the conclusion that the ferryman was "out of his head." The old man however continued his "practical demonstrations" on the water, until he thought the friends were prepared to see two things in connection. He then called their attention to the names of his oars: "I have tried *your* way," said he—"and *yours*; and you have seen the result. Now observe *my* way." And giving a steady hand to each oar, the little boat soon acknowledged the power of their harmonious strokes, by the straight and rapid flight which she took for the landing.—*Amer. Mess.*

COTTON IN THE ENGLISH ISLANDS AND COLONIES.

It is with great satisfaction we learn that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has had its attention directed to the cultivation of cotton, during the past year, as a matter of the highest interests to the manufacturing districts. It is felt to be a great impediment to industrial operations, to be so entirely dependent upon the United States for supplies of the raw material, as at present. Nor is this all. The dangers arising from servile insurrections, which, at any time, may break out, may well occasion alarm, and lead our manufacturers to direct their attention to other countries for supplies, not liable to the same contingencies, and from whence they may obtain cotton wool, of good quality and low prices. A short time since the Chamber held a general meeting of its members, on the questions relating to British India, and the possibility of obtaining a large supply of cotton from that country. Since then, the Directors state they have received numerous communications relative to the power possessed by many of our colonies to supply this country with immense quantities of that article. It appears, from the information submitted to them, that a considerable supply might be obtained, were it not that their resources were not wisely developed by the Government. Let them be left to their own energies, unshackled by heavy taxation, and free to enact and administer their own laws, and there would be no want of raw cotton and other valuable products for the home market. We feel that Government might, in many ways, stimulate the growth of cotton, not only in India, by wise arrangements respecting the land and by lightening the burthens upon industry, but in the emancipated colonies also, where there is abundance of soil calculated for its production, and a climate admirably adapted to bring it to perfection.—*A. S. Reporter.*

From the Cleveland True Democrat.

WASHINGTON SLAVE TRADE.

WASHINGTON, March 30, 1850.

Nothing said at the present session of congress appears to have given Southern men so great offence, as the remarks of Thaddeus Stevens, upon the breeding of mankind for the market, by the *chivalry* of Virginia. They have not ceased to brand it as vulgar, indecent, and offensive beyond endurance. No one denied the facts, but to speak truth concerning the slave-breeding business was insufferable.

A gentleman in whom I repose perfect confidence, informed me to-day, that recently an order

was received from Virginia for a lot of women; none were to be purchased except those who were known to be useful for the purposes intended.—*Forty-one young Mothers* were collected, each with at least one child, and no child over five years old. They were torn from their husbands, and the children from their fathers, and were marched in a body from one of the prisons in open day to the steamboat, when they were taken on board for Virginia. The scene is described as one of the most heart-rending character.

And this is the traffic which is kept up here by the action of Northern Representatives in Congress, whose constituents really believe them devoted to the cause of Freedom and of human rights. The people have very little idea of the manner in which it is done.

No bill can be offered, under the rules of the House, except on resolution day. That is, it is not in order to ask leave to introduce a bill on any other than the day assigned to resolutions. Every alternate Monday, only, is thus appropriated, by the rules of the House. Yet it is in order, on such days to move a suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and a majority will carry such motion. Now those who are in fear that such motion may be made in regard to the slave trade, have only to vote to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, upon each resolution day, and all action in reference to this commerce in the bodies of women, is postponed. For months this trick has been practiced, and few of the Northern people are aware of this latent fraud practised upon them by members of Congress, in order to shield this accursed traffic from the efforts of those who detest it. Members have for months been prepared to introduce bills to eradicate this disgrace to our nation, but are unable to get a chance to present them.

POETRY.

THE SLAVEHOLDERS AND THEIR ALLIES.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Quench every free discussion light—
Clap on the legislative snuffers,
And caulk with 'resolutions' tight
The ghastly rents the Union suffers!
Let Church and State brand Abolition
As heresy and rank sedition.
Choke down, at once, each breathing thing
That whispers of the Rights of Man;
Gag the free girl who dares to sing
Of freedom o'er her dairy pan;
Dog the old farmer's steps about,
And hunt his cherished treason out.

Do more. Fill up your loathsome jails
With faithful men and women—set
The scaffold up in those green vales,
And let the verdant turf be wet
With blood of unresisting men—
Ay, do all this, and more,—WHAT THEN?
Think ye, one heart of man or child
Will falter from its lofty faith,
At the mob's tumult, fierce and wild—
The prison-cell—the shameful death?
No!—nursed in storm and trial long,
The weakest of our band is strong.
Oh! while before us visions come
Of slave ships on Virginia's coast—
Of mothers in their childless home,
Like Rachel, sorrowing o'er the lost—
The slave-gang scourged upon its way—
The blood-hound and his human prey—
We cannot falter! Did we so,
The stones beneath would murmur out,
And all the winds that round us blow
Would whisper of our shame about.
No! let the tempest rock the land,
Our faith shall live—our truth shall stand.
True as the Vaudois hemmed around
With Papal fire and Roman steel—
Firm as the Christian heroine bound
Upon Domitian's torturing wheel,
We 'bate no breath—we curb no thought—
Come what may come, WE FALTER NOT!

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE.

The public are hereby notified that William Beard, of Union County, Indiana, is appointed *General Agent* for the Union Literary Institute, a manual labor school for colored youth, located in Randolph County, Indiana, and is fully authorized to solicit donations, receive moneys, &c., for the Institution aforesaid, and is hereby commended to the liberality and kind offices of the philanthropic and humane in those places which he may visit.

By order of the Board of Managers.
EBENEZER TUCKER, Corresponding Secretary.
U. L. Institute, April 3, 1850.

We copy the above notice from the *National Era*, and cordially add our recommendation of the Institute to the favorable consideration of the friends of the colored race. Although intended principally for colored youth, and with especial reference to training them for Teachers, yet white children are also admitted into the School. For a brief history of its establishment and condition we refer our readers to the 10th number of our last volume, and to page 33, number 2, of the current volume.

The Agent, William Beard, is now in Philadelphia, and intends to visit New York and New England. He has met with liberal aid in this city and the neighborhood, but the wants are great of the poor and oppressed for whom he is asking assistance, and we trust he will not plead in vain during the further prosecution of his journey. Our valuable friend N. C. H., whose letter is inserted in this paper, will perceive that an attempt has already been made to establish a Manual Labor School of the character he suggests.—Ed.

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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. V.]

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 1850.

[NO. 10.]

EDITED BY SAMUEL RHOADS.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

At the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price one dollar per annum, or six copies for five
dollars—subject to newspaper postage only.

The Non-Slaveholder is frequently sent to per-
sons who are not subscribers. To these, no charge
is, of course, made. It is hoped they will take the
paper from the Post Office, and read and circulate it.

All communications and remittances should
be directed to SAMUEL RHOADS, PHILADELPHIA.

ASSOCIATED ACTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION
OF FRIENDS OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING,

Held 3rd of Ninth month, 1850, with the Report
of the Board of Managers.

At the Annual Meeting of the Free Produce
Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting,
held at Short-creek meeting house the 3rd of 9th
month, 1850, the following Report of the Board
of Managers was read and approved, and directed
to be forwarded to the Editor of the Non-Slave-
holder for publication in that Journal. Should
way open, the Board were directed to have the
same published, in connection with some other
matter, in tract form, for general circulation
among our members; and a committee was ap-
pointed to endeavor to raise the sum of one hun-
dred dollars, to defray the expenses of publica-
tion.

The Constitution having been read, a large ad-
dition was made to the list of our members.

A Committee having been appointed for that
purpose, reported the names of the following
Friends to serve as officers of the Association the
ensuing year; which being united with, they
were accordingly appointed, viz:

George K. Jenkins, *Secretary.*

Jonathan Binns, *Treasurer.*

Ezra Cattell, Cyrus Mendenhall, Elwood Rat-
cliff, Sarah E. Jenkins, Parvin Wright, Louis
Taber, Eliza Binns, and Penrose Hussey, *Board
of Managers.*

The following proposition having been offered,
was duly considered and adopted, and the Board
of Managers was directed to appoint the Com-
mittee in each of the monthly meetings, as agreed
upon, viz: "In order to promote more efficiently
the several objects of this Association, it is pro-
posed that a Corresponding Committee of two
individuals in each monthly meeting be annu-
ally appointed to correspond with the Board,
circulate information, awaken an interest in the
objects of our Association, encourage the pur-
chase of free labor products, collect important
information, report the number of Friends in
each monthly meeting, and ascertain the num-
ber of families, or heads of families, who give a
decided preference for, or use only free produc-
tions; making reports on all the above subjects
to the Board of Managers in time to have the in-
formation incorporated into the annual report
next year."

The regular business of the Association hav-
ing been attended to, our meeting, which was
much larger than at any former period, was ad-
dressed in a very interesting manner by our es-
teemed friend, John Candler, of England, who,
in company with his wife, was in attendance.

He assured us that all classes—rulers, plant-
ers and laborers, with whom they met in their
recent visit to the West India Islands, were
highly pleased with the workings of emancipa-
tion; and that no class would, under any cir-
cumstances, be willing to return to slavery.
The condition of the laborers was incompara-
bly better than it could ever have been under the
restrictions of slavery. That there was a de-
pression in the Islands, he admitted was but too

true, but this arose not from the liberation of their laborers, but from the impolicy of the legislation at home, which admitted the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil into the English markets almost without any restrictions. The impoverished estates of the British Islands cannot compete in the production of sugar with the comparatively new estates of Cuba and Brazil, where land is cheap and the soil very fertile and productive. Could the markets of England be closed against slave-grown sugars, it would not be long till even Cuba and Brazil would be willing, or even anxious, to abolish slavery.

Our beloved friends, Benjamin Seebohm, Nathan C. Hoag, Cornelius Douglass and others who were in attendance, severally addressed the meeting, offering us, in the language of christian exhortation, a word of encouragement in the good work in which we were engaged.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, in presenting this, their second Annual Report, though they cannot boast of the accomplishment of all they could have desired in the cause of humanity in which they are engaged, yet feel constrained to hold out a word of encouragement and cheer to their fellow laborers.

During the past year, as may be seen by a reference to the minutes of their Meetings, the Board have had their attention directed to the necessity of awakening, in the minds of Friends and others, a more general interest in the Free Labor movement. And of endeavoring to secure a greater concert of action among those who are already convinced of the inconsistency of professing to hold a testimony against slavery, whilst making an indiscriminate and unnecessary use of its products. In order to accomplish, as far as practicable, the first of these desirable ends, the Board could devise no means, in their opinion, more likely to effect the object in view, than an extensive distribution of tracts, published in a cheap form, and embracing some of the most pointed arguments in favor of the duty of abstinence from the use of slave goods. For this purpose, a committee was appointed to select or prepare for publication, in tract form, some of the most striking arguments on this question, whilst another committee had the charge of collecting funds to defray the expenses of publication. A considerable amount of matter was selected from which a sufficiency was taken to form about 46 pages of ordinary tracts. The Board had 1000

copies of each printed; making about 46,000 pages of matter, the principal part of which has already been widely distributed among our members in the different sections of our Yearly Meeting.

These, so far as we have been able to learn, have been generally well received; and will, we hope, be able to send home a favorable report from the errand of mercy and love on which they were sent forth. Could the Board command a sufficient amount of funds to issue a much larger edition of the above tracts, in connection with some others that might be prepared, we believe it might be made a most powerful auxiliary for awakening an interest on this subject. A correspondence was opened with Friends in other places, in order to secure their co-operation in the publication of tracts; yet owing to the length of time required for making the necessary arrangements for acting in concert, it was thought advisable by the Board to issue an edition with as little delay as possible. They also opened a correspondence in relation to the establishment of a manufactory for the working of free Cotton. Both of these propositions were cordially responded to, though no pecuniary aid was tendered for the establishment of a manufactory at the present. In relation to the other, we believe it would only be necessary to adopt some organized method of communication, to secure the hearty co-operation of the friends of the cause in this interesting object.

The store established about two years since, in our village, Mount Pleasant, under the direction of the Free Labor Company, still continues to afford facilities for those who desire to obtain goods uncontaminated by the stains of slavery. We are induced to believe, that this establishment has also had a salutary influence in awakening in the minds of many Friends, a due sense of the obligation resting upon them, to abstain from making use of articles the production of slave labor. That its establishment may be instrumental in still further extending this concern, is much to be desired; and there is little doubt that such will be the result, if those, who profess to be convinced of their obligations in this respect, are only consistent in their practice.

Although our labors have not been so fully appreciated by our fellow members generally as could have been desired, yet we believe there is a feeling steadily spreading among Friends, that it is not consistent with our testimony against slavery, to purchase the proceeds thereof. And though they cannot generally agree with us exactly in regard to our practical duty on this subject, yet they can readily perceive, that there is

not much difference between hiring slaves directly of their masters—thus paying the master for the services of his slaves—and going directly to the master and paying him for the product of their labor, produced under his direction. The manifest inconsistency of making the former a disciplinary offence, whilst the latter is passed over unnoticed, does not appear to have particularly attracted their attention. Though Friends have not yet seen proper in answering our query on the subject of slavery, to reckon the use of its products as an exception to the answer: yet it is not because they do not see clearly that the use of its products supports the system of slavery, but because they believe that friends in framing the query, did not anticipate this application of it.

The same discernment which so readily detects the relation between prize goods and war, we might suppose could not fail to detect a still more intimate relation between slave goods and slavery. Hence it is that the number of Friends who give a preference for free labor products is constantly increasing among us; and the increasing demand for free labor goods has induced a number of merchants in different places to keep on hand a small assortment of such goods to supply the demand. The subject is more frequently alluded to in conversation, thus causing Friends to think more upon it, which cannot fail to advance the testimony.

Within the limits of several other Yearly Meetings, Friends seem alive to the subject. Our western Friends are in many instances associating together for the advancement of this movement whilst in other places, even in the midst of slavery itself, many Friends are convinced that the use of the products, gives a support to slavery; and are anxiously seeking the means of relieving themselves from this responsibility.

With much pleasure we refer to our active coadjutors in Philadelphia, who are laboring in many ways to promote this testimony, and to obtain goods free from the taint of slavery. Within the present year, at their instance, our friends Nathan Thomas and Henry Charles, have passed through portions of several of our Southern States in order to ascertain the opportunities for obtaining cotton, which was entirely the production of Free Labor. They found considerable quantities could be obtained from several of those States, and that slaveholders themselves seemed properly to appreciate our consistency and labors. We doubt not that the results of their labors will be advantageous to our enterprise, and that

they will receive their reward for this labor of love. Our friends in Philadelphia have also, during the past year, been manufacturing an increased amount of cotton goods, and of an improved quality. The former difference in the price of free and slave goods has been much diminished, and in many cases the former are now to be procured at about the same price as the latter.

The *Non-Slaveholder*, under the direction of Samuel Rhoads, still continues battling for the right, against the combined influences of interest and prejudice. While it serves as a channel of communication between the friends of free labor, its correspondence is often quite encouraging—its editorials well-timed and pithy—and its selections generally judicious. We cordially recommend it, as worthy the encouragement and patronage of Friends.

The *Friend*, and *Friends' Review*, also give place to communications favoring abstinence from the productions of unrequited toil, and the editor of the latter, as appears from occasional editorials, is decidedly with us in sentiment. We hope that the editors of the *Review*, and the *Friend*, may hereafter feel it a duty to give more prominence to this subject in their respective journals.

Within the limits of New York, and New England Yearly Meetings, our testimony on this subject appears to be rapidly gaining ground. There, Friends generally appear to approve, and are taking active measures to further the concern, and to place free labor goods within the reach of all their members.

Nor are our trans-atlantic friends inactive in their support of the free labor movement. The subject is there undergoing discussion in their journals, and a large number have fully embraced the principle, and are endeavoring to carry it out in practice. Not only Friends, but christians of other denominations are laboring for the same good object.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, are urging this subject on the attention of Parliament and the people generally.

In short, we find many individuals both east and west, who are earnestly laboring for the spread of this testimony, and are endeavoring to live clear of those goods which are wrested by violence from our brethren in bonds.

To all such, of whatever name, we offer our sympathy and encouragement; believing that if acting under right motives, the blessing of Heaven will rest upon their labors.

In thus presenting to the Association a synopsis of their own labors during the past year, and

that of their coadjutors in other places, the Board of Managers believe they may look backward with encouragement, and forward with hope. A few years since no allusion to the subject of slavery could be tolerated in our national councils; now, almost an entire session of Congress has been occupied with the discussion of that question alone.

California, the offspring of Freedom, has sprung up with unparalleled growth and vigor upon our utmost western limits—the golden shores of the Pacific; and with her perpetual charter of freedom, has been, or will soon be admitted as a member of our Union. New Mexico, with a constitution prohibiting involuntary servitude, is already knocking for admission, and other States will soon be formed from territories hostile to the blighting curse of slavery. The North is fully aroused, we hope, from her pleasing slumbers of security, and we are sustained and cheered in our efforts by the united voices of the philanthropists of every age and of every clime. Slaveholders are beginning to feel, that the moral sentiment of the civilized world is against the farther extension of slavery; and hence their desperate struggles to suppress the rising spirit of liberty in our newly acquired dominions. They know full well that to limit slavery, is eventually to decree its final extinction. We feel assured that however long, or for whatever unseen purposes it shall please inscrutable wisdom to permit the continuance of slavery, its days are numbered; it has been weighed in the unerring balance and found wanting, and the days, and months, and years of suffering and sorrow, meted out to our sable brethren and sisters in bonds, are in this land, at least, drawing to a close.

But in looking backward to the past and forward to the future, let us ask ourselves in all sincerity, what have we *individually* done, and what do we purpose doing to hasten forward the emancipation of our oppressed fellow-men? Have we embraced every opportunity for advancing so good a cause, by endeavoring to disseminate correct information, and by abstaining from a participation in the gains of oppression, being fully persuaded that our united and persevering efforts, will, through the blessing of Providence, be eventually crowned with success?

To us it appears that a candid and impartial examination of this subject in all its various bearings, must result in a thorough conviction, that we cannot innocently participate with the slaveholder in the fruits of oppression, and that what-

ever restrictions may be thrown around the system, it must be felt and acknowledged to be equally wrong, *knowingly* to consume the products of his unpaid toil, as to hold and employ the slave. Especially should *Friends*, the children of ancestors the first to burst the fetters of bondage from the limbs of the suffering slave, be faithful in this work of justice, benevolence and love.

Toward those who differ from us in sentiment, we wish to exercise that charity which suffereth long and is kind; but were they willing fully to examine this subject in the light of truth, we believe they would find a work to do, and feel greatly straightened until it was accomplished. Should any one conclude that because he had not always refrained from evil, he would make no effort to lead a life of piety, how could he at all advance in religious growth? And because we find it difficult at all times to be entirely clear of *all* participation in the fruits of oppression, shall we excuse ourselves from embracing every opportunity, when by abstinence from slave products, we can stimulate free production, and bear a consistent testimony against slavery? Without a *commencement* there can be no *progress*.

In conclusion, let each individual of us endeavor both to know, and to do our whole duty toward our oppressed fellow-men; so that even those who may look with coldness or indifference upon our assertions, witnessing our sacrifices and sincerity, may be constrained to say "let them alone, they have done what they could."

Signed in and on behalf of the meeting by

G. K. JENKINS, Sec'y.

COMMUNICATION.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

LONDON, Sept. 3, 1850.

DEAR FRIEND:—I left New York on the 31st of July, in the British steamer *America*, Capt. Shannon, and in a few hours I bade farewell to my native land. As the last glimpse of the shores faded away, I was very forcibly reminded by the turn of my thoughts, and the state of my feelings, that I hated nothing in America but Slavery and its associated evils. Even to me, my country is lovely—how much more so it must be to those of her sons, around whom she throws her arms of protection.

It was my design to take a second cabin passage, but Mr. Cunard said, in kind terms, that the American feelings would not allow it, although he had not the least personal objection.

He then offered me a state room on deck, at full cabin fare \$120. I told him that his vessel offered me the only chance of reaching the Peace Congress at Frankfort, and that I should be compelled to submit to any arrangements that were not actually degrading. This last remark brought English blood to Mr. Cunard's face, and I received the assurance that I should suffer no degradation. All things turned out for the best. My room was excellent and airy, which is an important consideration to any one disposed to be sea-sick. I must not omit to mention that every thing was done to make me comfortable by the officers, and I only protested against being compelled to pay for that which I did not desire, for to my mind it is equivalent to taking what I have without my consent. My room was frequently resorted to by passengers of both cabins, who did not desire any such arrangements. The second officer, Mr. Simpson, very early called at my room, and mentioned that American prejudice was quite repugnant to his feelings, and invited me to his room, and also to take a glass of wine with him. The former part of the civility I accepted, but respectfully declined the latter. As we approached the British shore, the changes which took place in my white fellow countrymen and myself, were quite perceptible. They dwindled down to their proper dimensions, and I arose to mine. When we reached England, they were no larger than they should be, and I, for the first time in my life, felt that my treatment would be graduated by my deportment. We rode in the same omnibuses, ate at the same tables, and conversed in the same saloons, and strange to say, American prejudice, which is said to be natural, in every instance failed to show its nature.

From Liverpool we proceeded to Birmingham, purposely to call upon Mr. Joseph Sturge, one of England's best and greatest men. We found him at home in one of those unostentatious mansions peculiar to wealthy English gentlemen of the Society of Friends. We were made happy by finding that he had recovered his health, and would accompany us on the day following to London, whither he was going to attend a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who were to hear a report from Mr. Geo. Wm. Alexander. The meeting was full—J. Sturge presided, and Mr. Alexander made a most gratifying report. There were also present Mr. Scoble, the Forsters, two colored gentlemen from the West Indies, and many other friends of our cause.

Frankfort on the Maine.

On the 19th ult. some five hundred peace people departed for the above named ancient city, and on the evening of the 21st we reached our destination. In passing through the territories of the French, Belgian and Prussian Governments, we were not troubled by any examinations by the respective officers of customs, but were treated with great and surprising courtesy. The Congress was extremely interesting. Some of the greatest minds of the world were present. No other but kind feelings prevailed, for all seemed anxious to promote the cause by example, as well as by precept.

The first Anti-Slavery, and Free Produce Meetings in Germany.

By the request of two distinguished Germans, Mr. Heider and Dr. Carrovi, we had two Anti-Slavery Meetings in Frankfort. Joseph Sturge presided. Mr. Heider is a wealthy banker, and Chief Magistrate of the city. To our astonishment, when he arose to speak the first evening, he went the whole length of the Free Produce doctrine. His arguments were as strong as any I ever heard. The meeting was also addressed by J. W. C. Pennington, D. D. and myself. The meeting on the second evening was full, and before I reached the house I met a multitude retiring, some of whom informed me that I could not enter. But on reaching the door a stalwart German preceded me, manfully applying his elbows right and left, and thus we reached the stand. We made our speeches through an interpreter. Dr. Pennington gave a very clear and concise exposition of the slave laws, and their effect upon the blacks in the United States. Mr. Sturge called the attention of the audience to the merits of the Free Produce question. He said but a few words, but they were weighty, and were received with the utmost respect. The Secretary of "the British Aborigines' Society" then read some resolutions, expressive of gratitude to the German Abolitionists, and to J. Sturge—they passed unanimously. I made the concluding remarks, and referred to the intellectual degradation which is inseparable from the system of chattel slavery, and also pointed to the slaveholding portion of the American Church, the political power of the oppressors, and the general spirit of the American Colonization scheme as presenting bulwarks of slavery in Democratic America. I also spoke of the advancement of our cause at home, and of the friendly feelings of the German emigrants in America towards the people of color.

The whole proceedings were received with great attention. Two Committees were formed, one of ladies, and one of gentlemen, having for their object the promotion of the Free Produce cause in Germany, a correspondence with England, and the establishment of a store in Frankfort. Thus by the blessings of our Heavenly Father, the door is open in that land so renowned for its sciences, arts, and literature.

On the 26th inst. the delegation made a visit to Heidelberg, the seat of the ancient university. It was here that Dr. Pennington received his degree of "Doctor of Theology." This was his first visit to his Alma Mater, having received the honor by proxy.

After having passed through the wonderful libraries, which contain many valuable manuscripts of remote antiquity, we proceeded to the Chapel, where a most interesting ceremony took place, although it was entirely unpremeditated. One of the learned Professors invited Dr. Pennington to ascend the platform and say a few words. He complied with the request, and concluded by speaking two or three sentences in Latin. When he descended, the Doctor of Law stepped forward and embraced Dr. Pennington in both arms and kissed him upon the forehead, amid loud applause. The Professor remarked in substance "that while the Faculty were desirous to pay a tribute to his worth, talent and learning, at the same time they were anxious to show to the world that in Germany, a man is not judged by the color of his skin—and that they took pleasure in holding out to the African race, as well as to others, inducements to become learned and useful."

The short space of this letter will not allow me to speak to any extent, of the far famed castle of Heidelberg, which, although it is in ruins, is magnificent and sublime.

The day following, the company repaired to Wiesbaden, the beautiful watering place, and one of the most fashionable resorts in Germany. It had been previously advertised, that on that occasion the British members would present the Americans with some tokens of friendship. At five o'clock we went to the splendid Gardens of the Zimmerman Hotel. Joseph Sturge took the chair, and indeed before a motion was made for him to preside, by a common consent everybody looked towards the beloved philanthropist as the chosen man. On taking the chair he stated the object of the meeting, and had the kindness to compliment the Americans for their fortitude displayed in coming thousands of miles to at-

tend the Congress, and concluded by presenting a copy of the New Testament in the German language to the estimable and great hearted Burrit. Mr. Burrit could say but a few words in consequence of having a severe cold upon his lungs, but even these few words spoke much, for a remembrance of his life made up the deficiency of words.

[H. H. Garnet was next called upon to respond in behalf of the Americans. He said that with all his heart he would thank his English friends for the very appropriate gift which they had been pleased to extend to members from the United States. He would assure the chairman that while the sacred token was the favorite choice of the English, nothing could be more acceptable to the Americans. It contains the good seeds, which he trusted would ere long be scattered in all the waste places of the earth, which should be as "a handful of corn upon the top of the mountains; the fruits thereof shall shake like Lebanon." Mankind had been torn and mangled by the cruelty of war, and these leaves only could heal the nations. Men would become just and peaceable, so far as they should conform to the unerring principles of this book. The prophecies of the Messiah strikingly accord with the immediate announcement of his advent. Who could fail to be struck with the glorious and sublime climax of the former—"He shall be called wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." Nor does the latter—the angels' song—strike the Christian with less force, or inspire him with less delight—"Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good will to men." In behalf of America and her sons of peace, he would welcome one and all to the Western shores of the Atlantic whenever their minds should be turned thither.]

Dr. Bullard from St. Louis, followed in a few remarks which were received with applause.—Dr. Pennington also made a touching speech. The concluding address was made by Mr. Sturge. The pious and unadorned language of this gentleman, together with the great depth of feeling which he manifested, threw the whole assembly into tears. Germans, French, Italians, Dutch, English and Americans, all wept. The last sentence of his brief speech was nearly as follows—"We are, my friends, about to part for our distant homes, but never shall we all meet again on these grounds. Considering the uncertainty of human life I may safely make the statement. Be it even so, I humbly implore our

Heavenly Father that we all may meet in his kingdom where we shall part no more." Here his voice failed from intense emotion, and he descended the stage, and the congregation retired, with the best of feelings, and many were filled with gratitude to God.

On Thursday the 29th, we left Frankfort, hospitable Frankfort, and floated down the Rhine. At Bon, we were met by a delegation consisting of two Catholic Priests, and a part of the committee of the Cathedral at Cologne, who bade us welcome to the last named city, and kindly offered us a free survey of that wonderful edifice, the cathedral. You would have smiled to have heard the cannon thunder along the shores of the Rhine as we passed—all in honor to us Peace men. In spite of Mr. Mackay, the good people seemed to think that cannon, if not "cannon balls, could aid the truth." While at the cathedral I was among the few fortunate ones who were permitted to inspect the celebrated Shrine, which is said to contain the three skulls of the three wise men who went from "the East to Jerusalem saying, where is he, that is born king of the Jews; for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him." It is made of gold, and studded with precious stones. The story of the relics staggered my credulity. The Cathedral has been six hundred years in building, and is still far from being finished.

Sept. 4. This night at half past nine, I arrived in New Castle on the Tyne, and soon had the joy of entering the mansion of those laborious and untiring friends of the down-trodden bondsman, Henry and Anna H. Richardson. At once they made me feel myself at home, and immediately set themselves about making arrangements for our Free Labour campaign. You know the energy of these dear friends. Leaf after leaf, covered with arguments and appeals in the behalf of the children of Africa, are scattered by their hands upon the winds of heaven. Not only does the anti-slavery cause receive their sympathy, but also the Bible, the missionary, and temperance causes, all are promoted by them.—Likewise the little children share their benevolence. Mrs. Richardson is at this moment busy in sending out letters for the appointment of meetings.

To-day I have had the pleasure of addressing two schools—viz: the Union and the Jubilee. Both were extremely interesting, and the scholars of the latter kindly invited me to come again. I was struck with their strict attention, and their deep sympathy—but it was all accounted for,

when I learned that their kind teachers, and their patrons make it a point to tell of the sorrows and the wrongs of my poor brethren.

Your friend,
HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH 1, 1850.

THE "EVENING BULLETIN," "THE FRIEND," AND THE "COMPROMISE BILLS."—While the Fugitive Slave Bill, which has become a law, was pending in the House of Representatives, the *Evening Bulletin*, a newspaper of this city, thus urged its passage:

"So long as we remain members of this confederacy, and property in slaves is acknowledged by the Constitution, so long ought we to deliver up, without a quibble, all negroes who are fugitives from labor. The bill which has just passed the Senate, provides an effectual method of determining who are, and who are not runaway slaves. There need be no fear, as the abolitionists affect to believe, that any free colored man will ever be consigned to bondage under this bill. The aversion to slavery is so great in the North, that, even in the Commissioners' Court, there will be more danger of slaves getting off, than of freemen being surrendered to captivity. In fact, so hostile is public sentiment here to slavery, that the most stringent measures have become necessary in order to secure justice to the master. It is because the fugitive bill is stringent that we advocate it. Under different circumstances we should favor a different law. But, at present, we see no other way to carry out, in good faith, the provisions of the Constitution; and, therefore, we strenuously urge the speedy passage of the bill."

A few days since, this newspaper contained the following article:

"The 'Friend,' the organ, we believe, of the Orthodox Quakers (so called) has the following language in reference to the passage of the compromise bills: 'However the sacrifices made may be regretted in themselves, no true lover of his country can otherwise than rejoice, if thereby the inestimable blessings of Peace, Union and Harmony shall have been secured.' These sentiments, let it be recollected, are those of the great body of a sect eminently distinguished for its practical benevolence, unswerving love of justice, and constant testimony against the holding of slaves!"

If we had not known that the *Bulletin*, in the exercise of the "milder and more conciliating spirit," which "The Friend" approvingly says has prevailed in Congress, had zealously advocated the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso, we might have supposed that, by affixing a note of admiration, the writer of the above remark intended a bitter, ironical censure on a paper which professes to be the special defender of the faith, and guardian of the testimonies of the Society of Friends. In another part of the article from which the *Bulletin* quotes, the editor of *The Friend* refers to "the progress of declension," which, he asserts, "has in one or another portion of our religious society, weakened and undermined," "important doctrines, or long established rules," and then declares, "it is the privilege, and no less the duty of religiously concerned members, freely and fearlessly to express their convictions on these subjects." Having had an opportunity of observing something of the "progress of declension" amongst Friends, in respect to their anti-slavery principles and practice, we do not doubt that many of them hold the sentiments expressed by *The Friend* in reference to the passage of the "Compromise Bills;" but if we had to believe that such sentiments are held by the "great body," we freely and fearlessly express our conviction, that it would be our duty at once to renounce our membership in a Society which had abjured its fundamental principles, and returned to the "beggarly elements" of compromise and expediency. Under existing circumstances, as a public journalist and a member of the Society of Friends, we feel bound to express our disapprobation of the general tenor of the sentiments of the editorial article alluded to, contained in *The Friend*, No. 52, dated Ninth month 15th, 1850, which we quote as follows:

"The year which is now closing upon 'The Friend' has been unusually eventful. The death of our upright chief magistrate, the closing years of whose life proved that his countrymen were not mistaken in attributing to him great talents for the administration of affairs, and equal firmness of purpose and integrity of character, threw a gloom over the whole land. That gloom was heightened by the critical situation of the country—the threats of disunion and separation—the bitter feuds of extreme partizans and ambitious demagogues in Congress—and the violent excitements of certain parties in the Southern sections of the Union. After a long and obstinate struggle, a milder and more conciliating spirit has prevailed; and, however the sacrifices made may

be regretted in themselves, no true lover of his country can otherwise than rejoice, if thereby the inestimable blessings of Peace and Union and Harmony shall have been secured."

That the "closing years" of the late President proved his ability, through long experience, to command an army on the bloody field of battle, may be admitted; but we think it would be difficult to specify the instances in which, during the few months of his Presidential career, he exhibited "great talents" in the administration of civil affairs. While we feel no disposition to detract from whatever credit may be justly due to him for some of his public acts, and would reverently leave the decision of his uprightness and integrity to Him who "shall judge the people righteously," we cannot but believe that to eulogize a man who, during his life, was an oppressor of the poor, and a destroyer of his fellow men, is not quite consistent with the character of a journal which professes to represent the peaceable principles of the Society of Friends. It is well known, too, that General Taylor was not selected as a candidate for the office of President on account of a belief that he possessed talents eminently fitting him for the position of Chief Magistrate, but that it was from his *availability* as a successful and popular military hero. Even Daniel Webster, a leader of the Whig party, declared that the nomination was one "not fit to be made."

But who were the "extreme partizans and ambitious demagogues in Congress" between whom "bitter feuds" existed? These terms sound harsh when applied to Seward, Hale, Chase, Durkee, Giddings, Julian, Stevens, Preston King, Horace Mann and others, who, in consonance with at least one Memorial from a representative body of the Society of Friends, stood faithfully for the cause of liberty, justice and humanity; and yet these are the men for whom the epithet "extreme partizans" must have been intended, as they formed a party in the so-called "bitter feuds."

The Friend further says: "After a long and obstinate struggle, a milder and more conciliating spirit has prevailed," &c. What was the occasion of this struggle? On the one hand there were persevering efforts to open, for the extension of slavery, vast territories now free; to shut out a State from the Union because her Constitution prohibited slavery, and to enact a fugitive slave bill, in violation not only of the fundamental principles of christianity, but even of the humane precepts of the Mosaic dispensation. These

efforts were opposed on the other hand, and hence the "long and obstinate struggle;" the imputed obstinacy being, of course, on the part of those who steadfastly maintained the right. But, continues *The Friend*, "a milder and more conciliating spirit has prevailed; and however the sacrifices made may be regretted in themselves, no true lover of his country can otherwise than rejoice, if thereby the inestimable blessings of Peace and Union and Harmony shall have been secured."

To understand the force of these expressions, we must inquire into the character of the measures which have been adopted by Congress—the results of the spirit which has "prevailed."

By the Texas Boundary Bill, tens of thousands of square miles of territory, to which that State had scarcely the shadow of a claim, have been directly yielded to slavery, and ten millions of dollars appropriated for the purpose of satisfying the arrogant demands of the slave-holding power.

By the New Mexico and Utah Territorial Bills, immense territories, in which slavery had been abolished by Mexican law, have been again opened to the introduction of that wicked system, with an express provision that if New Mexico and Utah shall hereafter make application to be received into the Union as *Slave States*, they shall be admitted.

By the Fugitive Slave Law, fearful sacrifices have been made to the demon of slavery, and "all good citizens" are rendered liable to the infliction of imprisonment, and heavy fines and damages, if they "hide the outcasts and bewray not him that wandereth" from the cruel captivity of man towards the liberty which is the gift of God; or if they prefer to seek the glorious reward—"Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," rather than incur the awful condemnation—"Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Such are the sacrifices over which, we are assured, no true lover of his country can do otherwise than rejoice, if they secure Peace, Union, and Harmony! What is this but to tell us that "the end justifies the means," and that, no matter to what extent the laws which have been enacted violate the Divine laws of Truth, Justice, and Religion, and however they may be regretted in themselves, yet we must rejoice if, peradventure, certain blessings are thereby secured! Is this *Quaker* doctrine? Was it on the principle here avowed that "Fox, and Penn, and Pen-

*See Matt. 25: 34—46.

nington" acted, when they braved the persecutions of their enemies, and suffered cruel imprisonments for refusing to live in "Peace, and Union, and Harmony" with a corrupt church and an unchristian government?

The recent triumphs of the slave-holding power at Washington, and the extraordinary re-action amongst almost every class in the North in favor of *compromising*—of which the article under notice is a striking and lamentable instance—impress us with a deep sense of the necessity of every friend of the slave—every true lover of his country—standing firmly on the *first principles* of emancipation, and showing by their lives, as well as by their words, that they are laboring sincerely and religiously for the abolition of slavery. "Touch not, taste not, handle not" the fruits of the "accursed thing."

ANNUAL MEETING AND REPORT OF THE OHIO FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.—Under the head of Associated Action, our readers may find an account of the recent annual meeting of Friend's Free Produce Association in Ohio, together with the report of the managers. A friend who was at the meeting informs us that, notwithstanding the difficulty of assembling in the country at an evening meeting, upwards of 200 were in attendance. The progress in Ohio of the testimony against the use of the products of slavery is particularly encouraging. Four years since, about a dozen Friends—the Editor of this paper being one of them—met at Mount Pleasant, under circumstances of great discouragement, to form the Association which can now make the satisfactory Report presented in this paper.

It is true there are many Friends in Ohio who are not prepared to unite in the support of this testimony, and we have heard with regret that a proposition to hold the annual meeting in the meeting house at Mount Pleasant, after a long discussion in the Yearly Meeting, was not united with; yet this circumstance should only induce patient labor and persevering faithfulness. We were pleased to find that Benjamin Seeborn and John Candler from England, Nathan C. Hoag from Vermont, Cornelius Douglass from Indiana, and other friends from various places, took an active and encouraging part in the proceedings of the Association.

THE LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1851.—The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have published their Almanac for the ensuing year. It

contains a selection of 21 pages of useful and interesting matter with special reference to the great question of Slavery at the present juncture. The paper is finer than usual, the printing is handsome, and there are well executed wood engravings.

It is suggested that the friends of the cause throughout the country make arrangements with merchants about to visit New York, to have a few hundred Almanacs packed with their goods, thus making the cost of transportation very small. The prices are, \$20 for 1000 copies; \$2.50, for 100 copies; 40 cts. for one dozen copies, and five cts. for a single copy.

Orders, enclosing payment in bank notes or post office stamps, may be addressed to Wm. Harned, Agent, No. 61 John street, New York city.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The 15th Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the Horticultural Hall at Westchester, commencing the 15th of this month at 10 o'clock, A. M. and continuing in session probably, three days.

The desperate efforts now being made to extend Slavery into new regions, and to secure for it additional safeguards where it now exists; the passage of the Fugitive Slave law and other triumphs of the slave-holding power, together with the abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso, are justly represented by the Executive Committee as imperatively calling upon the friends of the anti-slavery cause to assemble together with earnest hearts and ready hands to enquire what their obligations are.

It seems to us that the results of the protracted contest in the late Congress, may almost be considered as a disastrous conclusion to a crusade of eighteen years against slavery; and that now is the time for every abolitionist in the country to renew the warfare—first proving his armour and going forth with clean hands. "The righteous also shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands, shall be stronger and stronger."

CALIFORNIA, NEW MEXICO, UTAH, AND THE TEXAS BOUNDARY.—California has been admitted into the Union as a State with her Free Constitution and the boundaries as described in it; and her Senators and Representatives have taken their seats in Congress.

New Mexico is organized into a regular Territory including, East of the Rio Grande, such por-

tion of the territory acquired from Mexico as lies North of the boundaries of Texas, fixed by the recent Boundary Bill, and all of the said territory lying West of said river to the Rocky Mountains.

Utah is also organized as a territory, comprising the country between New Mexico and California, which includes the Great Central Basin and the Salt Lake region where the Mormons have formed their settlement.

Slavery is not prohibited in New Mexico and Utah, and they are to be admitted into the Union as States, with or without Slavery.

The Texas Boundary Bill fixes the northern boundary of that State on the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude extending three degrees of longitude, westward from the point where this parallel is intersected by the meridian of 100 deg. west from Greenwich; thence the boundary runs due south to the 32nd deg. of north latitude; thence on the said parallel of 32 deg. westward to the Rio Grande, and thence with the channel of said river to the Gulf of Mexico.

Texas is to receive ten millions of dollars in five per cent bonds of the United States, five millions of which are made applicable, specifically, to the payment of the public debt of Texas.

LETTER FROM H. H. GARNET.—FIRST PUBLIC ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN GERMANY.—We have much pleasure in presenting our readers with a letter from our friend Henry H. Garnet, who, it appears, after attending the Peace Convention and two antislavery meetings at Frankfort, had returned to England and was the guest of our valued friends, Henry and Anna H. Richardson at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He was about to enter on his labors in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The last number of the London Anti-Slavery Reporter, after introducing extracts from the Annual Report of the New York Free Produce Association of Friends, says; "In connection with this subject, we have the pleasure to announce that Mr. Henry H. Garnet, who has been advocating the Free-Labor movement in the United States, has arrived in this country to pursue the same class of labor here. Mr. Garnet is of African origin, a fugitive from slavery, and an able and respected minister of the Gospel. On his return from the Peace Congress at Frankfort, it is expected he will lecture, under the sanction of some leading abolitionists of this country, whenever an opportunity may be afforded him. We cordially wish him success."

We refer with great satisfaction to the interesting fact that two anti-slavery meetings were held in Frankfort, and that at this first presentation of the subject to the people of Germany the duty of the friends of emancipation was clearly set forth. We are informed by another correspondent that in addition to the remarks of Mr. Heider, chief magistrate of Frankfort, and Joseph Sturge, M. Suringer of Amsterdam also expressed his warm adherence to the Free-labor cause. We hope to hear frequently from H. H. Garnet, and intend to keep our readers informed of the progress of his mission.

HENRY G. CHAPMAN.—A friend has placed in our hands the following notice of the life and death of Henry G. Chapman, published nearly eight years since in the *Liberator*. We know nothing of his character apart from this interesting sketch; but we believe the anti-slavery cause would not be in its present low condition, if every abolitionist could say with him: "*one of the first things I did when I became an abolitionist, was to give up my trade in cotton.*" Let all the professed opponents of slavery imitate this noble example, and extend the principle to all the staples of slave-labor product, and we would soon hear no more of the triumphs of the slave-holding power.

"Our beloved brother, Henry G. Chapman, has ended his pilgrimage, and begun his life." He passed away, from his residence in Boston, on Monday, the 3d of October, 1842, at the age of 38. It was generally known to the friends of the anti-slavery cause, that he has, for the last two years, been afflicted with pulmonary consumption, for the relief of which he has twice sought the more genial climate of Haiti. During this long, anxious period of alternating hope and fear, his admirable wife devoted herself to him with patience that never wearied, and tenderness without limit. We know her strong and serene character too well, to doubt that she will bear his loss with fortitude; but she will feel it deeply. Of his father, we hardly dare speak. The tears are gushing, while we think of that kind, bereaved old man. Strengthen him, oh Father of mercies! strengthen him with the remembrance that his beloved ones stand waiting for him in brightness on the other shore.

"The world heard little of Henry G. Chapman, for he was a quiet, reserved man, more earnest to live the true life, than to talk thereof. Truthful and conscientious in an eminent degree, he

would never consent to exchange any counterfeit coin; not even when it was stamped with the signet of fashion or popularity. He was an early and constant friend of temperance, and gave offence to college companions by the disuse of wine, at a period when almost no one in his rank of life had the courage thus to incur the charge of meanness, for conscience sake. The same moral heroism, and honesty of purpose, led him to espouse the anti-slavery cause in the days of its greatest persecution. His fashionable friends had gradually cooled off under the manifestation of his temperance principles; but when he sealed notes to them with a kneeling slave, they exclaimed, 'This is too much;' and forthwith turned their backs upon him. At the time of the 'gentlemen's' mob, in 1835, a merchant of Boston threatened to inform Mr. Chapman's southern customers that he was among the foremost fanatics. 'I thank you for your friendly intentions,' replied he; 'but your intimation of loss in business comes too late to be of use to me. One of the first things I did, when I became an abolitionist was to give up my trade in cotton.'

"That one circumstance indicates the character of the man. With him, to see the right was to do it. In all this progress of enlightened conscience, he was cordially sustained by his venerable father. Though old, he easily parted with the prejudices of education and habit, and though nurtured in the midst of commercial and aristocratic influences, he did not forget that he was the almoner of God. Few know how largely the anti-slavery cause is indebted to him; for he loves to do good in secret. Henry was his only son; the stay and staff of his old age. The life of such a son is the best consolation that can be offered, when he passes out of sight, for a season, through the gate of evergreens which men call Death."

THE DISTRICT SLAVE TRADE BILL.—The first section of this bill, which has been passed by Congress, enacts that from and after the first day of the year 1851, it shall not be lawful to bring into the District of Columbia, any slave whatever, for the purpose of being sold, or of being placed in depot, to be subsequently transferred to any other State or place to be sold as merchandize. And any slave taken into the District by 'its owner,' or by the authority or consent of 'its owner,' contrary to the provisions of this act, shall become free.

The second section empowers the corpora-

tion of Washington and Georgetown, and the levy court of Washington Co., to break up and abolish any depot or place of confinement of slaves, taken into the District as merchandize. This law has been erroneously regarded as a concession on the part of the South, but it is nothing more than the application to the District of a law which has long existed in Maryland. There is no prohibition of the sale of slaves now in the District. It is simply the removal of the slave-pens. from Washington to Alexandria. The latter city which is no longer in the District, has been heretofore the place of shipment for slaves sold in Washington.

A Washington correspondent of a Philadelphia newspaper, in speaking of the passage of this law, thus betrays the motives and feelings of some of its Southern and Northern friends:—

"Thus the final stroke has been given to another feature of this sectional reform, which has deprived the propaganda South, and the abolitionists North, of their only reasonable and partially excusable hobby of discontent. There is no longer an intermediate source of disquietude. If the war is to rage hereafter, it must depend solely upon the bitter extremes of abolitionism and Southern resistance. Free Soilism, *per se*, is dead, buried, and its requiem chanted. If it awakes at all, it must be in echoes, proceeding from the Garrison school; and it will be for the great masses of the people meanwhile to say, how far they will permit themselves to be led by it. Let us frown down the Seward and Garrison faction, and by this means not only disappoint the propaganda, but preserve intact an Union which has thrice escaped the perils of a civil conflict."

"The new York Evening Post, taking its cue from Mr. Seward, says the District bill is but the commencement of the good work. Does it know that its incendiary paragraphs are reprinted here, and circulated by letter throughout the entire South, as the expression of a leading northern paper? Such is the fact however. And in this manner, the whole people of the Free States are made amenable for the conduct and sentiments of a single journal."

SETTLEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE IN MICHIGAN.—We are indebted to a valued correspondent, from whom we would be glad to hear more frequently, for the following gratifying intelligence.

"I noticed the following statement in the Michigan Farmer, by the Editor, which may perhaps be interesting to the readers of the Non Slaveholder. After giving an account of the exten-

sive farming operations of George Redfield, sixteen miles east of Niles, on the St. Josephs, Michigan, he says, 'some ten miles to the north of his farm, Mr. Redfield has a colony of blacks, consisting of some seventy families, whom he has settled upon a tract of timber land. He has also quite a number of white families upon his land in that neighborhood. The colony of blacks are altogether ahead of them, being far more moral and industrious in their habits, and prompt in their payments for their land, which were made as fast as they became due. They were from the state of Ohio.'

W. L. CHAPLIN.—We take the following from the *Pa. Freeman*.—The friends of Mr. Chaplin having furnished the required sureties, (\$6,000) he was admitted to bail in Washington by Judge Cranch, on Thursday the 19th inst., though every effort was made by the slave party to delay and embarrass the proceeding, that time might be given to their minions in Maryland to defeat his hope of bail there. He was immediately delivered over to the Maryland authorities on the requisition of the Governor, and conveyed to Rockville, the county town of Montgomery. Arrangements had been previously made for Mr. Chaplin's release, the magistrate having agreed to admit him to bail and the sum required (\$1,000) being deposited in the hands of a respectable merchant, who had consented to stand his surety. But both the merchant and magistrate were over-awed by the mob, and receded from their engagements, and Mr. Chaplin was committed to the wretched jail of the county, where he must await his trial on charge of assault and battery, with intent to kill.

THE "CHAPLIN FUND."—A circular has been issued by "The Chaplin Fund Committee" earnestly appealing for pecuniary aid to defray the expenses connected with the defence of William L. Chaplin. The charges against him are, *first*, with having assisted certain enslaved fellow men in their attempt to escape from bondage; and *secondly* with an assault upon those who arrested him, with an intent to kill them. "Now be it known to all men," says the circular, "that he did not commit the second offence. At the time of his seizure he had no weapon of violence about his person, nor does he ever wear any; neither did he know any of his companions were armed; much less did he counsel them to make resistance. All this we know and do affirm. He was ignorant too of the persons who seized him. No warrant for his arrest was announced.

A band of men, like ruffians, in the darkness of the night came upon him, on the highway, and the first salutation he received was a savage yell, and a blow that felled him senseless to the earth. When he recovered from the shock, he was in the hands of four stout men, and therefore powerless.

The other charge, that he helped men in their attempt to escape from slavery, if true, should fix upon his good name the stigma of no crime, unless it be a crime to act in obedience to the command of Christ, to follow the example of the good Samaritan."

Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, N. Y., is treasurer of the fund, and donations of money may be sent to him or to William Harned, 61 John St. New York; also to any of the committee, of whom we may mention Wm R. Smith, Macedon, N. Y. G. W. Johnson, Buffalo, N. Y.; J. R. Giddings, Ashtabula, Ohio.; S. P. Chase, Cincinnati, Ohio.; Francis Jackson, Boston; J. G. Whittier, Amesbury, Mass.; Silas Cornell, Providence, R. I.; E. M. Davis and C. D. Cleveland, Phila.; and Samuel Fessenden, Portland, Maine.

"*Memoir, Letters and Poems of Bernard Barton. Edited by his daughter. Philadelphia, LINDSAY & BLAKISTON, 1850.*"—We have received a copy of this work from the publishers and wished to give it a more extended notice than is practicable at present. It forms a handsome volume of 405 pages, of which the *Memoir* occupies 30, the *Letters* 149, and the *Poems* 214. To those who are acquainted with the character of Bernard Barton's poems, and to all who are fond of poetry, principally religious, the publication must be especially welcome. We cannot, however, but regret that this selection contains only one of his anti-slavery poems—that addressed "to a pious slave-owner":—

"Wouldst thou before the altar place thy gift,
Thou who canst hold thy fellow-creature slave,
First from his neck the yoke of bondage lift,
And then of God and him, forgiveness crave."

Till this be done, the word of holy writ,
The folly of thy offering implies;
Oh! read, mark, learn, and inly ponder it,
"I will have mercy, and not sacrifice."

The work is for sale by the publishers at the N. W. corner of Chestnut and Fourth streets, Philadelphia.

THE WATER CURE JOURNAL, AND THE AMERICAN WATER CURE REPORTER.—These highly interesting and valuable publications are gladly received every month. The former of 48 pages

is published by Fowlers & Wells, Clinton Hall, New York City, and the latter of 32 pages, by R. Holland, New Graefenberg N. Y. The price of each is one dollar per annum in advance, subject to newspaper postage only.

SELECTIONS.

PEACE CONGRESS AT FRANKFORT.

Frankfort, August 22, 1850.—The first meeting of the Peace Congress has just been held in the celebrated St. Paul's Church in this city, with an enthusiasm and *clat* exceeding, if possible, that which marked the previous demonstrations of a similar character in Brussels and in Paris, in 1848 and 1849.

St. Paul's Church is an immense circular building, which has been used for the sittings of the first reformed German Parliament. The centre of the building was appropriated to the members of the Foreign delegation, and to the German members of the Congress; the galleries, both on the ground-floor and above, being devoted to the accommodation of the visitors, among whom was a large number of ladies.

The business of the Congress commenced at ten o'clock A. M., M. Jaub, ex-minister of Darmstadt, being unanimously elected President. The first resolution submitted to the Congress was to the following effect;—1. The Congress of the friends of universal peace, assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, the 22d, 23d, and 24th of August, 1850, acknowledges that "recourse to arms being condemned alike by religion, morality, reason, and humanity, it is the duty of all men to adopt measures calculated to abolish war; and the Congress recommends all its members to labour in their respective countries, by means of a better education of youth, by the pulpit, the platform, and the press, as well as by other practical methods, to eradicate those hereditary hatreds and political and commercial prejudices, which have been so generally the cause of disastrous wars."

The following members of the Congress spoke in support of this resolution, which was carried by the unanimous vote of the assembly: JOHN BURNETT, le Pasteur BONNETT of Paris, M. Comerin of Paris, H. H. GARNETT of New York (whose appearance—he being of pure negro blood—excited considerable sensation and interest,) M. EMILE DE GIRARDIN of Paris.

The second resolution, which was as follows, was presented in a speech of great power, by M.

VISSCHERS of Brussels:—1. "This Congress is of opinion that one of the most effectual means of preserving peace, would be for Governments to refer to arbitration all those differences between them, which cannot be otherwise amicably adjusted."

This was supported by M. BACH of Darmstadt, M. MOURCH of Frankfort, M. EMILE DE GIRARDIN (this gentleman rising to reply to some difficulties which had been suggested in the practical application of arbitration,) PROFESSOR CLEVELAND of the United States, and RICHARD COBDEN M. P., who said—

"It was not his intention to have spoken that day, but he must say a word or two on the supposed difficulties of arbitration. No doubt there were difficulties, but were there not difficulties in war too? and what he wished to put before the diplomatists of Europe and America, was, which of these difficulties will you choose—War or Arbitration? One of them it must be, for you confess that neither your diplomacy nor your mediation enable you to settle your quarrels, generally about some point of etiquette, or some trumpery debt of a few thousands of pounds. What he wanted was, that if ever the people of England or America saw their Governments again involved in a quarrel with some weaker power, whether on the shores of Portugal or Greece, and refusing the offer made by such a power to settle the dispute by arbitration, but resorting to the sword to enforce their demands, then he did hope that the people would drive such Governments from power, and supply their places with men who would do their work in a more workmanlike manner. He alluded to the progress which the Peace cause had made during the past year, and said that two remarkable illustrations of this progress had occurred in the last Peace meeting which he had attended in London, and in the meeting which he was then addressing in Frankfort. At the meeting in London, he sat side by side with General Klapka, the general who had unsuccessfully fought the battles of liberty in Hungary; and at the meeting of the present Congress at Frankfort, no less a person than General Haynau had for some time occupied a place among the visitors (General Haynau had left the hall before R. Cobden rose to speak). He thought it very significant, when they found at their meetings such men as the military leaders both of liberty and despotism. It incites in these men's minds something like the dawn of a suspicion, that their own profession was not of the most stable and satisfactory character."

The attendance at the Congress is very large, about 500 came over in the steamboat and special train from England. There are a considerable number of delegates from the United States, and several men of influence from France, Belgium, and other countries. There must have been at least 2000 persons present during the sitting.

Frankfort, August 23.—The second sitting of the Congress has taken place to-day, and the crowded state of the galleries appropriated to the accommodation of the public, afforded convincing proof of the interest which the people of Frankfort take in the discussions of the friends of peace. The Committee have been obliged to restrain the issue of tickets, so inadequate has even the vast space of St. Paul's Church proved, to accommodate all those who have applied for permission to attend the sittings of the Congress; thus far, not a single incident has occurred to interrupt the perfect harmony and unanimity of the proceedings. Several military officers in regimentals, have attended the meetings both yesterday and to-day; indeed all classes of the population have eagerly sought admission to St. Paul's Church.

The meeting was opened this morning by Charles Hindley, M. P., who moved the third resolution—"That the standing armaments with which the Governments of Europe menace one another, impose intolerable burdens, and inflict grievous moral and social evils upon their respective communities; this Congress cannot, therefore, too earnestly call the attention of Governments to the necessity of entering on a system of international disarmament; without prejudice to such measures as may be considered necessary for the maintenance of the security of the citizens, and the internal tranquillity of each state."

He was followed by Dr. Stein, a Jewish Rabbi, who delivered a most eloquent speech in the German language, which elicited enthusiastic applause. J. Garnier, of Paris, Secretary of the Society of Economists in France, then spoke, dealing with great force and clearness with the statistics of the resolution, and combating the objections raised against its practicability.

After a short speech from Dr. Bullard, of the United States, M. Emile de Girardin ascended the tribune amid loud and long-continued applause. He spoke at length, and with great power, upon the several topics embodied in the resolution. He met the charge of Utopianism, which was directed against the Peace movement, by preferring a counter charge against war as being a far greater Utopia, one by which millions were annually expended by the nations of Europe

for the purposes of mutual destruction, and to foster national hatreds and jealousies.

He was succeeded by George Dawson, of Birmingham, who commenced by observing upon the appropriateness of holding such a Congress in Germany, the birthplace of many great principles, and especially in Frankfort, in the neighborhood of which the mighty art of printing had been discovered. Whenever war should die, it would leave at least one valuable legacy to mankind. It would show what might be done by skilful organization, and men would, by and by, be wise enough to bestow, at any rate, half the cost and labour, in well-organised efforts to subjugate the bogs and waste lands of Great Britain, especially of Ireland, that they now bestow in pipe-playing and drilling soldiers.

Professor Hitchcock, of America, spoke briefly; and after a short adjournment, R. Cobden, M. P., was called to the tribune. His appearance was hailed by repeated bursts of applause; and great excitement was apparent among the foreigners present to obtain a sight of the champion of Free Trade. He commenced by saying that much had been said about war. It was now necessary to speak of peace, or what was called peace, but which would be more correctly described as a state of truce. Such a state was, in some respects, more disgraceful than war itself. The follies and crimes committed during the excitements and passions of open war might be accounted for, if they could not be excused, on the plea that reason was overpowered by a temporary frenzy; but that men or governments, with peace on their lips, should continue to maintain and augment their enormous armaments, is to have nations giving themselves over to a permanent suspicion and distrust. "We may gather a lesson," he continued, "from the Red Indians of America, one of whose chiefs I see now before me as a delegate to this Congress. When war is over, the uncivilized Indian buries his hatchet, not to be disturbed again while peace exists between him and his neighbor. But England, after, thirty-five years of continental peace, is still employing all the resources of science in her arsenal at Woolwich, in preparing her deadly instruments of destruction." He read some calculations forwarded to him that day, by Baron Royer, showing the ruinous consequences entailed upon the industry of Europe by pursuing the present war policy. He also quoted a remark of M. Frederic Bastiat of Paris, in a letter addressed by that gentleman to the Congress, that, "the ogre, war, costs as much for his di-

gestion as his meals." He then alluded to the recent revolutions on the Continent, as demonstrating that great armaments were as dangerous to the stability of kings and governments, as they were to the true interests of the people.

The resolution was unanimously carried; as was a fourth, condemning all foreign loans negotiated for the purpose of furnishing to one people the means of slaughtering another.

A vote of thanks was proposed and carried to the Governments of Belgium, France, and Prussia, for the facilities afforded for the transit of the delegates through their respective countries to Frankfort; Richard Cobden remarking, that the Governments had treated the delegates as ambassadors, who were always exempted from the necessity of carrying passports, and whose baggage never underwent custom-house search.

Frankfort, August 24.—The third day's sitting was opened on Saturday morning, at ten o'clock, when several new members were announced, among whom was Professor Liebig, of Giessen, whose name was received with a round of applause. A letter was received from Professor Charles Biedermann, of Leipzig, regretting that the present state of Schleswig-Holstein would not permit him to attend the sitting. Another letter from the Archbishop of Paris was also communicated, containing a general recognition of the Christian idea which the members of the Congress are seeking to realize.

The fourth proposition of the programme, "That this Congress reiterates its strong disapprobation of all foreign loans, negotiated for the purpose of furnishing to one people the means of slaughtering another," having been adopted unanimously,

George Copway, a native North American Indian, of the Chippewa tribe, moved the fifth resolution:—

"That this Congress, acknowledging the principle of non-intervention, recognizes it to be the sole right of every state to regulate its own affairs."

He said:—When, sixteen years ago I lived with my brethren on the other side of the ocean, I never thought the time would come when I should enter a city like this to hear and speak of peace. I am the first of my people who have journeyed so far east as this. But the time will come when the great chain of brotherhood will gird the whole earth. Yesterday, as I was walking in the streets of Frankfort, I admired the splendid establishments which adorn the city. I learned that those beautiful gardens were once

covered with military works. Now these fortifications have been removed, to give comfort and convenience to the peaceable; and the inhabitants now enjoy the blessings of nature, where once were seen the evil works of man. Just as one mountain is not suddenly raised above the plain but receives gradual additions, so will the people cause this union to increase in height; at first it will be a small elevation, then a hill, and then a mountain. A few years ago, and men would not have believed that the thoughts, nay, the very words of man, would soon be transmitted over plains, through mountains, and under seas, as is now done by means of the telegraph, thousands of miles in a few minutes; and shall not the great thought of peace be transmitted and succeed? Do not such lessons teach man to think nothing impracticable which is good? The instrument I am about to exhibit, Sir, is no sign of our martial tendencies; it is no sword, but the pipe of peace of the aboriginal tribes of America. The speaker here produced a long pipe, ornamented with feathers, and handing it to the President, said, "I here deliver to the President this pipe of peace in the name of my brethren in the far west. I bring you greeting from the dwellers in the Rocky Mountains, greeting to the children of the valley of the Rhine and Danube. No more shall the people groan under the burden of war; most devoutly do I believe in the coming of the time when all men will consent to live in peace." (Great applause.)

The President here signified that on account of pressure of time, each speaker would be limited to a quarter of an hour, especially as the Committee had a seventh proposition to submit.

The resolution having been unanimously adopted,

Elihu Burritt occupied the tribune, and submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

"That this Congress recommends all the friends of Peace to prepare public opinion, in their respective countries, for the convocation of a Congress of the representatives of the various states, with a view to the formation of a code of international law."

Henry Richard then entered the tribune, and moved:—

"That the thanks of this Congress be presented—

1. To the Burgomasters and Senate of Frankfort, for the hospitable readiness with which they have granted permission to the Congress to assemble in this free city.

"2. To the Frankfort Local Committee, for the admirable skill and indefatigable earnestness and activity with which they have co-operated with the English deputation in making all the necessary preparations for the Congress. And

3d. To the Lutheran Consistory, for their kindness in granting for the use of the Congress the magnificent building in which it has been our privilege to meet."

The resolutions having been carried by acclamation, the following was proposed, spoken to by MM. Cermenin and Girardin, and carried unanimously:

"That this Congress would express its disapprobation of duels between individuals no less than fightings between nations, and that any member of the Congress who shall be engaged in any duel, shall be considered as losing his right of membership by that fact."

It was also resolved—

"This Congress recommends that the next meeting of the friends of universal Peace should be held in London in 1851.

A resolution respecting the printing and circulation of a Report of the proceedings closed the Congress.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE.

The writer of the following statement, as is known to many of the readers of the Freeman, is the assistant or clerk in the anti-slavery office. His story is a striking one, and will be read with interest.

Anti-Slavery Office, }
Philadelphia, Aug. 8th, 1850. }

MR. J. M. McKIM.

Dear Sir,—As you desired that I should make a statement of some of the most prominent facts in relation to the late wonderful discovery of one of my lost brothers, I submit the following brief account.

On the 2d inst., two men came into this office, one of whom I recognized, the other was an entire stranger. My acquaintance introduced the stranger to me by the name of Peter Freedman, of Alabama. The object of Peter's visit was merely referred to by my acquaintance, when Peter commenced his own story in an earnest and simple manner. Peter said that he was from Alabama. His visit here was for the purpose of seeing if he could gain some information or instruction how he might find out his people. He stated that he and an older brother had been

stolen away from somewhere in this direction, 41 or 42 years ago, when he was a boy only about six years old. Since that time he had been utterly excluded from all knowledge of his parents, having never even so much as heard a word from them or any of his relatives. I enquired what course he expected to pursue in order to gain the information he wished. He replied, that it was his intention to have notices written and read throughout the colored churches of this city. I then inquired of him if he knew the names of his parents? To which he replied that his father's name was Levin and his mother's Sidney; he did not know their last names. By this time I was much surprised and interested at the remarks made by the stranger, and continued to put such questions to him as I thought would most likely throw light upon the subject. I perceived that a most wonderful story was about to be disclosed; anxious to have my impressions verified by facts that could not be contested or disproved, I inquired of him if he knew the name of no other person, except those already mentioned? He answered that he knew a white man by the name of S. G. who lived near his parents—recalled of playing with this white man's children, &c. When the name of the white man was announced, the fact was confirmed to my satisfaction, that an own dear brother whom I had never before seen was before me. There was no evading the evidence; all the names rehearsed, and the circumstances connected therewith, were familiar to me, having heard my parents speak of them frequently. Besides I could see in the face of my new found brother the likeness of my mother. My feelings were unutterable, and I was obliged to exert all my mental powers in order to conceal them. Thought after thought crowded my mind in relation to the past history of my parents, especially in conjunction with the interest felt for the two lost boys. After I had been convinced that Peter was my own brother, so sudden was the occurrence that I at once concluded to keep the whole matter to myself, until after I could get the chance of consulting with my sister, which I intended to do that evening. But after a moment's reflection my mind changed, as I could see no good reason for withholding the secret from him any longer. I was then anxious for the friend who came with Peter to leave, as I preferred to be alone when I divulged the secret of my discovery to him. I told my acquaintance that he need not wait any longer, that I would take charge of Peter, &c. At

least one hour had elapsed before I revealed to my brother one word of what I had discovered. After my acquaintance left the office I took Peter and seated myself by his side, and commenced to make a brief explanation of what had been to us both a few moments before a profound mystery. I told him that I could tell him all about his kinsfolks. At this expression he seemed surprised, but not at all excited; I continued by telling him that he was an own brother of mine, and gave him the names of my parents, &c. To relate the particulars of our interview is quite unnecessary.

That you may better understand the story, I must go back and tell you what I never mentioned to you before, that my parents were once slaves. They lived in the State of Maryland, but feeling a strong desire for liberty they were not slack in taking measures to procure it. My father deliberately (as I have often heard him say) resolved that he would rather die than live a slave. By demonstrating his disposition to his owner, he was allowed the privilege of purchasing himself rather low, and by the earnings of his own hands he soon paid the sum demanded, and of course obtained his "free papers." At this time my father was only twenty-one years of age. In the mean while he was married to my mother, who was a slave. My parents had four children, and the desire of freedom rested so heavily upon the mind of my mother, that she in concert with my father concluded that their only hope of enjoying each other's society, depended altogether upon mother's making her escape. Their plans all being laid they soon found themselves in the State of New Jersey. But before mother had long enjoyed what she had so eagerly sought after, and what she prized so highly (liberty) she and all four of her children were pursued, captured and carried back to Maryland, from whence they had fled. For a while after my mother was kept confined of nights in a garret, to prevent her from making a second effort for freedom; but it was all to no purpose. Before she had been back three months she made a second flight, taking her two youngest, which were girls, and leaving her two oldest children, Levin and Peter. I shall never forget hearing mother speak of the memorable night when she last fled. She went to the bed where her two boys, Levin and Peter, were sleeping—kissed them—consigned them into the hands of God and took her departure again for a land of liberty. My mother's efforts proved successful, though at the heart rending consideration of leaving her two boys to the

disposal of slaveholders. Those unfortunate boys were sold soon after my mother's escape.

All that she ever heard of them afterwards was, that they had been sold far south. I doubt not but you will be interested to know something of the early career of Levin and Peter.

Peter related to me the following circumstances in regard to himself. He recollected to have missed his mother, and wanted to go to her.

They said he should go to her—that they were going to take him and his brother to her. This deception was used in order to quiet them, of course. But instead of being placed in the hands of their mother, when at their journey's end, they were placed in the hands of a slaveholder in Kentucky. Thirteen of their youthful years were passed in Kentucky, in a manner that I have no need of describing. They were then sold into the State of Alabama, where they were subjected to the painful necessity of passing through the hands of several owners. Levin died about nineteen years ago, and was buried by his surviving brother Peter. Within the last two years Peter, through much entreaty, prevailed upon a gentleman to purchase him, with a view to let him work out his freedom. The price was \$500. Through his industry and economy, by working of nights and using all possible activity in doing extra jobs by day, he managed to accumulate the whole amount required. As soon as he had accomplished the arduous task of paying the last dollar for himself, the life long wish of his heart prompted him to make enough money to defray his expenses on a tour in search of his people, for whom he felt the warmest affection; although he was so young at the time when separated from his parents as not to know even their last names. He had also endured the burthens of slavery with all its ills for forty-three long years, yet he had not yielded his hopes of seeing the land from whence he had been sold, nor of again greeting that mother who gave him birth. The distance he travelled was about 1500 miles. He arrived in this city on the first of this month, on the 2d he found his brother in the place and man above mentioned; on the 3d he was conveyed to my mother's in New Jersey, by two of my sisters who reside here. He found his mother, five brothers and three sisters.

I shall not attempt to describe the feelings of my mother and the family on learning the fact that Peter was one of us; I will leave that for you to imagine. You are probably aware that my father has been dead for seven years. Unfortunately brother Peter has a wife and three

children in slavery. He has gone back to Alabama with the earnest hope of being able to liberate his wife and children, by purchasing them, that being his only chance. His attachments to his family are so strong, that when I intimated to him—if he could not get them, I supposed he would leave them and come North—he instantly replied that he "would as soon go out of the world as not to go back and do all he could for them."

There are two very remarkable incidents connected with this development, which I must state to you before I close my letter, viz.: The name of the white man referred to, and remembered so correctly by my brother Peter, was that of his original owner, though the boys were too young to know that fact. The name of my mother had always, after her escape from slavery, been kept concealed, and she was known only by a different one, for reasons which will readily occur to you. When I glance over those wonderful circumstances connected with the history of these unfortunate brothers, I am utterly astonished. But I cannot stop now to tell you the feelings of my heart in reference to those enslaved brothers and the enslaved in general. I have already said more than I had intended; still my account seems but brief. But you are too well acquainted with slavery and its woes not to be able to judge in reference to what I have been obliged to omit.

Your obedient servant.

WM. STILL,

THE MORMONS AND THEIR CITY OF REFUGE.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Between four and five thousand feet above the ocean level, on the eastern rim of the Great Basin, in whose unexplored deserts the waters of the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada of California are lost, an inland salt sea stretches north-westerly from latitude 40° to 42°, and between 112° and 114° of longitude. Up to the year 1843, little was really known of this vast body of water, its shapes and tributaries, as the accounts given by half-breed hunters and wandering Indians, in their visits to Fort Hall and other trading posts on the route from Missouri to Oregon, had been as vague and unsatisfactory as they were marvellous.

It was reserved for the adventurous Fremont to explore, with something like scientific accuracy, these strange regions. Following the windings of the Bear River—its principal tributary—through a wild maze of Mountains, of the vast

Utah Range, on a gusty September morning he looked down upon the great object of his toilsome exploration, the Sea of the mountains. Checkered with the shadows of clouds, and broken here and there by rocky islands and mountain headlands, it stretched westerly beyond the limit of vision. The annals of modern discovery have nothing of more exciting interest than the partial exploration of this unknown sea, by the young adventurer and his companions, in a frail and ill-constructed boat of India-rubber cloth. The Indians whom they encountered had never launched a canoe upon the lake, and, as it had no apparent outlet, they imagined there was a great whirl-pool in its midst, which swallowed up its surplus waters. Our travellers were the first to visit its mysterious islands, and break with the cheerful sound of human voices its long solitude and silence.

"They were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea."

The lateness of the season rendered the stay of Fremont brief, and his explorations imperfect. After spending a night on an island in the Lake, listening to the roar of the salt-surf beating on the rocks, and making two or three day's marches along its marshy borders, and having settled the latitude and longitude, and taken some notice of the characteristics of the soil and vegetation of the valley in which it lies, he left, regretfully, this strange and interesting region, to pursue his journey to California, along the skirts of the Great Basin, and across the Snowy Sierra. For two or three years, nothing further was known of the Great Salt Lake.

In the mean time, the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, as they love to call themselves, had been expelled by mob violence from Illinois. A city of some twenty-thousand inhabitants was left untenanted; and square miles of ripened grain were abandoned to the sun and rains of autumn and snows of winter. The wretched exiles had little leisure for preparation for their long, uncertain journey into the wilderness in search of a new home, out of the reach of civilized inhumanity. Bearing with them their aged and infirm, their sick and dying, they passed in mournful processions through the streets of Nauvoo, and through their cornfields and orchards; the fruit of which they could no longer gather. Pausing on the swell of the last wave of prairie from whence the gilded spire of the great Temple was visible, they bade farewell forever to their homes, hearths, and altars, and then set their faces resolutely towards the setting sun:

"Some natural tears they dropped, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

The last sad cavalcade left Nauvoo in the autumn of 1846. It had been preceded by several others, who had engaged to prepare the way for those who should come after. Delayed by sickness and want of the necessary vehicles and teams for their journey, and desirous to unite the numerous bands of exiles, scattered from the Mississippi to the Missouri, the early summer of 1846 found the pioneer encampment at Council Bluffs, near the Pottawattomie Indian agency.

On the hills of the "High Prairie," which here crowd upon the river, and on the broad alluvial flats below them, the tents of the modern Israel were pitched. A traveller, Thomas L. Kane, Esq. of Philadelphia, from whose graphic and brilliant "Discourse before the Pennsylvania Historical Society" we have derived many of the materials of this sketch, has described their appearance as he first reached them, on a bright June morning. Each hill was crowned with its great camp, white with canvass and alive with occupants. The smoke of a thousand cooking fires streamed lazily upwards. Herd-boys were dozing on the slopes, with sheep and oxen, cows and horses, around them, numbering many thousands. Children, almost as numerous, were playing about the camp. Women were washing clothes along a little creek; blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers, were busy in the open air, or under the shade of tents. Great arbors made of poles and brush, and wattled with willow and birch, served them for places of religious worship and halls of council. It was here that the famous Mormon battalion for the Mexican war was recruited. On the eve of its departure, a farewell ball was got up in primitive style, under the shelter of the largest arbor. Grave Elders and Chiefs of the High Council led off the dance, which was kept up with great animation until the sun had dipped behind the sharp outline of the Omaha hills. "Then," says the writer to whom we have referred, "silence was called, and a well-cultivated mezzo-soprano voice, belonging to a young lady with fair face and dark eyes, gave with quartette accompaniment, a little son, a version of a text touching to all earthly wanderers:

"By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept,
We wept when we remembered Zion!"

There was danger of some expressions of feeling when the song was over, for it had begun to draw tears; but, breaking the quiet with his hard voice, an Elder dismissed the gathering, and asked Heaven to bless all who, with purity of heart

and brotherhood of feeling, had mingled in that society." After the departure of the battalion, the exiles moved on, organized in companies of tens, fifties, and hundreds, all under the direction of the High Council of the Church. Upon the rich but unhealthy delta between the Nebraska and the Missouri, they again pitched their tents, and waited for the straggling emigrants of their faith to overtake them. Decimated by sickness, the winter found them still in the border regions of Missouri and Iowa, where, divided into several encampments, they were enabled to sustain themselves and a considerable portion of their cattle. Early in the spring of 1847, a body of one hundred and forty picked men, with seventy wagons, started, under the direction of the members of the High Council, in search of a favorable location for a permanent settlement. They carried with them little save seed and farming tools, it being their aim to plant crops at the place selected. Crossing the South Pass, they struggled through the defiles and over the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, forcing their way over the rugged Utah range, sometimes creeping along the stony bed of torrents, and sometimes cutting their way through heavy timber. At length, in midsummer, they reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The High Council, after a careful survey of the country, decided that the Land of Promise had at last been reached, and that the Tabernacles of the Mormon Israel should be set up. Late as was the season, roots and seeds were planted, from which a partial harvest was obtained. They were soon joined by other detachments from the main body, and also by a part of the Mormon Battalion from California. They sowed large fields of grain for the next season, built themselves houses of sun-dried brick, fortifying themselves with walls and block-houses, and safely passed the winter of 1847-48. In the course of the next year, the residue of the Nauvoo emigrants reached the valley, loaded with grain raised on the plains of their encampments on the Missouri and Nebraska. A detailed history of this remarkable *Exodus* would exhibit in strange alliance the shifty enterprise, practical energy, and shrewd calculation of modern utilitarianism, and the undoubting faith of the middle ages, unshaken by manifest inconsistency or detected imposture; the enthusiasm of the old Crusaders and the fanaticism of Musselmen propagandists; an oriental drama acted over in the New World, by men and women of Yankee origin, united in devout belief in a prophet-martyr who could only be properly characterized as

a cross between Sam Slick and Mokanna of Khorassan. It would do more than this. It would contain the record of a persecution as cruel and remorseless as that which hunted the Huguenots from France, and the Jews from Spain, endured, for the most part, with a patient firmness and heroic persistence under circumstances of suffering and danger, which go far to reconcile liberal and generous minds to those absurdities or novelties of worship and faith, which were made the excuse of a new Christian crusade on the part of the blackleg and nomadic rascality of the Mississippi valley. In the language of the author of the "Discourse" before us, it would tell of "a people whose industry had made them rich, expelled by lawless force from the comforts and luxuries of refined life, into the Great Wilderness, seeking an untried home, far away from the scenes which their previous life had endeared to them, moving onward, destitute, hunger-sicken, and sinking with disease, bearing with them their wives and children, the old, the poor, the decrepid; renewing daily on their march the offices of devotion, the ties of family, and friendship, and charity; sharing necessities and braving dangers together, cheerful in the midst of want and trial—of men who, menaced by famine, and in the midst of pestilence, with every energy taxed by the urgency of the hour, were building roads and bridges, laying out villages, and planting corn-fields, for the benefit of the stranger who might come after them, their kinsman only by a common humanity, or, peradventure, by a common suffering—of men who have renewed their prosperity in the homes they have found in the desert; and who, in their new-built city, walled round by mountains like a fortress, are extending pious hospitalities to the destitute emigrants from our frontier States."

As yet we can scarcely form an accurate idea of the geographical peculiarities of the new Territory. We only know that, hemmed in by successive chains of rugged mountains, and by vast unexplored deserts, it combines within its limits the most inconsistent characteristics of other countries. The climate of its mountains is more severe than that of Switzerland; descending towards the great valley, the varied climates of Italy are successively encountered. Barren salt wastes—desolate and unsightly as the shores of the Dead Sea—alternate with valleys of extraordinary fertility and beauty. Streams strongly impregnated with salt flow down from the mountains in close proximity with others of the purest and sweetest water. Hot springs, and ice-cold

ones, are found in the same neighborhood. The resources of the country, in an agricultural point of view, were not overlooked by its first explorer. "The bottoms," says Fremont "are extensive, the water excellent, timber sufficient, the soil good, and well adapted to the grains and grasses of an elevated region. The lake furnishes abundant supplies of salt. All the mountain sides are covered with a valuable and nutritious grass called bunch grass, which has a second growth in the fall; its quantity will sustain any amount of cattle, and make this truly a bucolic region." On some of the best lands it appears that irrigation is necessary to secure the full advantage of the rich virgin soil. Fifty bushels of wheat may thus be raised to the acre, and in the present price current of the country, it is \$4 the bushel. Proximity to the gold region secures a ready and sure market for all kinds of produce.

The city of the Salt Lake, if we may credit the statements of recent travellers, now numbers from 15000 to 20,000 inhabitants. The houses are of sun brick, generally of one story, with gardens distributed over an area as great as that of New York city, and surrounded by square miles of wheat fields. There are several other settlements, extending forty miles north and two hundred miles south of the great city.

"It is to these homes," says the author of the Discourse, "in the heart of our American Alps, like the holy people of St Bernard, they hold out their welcome to the passing traveller. Some of you have doubtless seen in the St. Louis papers the reported votes of thanks to them of companies of emigrants to California. These are often reduced to great straits after passing Fort Laramie, and turn aside to seek the Salt Lake colony in pitiable plight of fatigue and destitution." The route from the Oregon road to the Salt Lake is one of great difficulty, over mountains, and through deep and narrow ravines. The poor struggling emigrant at length comes abruptly out the dark pass into the lighted valley of the Mormons, on a level terrace of its high table land. "No wonder if he loses his self-control here. A ravishing panoramic landscape opens out below him, blue, green, and gold, and pearl; a great sea with hilly islands, rivers, a lake, broad sheets of grassy plain, all set as in a silver-chased cup, within the mountains whose peaks of perpetual snow are burnished by a dazzling sun. It is less these, however, than the foreground of old-country farms, with their stacks, thatchings, and stock, and the central city, swarming with its working inhabitants, and smoking from its chim-

neys, that tries the men of fatigue broken nerves. The Californians scream, they sing, they give three cheers, and do not count them, a few pray and more swear, some fall on their faces and cry outright."

Several hundred emigrants, in more or less distress, have, during the past year, received gratuitous relief from the Mormons, whose indomitable industry has enabled them to exercise to the fullest extent the rites of hospitality. They boast that they have no loafers, idle gentlemen, or vagabonds. Their glorious valley must be the grand central station of the future railroad which is to unite the two oceans, and to open to us the golden stream of oriental traffic by the way of California. The peculiarity of their religious faith and customs may have the effect to divert from them some of the emigration which would otherwise flow towards so inviting a region; but even this cannot essentially retard their growth. Fifty thousand of their own order in Great Britain are already preparing to join them. They have shrewd, intelligent men at the head of affairs, and are evidently losing a great deal of the fanaticism of their early time. They have a regularly organized Government, and all accounts agree in representing them as an orderly and peaceful people. The author of the "Discourse" before us, denies emphatically the charges which have been preferred against their habitual purity of life, integrity of dealing, their toleration of religious differences, their regard of law, and their devotion to constitutional government.

In the dispute now going on in respect to New Mexico and California, the Territory of Utah has been measurably forgotten. But its importance cannot be overlooked much longer. Slavery has already, like the serpent of old, stolen into the Garden of the Mountains. Senator Seward, in his late speech, stated that he had positive information that slaves are now held in Utah. Hon. P. R. Thurston, the delegate from Oregon, in his late letter to a member of the Massachusetts delegation, gives it as his opinion, that the working of slaves in Utah, under the existing circumstances of a great and increasing demand for labor, and the probability of the discovery of valuable mines, would be profitable to the masters. He is well acquainted with the country, and sees no Providential enactment of the Wilmot Proviso in its soil, climate, or "Asiatic formation." Here, then, should New Mexico and California take their places in the Union, with their respective Constitutions and boundaries, the contest will be renewed. The policy of the

inhabitants, thus far, has been to blink the subject of slavery, hoping thereby to propitiate the Southern propaganda. How far this policy has been successful may be seen in the unceremonious rejection of their delegate, by a more decisive vote than that which denied a seat to the delegate from New Mexico, although the latter made no secret of his hostility to the institution of slavery, and although the anti-slavery Constitution of his constituents was on the desks of Congress, and the question of his admission was complicated with the claim of Texas. This timid, indecisive policy on the part of Utah, while it has failed to secure the favor the South, has awakened suspicion and doubt on the part of the North. No possible good can come of it. Let Utah take her stand by the side of California and New Mexico as a free state, and, like them present herself, at the door of the Union with the Declaration of Independence embodied in her Constitution. This will settle the question more effectually than twenty compromise bills. It would not be possible for the ultra slave faction to resist the united will of the inhabitants of the entire acquisition from Mexico. The three-fold cord could not be broken. Besides, it becomes the people of Utah to consider that, in their peculiar circumstances, the religious faith, for the quiet enjoyment of which they have made so many sacrifices, will be justly held responsible for their action in this matter. Toleration of slavery will not be likely to facilitate the popular recognition of their claim as Saints of the Latter Day. The condition of many of the older sects in this country, rent and divided on the question of slavery, should be an effectual warning to them to meet the evil at the outset, and exclude forever from their community an element of perpetual contest and disturbance. The time for action has fully come. A decision between freedom and slavery is pressed upon them. God grant that it may be made in accordance with sound policy and the claims of humanity.

Nat. Era.

CONVENTION OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

This novel convention, called by the New York State Vigilance Committee, was to assemble yesterday, the 21st, in Cazenovia, N. Y., and continue through to day. We trust that the meeting has gathered a host of strong-hearted refugees from American tyranny, and of such other freemen as dare to obey God instead of the

American Constitution; who dare to follow the instincts of their own hearts, and the counsels of Jesus Christ, instead of the instructions of slave-catching Senators and Reverends. We hope that a spirit has animated every heart, and given tone to all the proceedings of the Convention, which will make its voice felt throughout our country. The great struggle between Humanity and Despotism is apparently but just begun. The question is yet to be tested in this enlightened and Christian America, whether "mercy is a crime," and whether inhuman cruelty and ferocity are virtues. Our dungeons and penitentiaries are becoming peopled with the generous and intrepid men who have risked their own freedom to give liberty to the flying bondman. Christian men are siezed as felons, dragged before Courts, harassed with vexatious prosecutions, and finally stripped of their property, for deeds of hospitality which an Indian savage would scorn to refuse to the meanest wretch of earth. In our nation's capital two worthy and noble men have been for worn out weary years, in the National prison, and another, a distinguished citizen of New York, has just been thrown into the same prison for extending to our "Hungarians" the sympathy and aid which would have been honored and applauded, if exhibited towards the Ujhaziys, Dembinskis and Kosuths from abroad. Yet our statesmen, not satisfied with the worse than barbarian inhumanity of our present laws and practice, are demanding more severe legislation against compassion for the suffering and oppressed, denouncing and reprimanding the popular reluctance to act the part of kidnappers, as an unworthy "prejudice" which must be "conquered," and our clergy join them, with text and commentary to prove the example of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and Jesus himself, to be for slavery and slave catching. Never was such a convention more needed. It could not be more needed. It could not be more timely; and if conducted in the right spirit, and wise in its action, it cannot fail to exert a wide and wholesome influence in deepening sympathy for the slave, and the resolve that, spite of laws or constitutions, statesmen or priests, the fugitive slave shall never lack friends, shelter, or protection. It is time for every friend of justice and lover of right to give his testimony in unequivocal terms to the supremacy of the Eternal Law, and the individual conscience, over governments and legislatures. It is time for a voice to go forth from the Northern people, demanding the repeal of our cruel prohibitions of help to the needy.—*Pa. Freeman, Aug. 20th.*

A COLORED LAWYER.

"Robert Morris, Esq., of Boston, was admitted to practice in the United States Circuit Court. The recommendation of Morris by the Boston Bar was unanimous. Mr. M. is the first black man admitted to the bar in the United States, and the first lawyer of the proscribed race admitted to a Federal Court."

The above is from the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Here is a colored young man, who, by patient industry and virtuous conduct, has so far triumphed over American prejudice as to be admitted to practice at the bar of the United States Courts. Yet encouraging as is the fact just stated, this same distinguished gentleman may not even now go into the District of Columbia without being liable to be sold into slavery as a fugitive slave; nor may he claim exemption from insult from any low white ruffian who may be disposed to offer it.

A great step, however, has been gained. When colored men are found doing the same things—all the same things, that white men do, and doing them as well as white men do them, there will no longer be any prejudice against the colored man to combat.—*North Star.*

FIRST ARREST UNDER THE NEW SLAVE ACT.

The first arrest under the powers of the act passed on the 18th of the present month, was made this morning by Mr. Brown, one of the Deputy Marshals of the United States, who captured a fugitive slave in the neighborhood of Water and Pearl streets. When the fugitive was taken into custody, he gave a signal, upon which a large number of colored men congregated around them, and but for the precaution taken to have several policemen in readiness, an attempt would have been, doubtless, made to rescue him. Mr. Brown lifted his prisoner into a carriage, and conveyed him to the Marshal's office, where an examination will take place immediately.—*Evening New York Herald.*

The *Journal of Commerce* gives a lengthy account of the arrest and examination, but makes no mention of the above stated call for a rescue. It is no doubt, therefore, imaginary, or a gross exaggeration. The *Journal* says that the fugitive was a colored man named James Hamet, the slave of Mrs. Brown, of Baltimore, who ran away from her about two years since. He was arrested by the U. S. Marshal on the claim of

Mrs. Brown's agent, and in a few hours afterwards was examined. Mr. Asa Child appearing to protect the rights of the slave. Mrs. Brown's son and son-in-law testified that this man was the slave of Mrs. B., left to her by the will of her husband, which was produced in evidence. Mr. Child cross examined these witnesses, but elicited nothing to contradict their testimony, and then said that he believed that all the forms of law appertaining to the case had been complied with. Mr. Gardiner, U. S. Commissioner, before whom the examination was held, then decided that the slave should be given up to the claimants' agent, and signed the necessary certificate authorizing his removal by force back to Maryland.

Mr. Clare, the slave owner's agent, then demanded that the Commissioner would, in accordance with the law, give him a sufficient force to conduct the slave back to Maryland.

Mr. Gardiner then informed him that he must make affidavit that he feared an attempt would be made to rescue the slave on his way from this State to Maryland, and that on his making such affidavit, a sufficient force would be given to prevent it.

Mr. Clare then made the necessary affidavit, and the United States Commissioner ordered the slave into the custody of the United States Marshal, with directions to him to provide a sufficient force to guard the slave on his way back. The United States Marshal immediately deputed a sufficient number of his officers for the purpose, accompanied by whom, and his owner's agent, the slave was immediately taken from the city on his way to Maryland.

THE LATE HON. DANIEL P. KING, M. C.

He was one of the "fourteen" who voted against the act of the 13th of May, 1846, recognizing the existence of war with Mexico. Upon that question he made a speech. During this speech he used the famous words that "the object desired by our country was not peace with Mexico, but a piece of Mexico." Mr. Bedinger, of Virginia, on one occasion, attempted to cast obloquy upon the fourteen who voted against the war. He said they were "destined to be famous in story," and so far as his own fame and reputation were concerned, he (Mr. B.) would "rather be the poor volunteer, whose bones mouldered on the banks of the Rio Brazo, with no stone to mark his grave but the wild bird's shriek and the howling winds, than the mightiest whig or

tory, who thundered forth his denunciations of the war."

Mr. King said, in reply, and the words will be read with interest at this time: "Now I am no orator, as the gentleman is; and about the manner of living or dying, and burial, there may be a difference of taste; but rather than be pierced or stabbed (perhaps in the back) by a Mexican sword or spear, or hacked by an Indian tomahawk, on that savage shore,

"At once dispatch'd,
Cut off even in the blossom of my sin,
Unhousel'd, unanointed, unaneal'd,"

I should prefer, after having enjoyed all life's blessings, and performed all life's duties, to wrap the drapery of my couch about me, and without braggart boasting or unmanly fear, await my last solemn hour. I would that my friends should drop a few natural though unavailing tears, and then that they should carry out my bier to some sequestered spot, where over-arching trees might drop their autumnal leaves: and there, if the hand of affection should ever raise a stone, let it have only this inscription: "A lover of Peace, of Liberty, and of his country—he voted against the Mexican war."

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties. Though the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth can be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let Her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter."—*Milton*.

POETRY.

THE USE OF TEARS.

BY LORD MORPETH.

Be not thy tears too harshly chid,
Repine not at the rising sigh;
Who, if they might, would always bid
The breast be still, the cheek be dry?

How little of ourselves we know
Before a grief the heart has felt!
The lessons that we learn of woe,
May brace the mind as well as melt.

The energies too stern for mirth,
The reach of thought, the strength of will,
'Mid cloud and tempest have their birth—
Through blight and blast their course fulfil.

Love's perfect triumph never crowned
The hope unchequered by a pang;
The gaudiest wreaths with thorns are bound,
And Sappho wept before she sang.
Tears at each pure emotion flow,
They wait on Pity's gentle claim,
On Admiration's fervid glow,
On Piety's seraphic flame.
'Tis only when it mourns and fears,
The loaded spirit feels forgiven;
And through the mist of falling tears,
We catch the clearest glimpse of Heaven.

From Burritt's Citizen.

THE HOUR OF PRAYER.

BY EDITH GREY.

Come to thy God! oh weary wand'rer come;
Thou who has been in many a devious way,
Far from the pleasures of thy childhood's home,
Come to thy God, and humbly kneel and pray.
Come to thy God, oh sinner, lift thy prayer,
Thou who has wandered, far from virtue's ways,
And fallen oft within temptation's snare,
While sin and folly sung their sweetest lays.
Come to your God! ye weary care-worn hearts—
Wearied with sin, and all the world's vain strife:
Come where his power, both peace and rest imparts,
Come drink the waters of Eternal life.
Come to thy God! oh bruised and bleeding heart—
Come, while the poisoned arrow rankles there;
He sees the wounds, the bitter tears that start,
He'll give thee balm, and heal thy heart's despair.
Come to your God, all ye who vainly seek
For rest, or aid, for hope, or healing balm;—
Come with pure faith, with spirits trusting, meek,
He'll hear your prayer, and all your anguish calm.
Come to thy God! thou who hast home and friends,
Who never know of suffering, want or care;
Oh for the blessings, that thy Father sends,
Kneel down and praise Him in an humble prayer!
Let us all kneel! without one doubt, or fear,
To Him, whose love hath blessed us every day;
Our fervent praises, and our prayers He'll hear,
And guide and bless us in our onward way!

ADVERTISEMENT.

FREE LABOR SATINETS.

Just received, a handsome assortment of Free Labor Satinets, at prices ranging from 50 to 81 cts., wholesale, as cheap as similar goods are sold by the Market Street merchants. Also ready for sale, a large variety of Prints and Gingham, as well as the usual variety of other goods.

GEO. W. TAYLOR,
N. W. cor. Fifth and Cherry Sts., Philada.
9th mo. 28th, 1850.

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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. V.] PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1850. [NO. 11

EDITED BY SAMUEL RHOADS.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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PHILADELPHIA.

Price one dollar per annum, or six copies for five
dollars—subject to newspaper postage only.

The Non-Slaveholder is frequently sent to persons who are not subscribers. To these, no charge is, of course, made. It is hoped they will take the paper from the Post Office, and read and circulate it.

All communications and remittances should be directed to SAMUEL RHOADS, PHILADELPHIA.

COMMUNICATION.

Newcastle on Tyne, England, Oct. 12, 1850.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

I am happy to inform you that our good cause is increasing daily in importance to the minds of the British people. The willingness which they manifest to hear the subject, has surprised even the most sanguine of our friends. No one pretends to say that we are wrong, and therefore we have only to arouse the generous feelings of the people, and convince them of the practicability of our measures, and we see them mustering into our ranks with such alacrity as to assure us that success awaits us. Very many who heretofore had placed the slave system in foreign countries far beyond their reach, are beginning to see how they may remove some of the chief pillars from the concern, and are prepared to act in consistency with their convictions. Our meetings are invariably crowded, and we have the satisfaction of seeing much spirit and determination in the formation of "Free Labor Associations," which is usually attended to in meetings more private and social. Already with four weeks labor we have formed eight flourishing Associations, which are connected with the Ladies' New Castle Anti-Slavery Society.

The following is a brief statement of our movements:

Sept. 13. We commenced our Anti-Slavery campaign. The first meeting was held at Wallsend. It was well attended, and our cause was warmly received.

14th. At 2 o'clock I addressed a large concourse of children at Tuthill Stairs, Baptist chapel, New Castle, and impressed upon the minds of my little hearers, the condition and claims of the slave children of America.

16th. A large and spirited meeting was held in the evening at Gateshead. Rev. Mr. Anderson presided—the large school belonging to the Methodist chapel was crowded.

17th. Went to South Shields, called the "Heart of Old England." We were welcomed to the house of Thomas Scott, a gentleman much devoted to our cause. The meeting was held in the Wesleyan chapel, the largest house in town. Robert Ingham, Esq., ex. M. P. presided, and made an able address. Mr. Ingham is one of the most popular and beloved gentlemen in this part in the country. The church was filled to overflowing, and we were informed that many were compelled to leave the doors, not being able to gain admittance. It is estimated that more than 1200 were present. Mr. Wm. Harper did much towards the meeting. He is a ship owner, but will not employ his vessels in any way that will promote slavery. The venerable Dr. Winterbottom could not attend the meeting, but sent word that "he had a black man's heart"—the precise language used by the venerated friend of the oppressed, Gerrit Smith Esq.

18th. Attended a private meeting at 11 o'clock, at the Wesleyan chapel, and formed a large and influential Association. At 3 P. M. joined a "Tea Party" at Rev. Mr. Pottenger's Baptist chapel, in Tuthill near New Castle. It was an Anti-Slavery gathering—and all the delicacies were free labor of course. The meeting was in

every way cheering and grateful to the hearts of the friends of the cause.

19th. Spent a part of the day with Jonathan Priestman, an esteemed minister of the Friends' in New Castle. In the evening attended a Free Labor Tea Party, kindly given me by the Wesleyan ladies at the Blenheim street chapel; a large number of gentlemen and ladies were present. The meeting was in every way delightful. Several speeches were made after the tables were cleared.

20th. An enthusiastic meeting at North Shields. The Mayor, Capt. Linskill, took the chair, and made a warm and able speech, approving the measure. Dr. Pennington joined me here and took part in the meeting.

27th. Met a private gathering in Gateshead, at the house of Mr. Brady to form a Free Labor Association. Several high-minded and influential persons were present.

30th. At 7 o'clock, went to our meeting at Smyrna chapel in Sunderland, and found the house filled, and scores standing around the doors. We entered, and were welcomed by a hearty greeting. The Union chapel some hundred rods distant was opened to receive the surplus congregation, and it was soon filled. Both Dr. Pennington and myself spoke in each meeting. We never saw more enthusiastic meetings. The next morning a large Association was formed.

Oct. 1. Attended the second meeting at South Shields, which was even larger than the first. The Wesleyan chapel was kindly opened. The meeting was full to overflowing.

2d. Went to Hartlepool, and found the friends not expecting a good meeting, but was agreeably disappointed. Next morning a good Association was formed.

3d. Held a meeting at Friends' meetinghouse at Stockton. The house though large was crowded. There we also formed an Association.

4th. Spoke at Middlesburgh in the Town Hall. The house could not hold the people who desired to hear. The next day we saw a good society started.

8th. We reached the beautiful town of Darlington. This place has several of the most "stately homes of England." The residences of several "Friends" are lovely beyond description. I would mention those of the Peases and Backhouses. We had a warm and cordial reception, and really our hearts were cheered to see those whose opulence and distinguished names

give them so much influence joining in this infant Reformation with such spirit. Our meeting was held in the Central Hall, which was quite full. An association was formed the next day.

10th. Attended another meeting at Blagdon, which was not a whit behind the others for interest.

In most of these meetings at which associations were formed, we were aided by our friend A. H. Richardson. The demand for free labor articles is increasing daily. Help us, dear friends in America, to satisfy that demand.

H. H. GARNET.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH 1, 1850.

"YEARLY MEETING HOUSE," MOUNT PLEASANT, OHIO.—In a notice of the Annual meeting of the Ohio Free Produce Association of Friends, last month, we alluded to the fact that a proposition to hold it in the Meeting house at Mount Pleasant was not united with, after a long discussion in the Yearly Meeting. An article, headed "Yearly Meeting House," and signed "A Member of O. Y. meeting," has since appeared in *The Friend*, intended as a justification of those who closed the doors of the meeting house against their fellow members. The writer says:—"The use of the Yearly Meeting house at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, for the purpose of holding a meeting of the Free Labor Produce Association, though composed of members of our religious society, was objected to by a number of Friends, because it was not strictly of a religious character; for if such were its bearing, it ought to be the concern of the body at large; and not detached portions of the Society to act *separately* from the body; and as the Yearly Meeting was asked for it, these viewed the granting leave as an encouragement of such action."

It seems to us an extraordinary assumption—at once unjust and groundless—that the Association of Friends alluded to, is not strictly of a religious character. We have always believed the Association to be founded on that testimony against slavery, which is recognised as *religious* in the discipline of Ohio Yearly Meeting; and we presume every member of the Association believes he is acting on religious grounds and motives. John Woolman refrained from the use of the products of slave-labor, under a deep convic-

tion that it was wrong to partake in the "gains of oppression;" and from his day down to the present time, there has been a succession of the most eminent and worthy as well as obscure members of the Society of Friends who have adopted the same principle. It has also been recognised as a religious concern by the "body at large." In the year 1844, the Yearly Meeting of New York referred the subject of trafficking in and using articles produced by the labor of slaves, to the attention of the Meeting for Sufferings; and this body prepared a minute which was adopted by the Yearly Meeting in 1845 and sent to the subordinate meetings, exhibiting in a most lucid and convincing manner the religious duty of avoiding such traffic and use. In New England Yearly Meeting, the present year, the subject received serious consideration, being introduced and treated as a religious concern.

To show distinctly the position of Friends' Free Produce Association in Ohio, we may quote two of its fundamental principles;—

"That abstinence from the use of the products of slavery is essential to a pure and consistent testimony against that unchristian system;" and

"That we are called to this abstinence by a two-fold consideration, first to clear our hands and our conscience from a participation in the unrighteous gains of that system of oppression, against which we profess to bear a religious testimony; and secondly, because it is a principle which, as it is embraced, must exert a potent influence on slavery itself, and ultimately remove this great crime, with all its attendant evils and corruptions, from the earth."

It must, we think, be clear to every unprejudiced mind that the character of this Association is strictly religious; but the "member of O. Y. Meeting" says:—"If such were its bearing, it ought to be the concern of the body at large; and not detached portions of the Society to act *separately* from the body;" &c. We are decidedly of the opinion that the subject of abstaining from the buying, and selling, and using the fruits of slavery, ought to be the concern of Ohio Yearly Meeting, and of every other yearly meeting, as it has been that of New York; but, if it were so, we are very far from believing that it would be improper for Associations of Friends—incorrectly termed "detached portions of the Society"—to act separately from the body in accomplishing the objects of the Free Produce Association.

We have Associations of Friends to supply Bi-

bles to those who are destitute: to furnish Tracts where they may be useful in spreading the principles of the Society; to afford the means of imparting literary instruction to the children of Friends and others, and to restore health to the minds of those who may be deprived of the use of their reason. One of the objects of the Free Produce Association is to "adopt means for obtaining a supply of such articles, the productions of free labor, as are not readily to be procured by individuals through the ordinary channels of commerce or manufactures."

All the associations above mentioned, excepting the last, hold their meetings in Friends' meeting houses, and at least two of them, we believe, meet in the house at Mount Pleasant. We are utterly unable to perceive that they are more strictly religious in their character than the Free Produce Association, and it may well be asked, why Friends should not enjoy equal privileges when they associate for the purpose of supplying themselves and others with the products of free labor, that they may not be under the necessity of providing their tables and their wardrobes with those things which are truly and emphatically the fruit of robbery and the price of blood!

It is not the least remarkable feature in the case before us, that only in Philadelphia and Mount Pleasant, has the discovery been made that Free Produce Associations of Friends are not sufficiently religious in their character to be allowed the use of the meeting houses of the society. Whether it be that in England, New England, New York, North Carolina and Indiana, the Society has become "degenerate and corrupt," "blind to the truth and unable to distinguish between thing and thing," it is certain that in all those Yearly Meetings, Friends enjoy the privilege of using their meeting houses when they associate for the purpose of adopting measures to bear a practical testimony against slavery, as well as on other occasions of promoting their religious testimonies.

If the objection advanced by "a number of Friends" against the use of the meeting house at Mount Pleasant was the real ground of their refusal, we cannot but hope that a candid re-examination of the matter will induce them to withdraw their opposition.

INDIANA YEARLY MEETING. DISUSE OF SLAVE-LABOR PRODUCTS.—The accounts received from our Correspondents in Indiana, relative to the

proceedings of the late Yearly Meeting of Friends in that State, are of a highly interesting and gratifying character.

The Report of the Committee on the people of color, known as the African Committee, showed a large amount of labor for their protection and improvement. We give, in another place, an account of the rescue of a colored man from slavery in Texas by the joint exertions of two branch committees.

In one of John Woolman's essays against slavery, he inquires;—"Whence is it that men who believe in a righteous, omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related and are equally accountable, remain so easy in it, but that they do not discuss this matter with that candor and freedom of thought, which the case justly calls for?" Much of the indifference existing amongst Friends and others in relation to a prevailing custom—the use of the products of slave-labor—upon which depends the existence of slavery, arises, we believe, from the same neglect. It is, therefore, with no ordinary feelings of pleasure that we record the important and encouraging fact, that on the evening of the 5th ult. a large meeting was held in the meeting house, at Richmond, on the subject of the disuse of slave labor products.

At a meeting of the "African Committee" during the afternoon of the 3rd ult.—the day on which the Yearly Meeting commenced its sittings—a member remarked that he believed our testimony against slavery incomplete while we were using, indiscriminately, the proceeds of slave labor. This sentiment being approved by several others, our friend Enoch Lewis, Editor of "Friends' Review," an Elder "worthy of double honor," rose and remarked, that Friends of several other Yearly Meetings interested in this subject had found time, during the sitting of their annual assemblies, to meet together and discuss the matter, and he would be pleased if Friends of Indiana could find a time, before their Yearly Meeting concluded, to convene for a similar purpose. His suggestion was approved by a large number of Friends—the expression of unity being unusually great and without dissent—and six o'clock in the evening of the following Seventh day was agreed upon for the proposed meeting.

An assembly numbering between 1500 and 2000 persons convened at the appointed time, and at the request of the meeting, Enoch Lewis introduced the subject to be considered, beginning with a sketch of the origin and progress of the slave-trade, and noticing some of the most impor-

tant events connected with its history, and that of slavery, up to the present day, together with the efforts which have been made to suppress it, and its present extent and unutterable barbarity. He then showed that the whole system, from its beginning, has been sustained by the market for the productions of slave labor. Benjamin Seebohm, Nathan C. Hoag and many others addressed the meeting. It is not to be supposed that all who were present held the same views in regard to the duty of avoiding the use and consumption of the fruits of slavery, yet the proceedings were marked by entire unity and harmony of feeling.

There were probably individuals who feared disastrous results from the assembling of a large number of Friends to deliberate upon this, mis-called, "exciting subject." We think there was no real ground for their fears, for whenever any difficulty has arisen from the introduction of this subject into committees or meetings, it has been the result, we believe, of unreasonable opposition. Our beloved friend Benjamin Seebohm stated in the meeting, that having attended many of the African committees in various parts of the Yearly Meeting, when the free labor subject had been introduced, it gave him great pleasure to be able to say that he had never on a single occasion heard it spoken of in a way that gave him pain or uneasiness. William Hobbs also expressed his belief that all who were favorable to this subject, wished to move in such a way as not to hurt the feelings of those who differed from them.

We have found nothing, in our experience, of an exciting character in the doctrine and practice of abstaining from the productions of slavery, and we believe all who adopt the testimony on moral or religious grounds will find the path in to which it leads to be the "way of the Cross." So far from this movement having a tendency to disturb the harmony and good feeling which happily exist among the members of Indiana Yearly Meeting, we entertain the firm belief that it is eminently promotive of a restoration to unity and membership of those who seceded a few years since, and assumed the name of "Anti-Slavery Friends."

Our western friends who feel bound to maintain their testimony, in its fulness, against slavery, will, we hope, be encouraged and strengthened in faithful and zealous perseverance. A writer in a recent number of *The Friend*, after relating an anecdote of the late Jacob Lindley, who was an eminent Minister of the Society of

Friends, makes the following comments, which we commend to the special attention of those who are disposed to throw impediments in the way of the *Free Produce Cause*, and to think its friends too warm in their zeal:—

“In pleading for the rights of hospitality or the rights of humanity, he (Jacob Lindley) felt it consistent with Christian meekness and gospel love, to be *earnest and zealous*. On one occasion, when a number of Friends were assembled to consult on a matter, Nicholas Waln is reported to have said, ‘Friends, I hope we shall be favored to feel a little warmth.’ A degree of right warmth is always desirable, and but little good is ever effected without it. *Especially is it so in cases where opposition and hindering things, are continually arising to obstruct right progress.* Yet this warmth of feeling is not to control, but to be subject to the judgment; not to direct or warp it, but to give efficiency to the actions it has sanctioned. When the judgment is convinced as to what is right, and the mind is prepared for action, it is then a *favor* to feel a warmth which will enable us earnestly and heartily to engage in the performance of our duty.”

A FREEMAN RESCUED FROM SLAVERY IN TEXAS.

—In the Report of the African Committee to the recent Yearly Meeting of Indiana, we find the following interesting details of a successful effort to rescue from slavery a man who was *legally* free. It should not be forgotten that, in this land alone, three millions of men, women and children, as much entitled to freedom as this man, are yet held as slaves.

“In the 11th month last, our branch was informed by the members of Union Branch, that a colored man by the name of Eli Terry, that was seduced away from his father’s house near Indianapolis, in the 10th mo. 1842, had lately been heard of in Red River County, in the State of Texas.

Although the neighbouring citizens used considerable exertion at the time, in his case, and Friends made much inquiry on the subject, the following year, yet no information could be obtained where he probably might be found; till in the summer of 1849, John Ryman, a citizen of Lawrenceburgh, on business at Orleans, obtained the information from a citizen of Red River county, Texas (there on business also;) he in a casual conversation relating the wretched condition of a colored man in slavery, on an adjoining plantation to his own, who said he was a free man, and

that he had free parents living near Indianapolis, Indiana.

Upon hearing said information, our branch appointed a committee to unite with a committee of Union branch, to examine the accounts further; to take legal counsel thereon; and propose to a subsequent meeting such measures as they might think best.

At a subsequent meeting, called for the purpose on the 3rd of the 12th mo., 1849, upon hearing the report of the committee, it was agreed to employ an efficient lawyer and two competent witnesses, to go the long journey of something over 2,500 miles, to endeavor to regain his freedom, and bring him back.

Accordingly a few Friends were set apart to make said engagement, and on the 4th of 12th mo, (being time of our Supreme Court,) the afore-said John Ryman, attorney at law, as agent, and Thomas Council and Parish T. Harrison as witnesses, were employed to go after the said colored man. They were also furnished with several depositions of different persons who were acquainted with the family, and some of the incidents relative to his abduction which were certified by the governor; and the State Seal affixed as a kind of corroborative evidence. Accordingly the deputation left Lawrenceburgh on the 11th of 12mo., and on the 30th of the same, they arrived at Clarksville, Red River County, Texas. They there had to encounter some difficulties, the informant having moved away, and the said colored man having again been sold. But after prudent delay, till they could find a person that they could confidently trust, they at length obtained information where the colored man in question was, and his present master’s name:—and forthwith our attorney caused a writ of habeas corpus to be issued, on which the said Eli was taken and brought before a judge; and his master summoned to appear, and show cause if any, why he should not be set at liberty.

When the parties were ready, the case came to a hearing, and after being fully argued on both sides, the judge declared himself fully satisfied with the proofs, and ordered the said colored man to be discharged from all manner of restraint, with liberty to go wheresoever he would. Our attorney gives a just tribute of credit to the judge, for the firm and impartial manner in which he discharged his duty, though a Southern man with strong southern views. And early in the 2d mo. 1850, they all arrived home in safety, and restored the said colored man to his father’s

home, to their great mutual comfort, as well as to the satisfaction of their friends.

The whole cost was \$677.20."

THE FIRST SLAVE CASE IN PHILAD'A. UNDER THE NEW LAW.—A colored man named Henry Garnett, was seized on the 17th ult. near this city, under authority of a warrant issued by Judge Grier, of the U. S. Circuit Court, before whom he was immediately taken. At the solicitation of persons who felt interested in the welfare of the accused, the case was postponed till the next morning. He was then attended by able counsel, and his claimant failing to produce the requisite proof, Henry was discharged, to the great joy of thousands who had collected to await the decision.

Several officers attempted to re-arrest him, immediately after he left the Court House, tearing his clothes from his body and striking him severe blows on the head with their maces. He was, however, rescued by his colored friends and taken to a place of safety.

James Hamlet, the fugitive slave mentioned in our last number, as having been seized in New York and taken to Baltimore, has since been ransomed and restored to his wife and children.

THE HOME SLAVE TRADE AND COTTON CULTURE.—WHO SUPPORTS THEM?—We take the following advertisement from a Kentucky newspaper, which copied it from a paper published at Memphis, Tenn. Husbands and wives, parents and children, are separated in Virginia and dragged to Alabama, "to work the next crop of cotton" for the professed friends of the slave to buy, and manufacture and wear in the Northern States and Great Britain! "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, &c."

"NEGROES! NEGROES!!

One hundred Virginia Negroes will be in our mart about the 25th of February next. Our partner Thos. Dickens, started from Richmond on the 1st inst. We say to our friends and customers, if they will have patience and not buy until the drove arrives, they shall have the best negroes, to work their next crop of cotton, that have ever been purchased in this market. Among the lot there is a few choice house servants and cooks for the city trade. Our motto is, quick sales and short profits.

We also will pay the highest market price

for Negroes brought to our market for sale. Persons visiting our city with negroes will do well to see us before selling.

BOLTON, DICKENS & Co.

Memphis, Jan. 10, 1850.—3m.

"CONSIDERATIONS ON THE USE OF THE PRODUCTIONS OF SLAVERY."—At the suggestion of a friend, we insert a portion of this little work, intending to give the remainder next month. It was prepared by the Editor, and first published in 1844. To a considerable extent, he availed himself of arguments and observations found in some previous publications, and in a manuscript correspondence, which led to the recurrence of nearly similar ideas and the variety of style observable in the compilation.

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET.—It will be seen by the communication for which we are indebted to our friend H. H. Garnet, that he is actively prosecuting his mission in Great Britain. We have also copied from our English papers, short extracts from his public addresses, and those of his coadjutor, J. W. C. Pennington, at Sunderland and Newcastle.

Samuel R. Ward, a relative of H. H. Garnet and well known as an eloquent speaker and the Editor of the *Impartial Citizen* in Boston, recently published a letter from H. H. G., with the following observations—true and appropriate in themselves, and, coming from the source they do, highly gratifying:

"Of the safe arrival of Mr. Garnet in Europe, our friends have already been apprised. But it is our privilege to publish a letter from him this week. In a private note, Mr. Garnet offers to write a line for the *Citizen* frequently. Most heartily do we thank him for the proffer of such a favor.

The Free Produce cause is justly entitled to the earnest consideration of all the enemies of slavery. The Liberty Party of which we are a very humble member, has quite frequently said as much in its resolutions. In this country, it is well known that the pecuniary patronage given to slavery is the great support upon which it rests. Indeed, but for the invention of Whitney's cotton-gin, it is reasonable to suppose that the slavery of the six Southern, as well as that of the seven Northern of the original thirteen States, would have become too profitless to be maintained. It is the pecuniary connection with slavery, which corrupts the merchants of New York, Philadelphia and Boston, so much as to

make them but little, if any, better than the Southern slaveholders. Their pecuniary connection, too, has much to do with the political and ecclesiastical control which the abominable institution has obtained.

Now, to do what we can to counteract this influence is alike the dictate of good principle and sound policy. Our own mind needs no convincing on this point. The inconvenience of getting supplies in the interior, where we have always lived heretofore, and the still greater inconvenience arising from not being able to purchase any considerable amount of free labor goods at one time, operate against the practical working of the principle, in some parts of the country. But should pedlars traverse the country with such goods, many could be supplied who now find it difficult to obtain them.

The English, who have, at the expense of \$100,000,000, freed the negroes of the West Indies, were recreant to their own principles, if unwilling to give a preference to the proceeds of their toil over that of the stolen products of American man-stealers and woman-whippers.

No one knowing Mr. Garnet will be surprised to learn how he is appreciated in England."

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL. — Instead of "Peace, Union, and Harmony," resulting from the passage of the Compromise Bills, as seemed to be anticipated in some quarters, a wholesome agitation has arisen in the Northern States, which we earnestly hope will never cease until not only these unchristian laws but slavery itself shall be abolished. It is true that some of the newspapers in Northern cities, particularly such as are connected with Southern *commercial* interests, advocate the Fugitive Slave law and urge its faithful application, yet generally, the Press in the free States condemns it in the strongest language. Various religious bodies have also officially condemned the law, and, as specimens of their action, we give the following resolutions adopted at a meeting of the New York Evangelical Congregational Association held at Poughkeepsie:—

"Resolved, That we cannot recognize this law as of any binding force upon the citizens of our country. 1st. Because it is contrary to the express command of God. Deut. 23: 16, 17—"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not op-

press him." 2d. It is in opposition to the great law of Christian benevolence, which requires us in all things to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. 3d. It conflicts with the provisions of our National Constitution. 4th. It prostrates those two great safeguards of human liberty, *habeas corpus* and trial by jury. 5th. It is revolting to the spontaneous promptings of humanity. 6th. It brings upon our Nation the reproach of injustice and inconsistency, and impairs our influence upon the world for good. 7th. In short, this law outrages every principle of human feeling, of humanity and religion; and thus, so far as the principle is concerned, it endangers the liberty of every man.

Resolved, That while we recognize the obligation to obey the laws of the land, we make an exception in the case of all such provisions as contravene the "higher laws" of God.

Resolved, That we advise all persons to render every needful aid and comfort to fugitive slaves, just the same as if there were no law in the land forbidding it."

The Free Will Baptist General Conference, held at Providence, R. I., unanimously adopted the following:

"Resolved, That we do deliberately and calmly, yet earnestly and decidedly, deny any and all obligation on our part to submit to the unrighteous enactments of the aforesaid Fugitive Slave Bill. Also, that regardless of unjust human enactments, fines, and imprisonment, we will do all we can consistently with the claims of the Bible, to prevent the recapture of the fugitive, and to aid him in his efforts to escape from his rapacious claimants.

Resolved, That as 'we ought to obey God rather than men,' (*Acts* v. 29) in disobeying a cruel and wicked human law, and patiently submitting to its unrighteous penalties for such disobedience, we are 'subject unto the higher powers, the powers that be,' (*Rom.* xiii. 1,) in the highest and holiest sense of that Divine command; that is in the same sense in which the Apostles, primitive Christians, and the subsequent Christian martyrs, obeyed it when they disobeyed the Jewish, heathen, and Popish laws.

Resolved, That we do most deeply sympathize with those who, after having escaped from human bondage, are now in great fear, anxiety, and distress, on account of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill. We also recommend them to use all the means to preserve their liberty that religion, conscience, and reason will justify under their harassing and distressing circumstances,

Resolved, That the conduct of slaveholders and their abettors in procuring the annexation of Texas in order to afford security to slavery; their efforts to establish the unmerciful institution in the free Territory acquired by the war caused by that annexation; also their violent opposition to the admission of California into the Union as a free State, and their threats to dissolve the Union if they cannot be permitted to carry slavery where they please, are developments that afford increasing proof of the deep inherent depravity of American Slavery, and likewise call loudly for continued and increasing Christian and constitutional efforts for its abolition."

The Editor of the *National Era* makes the following remarks, introducing the above resolutions and the debate upon them:

"Every day's mail from the North brings startling accounts of the deep excitement produced by the Fugitive Slave Bill. The religious feeling of the community is aroused, and things are rapidly assuming a threatening aspect.

The following report, furnished us by a careful reporter, of the action of the General Conference of the Free Will Baptists, will be read with profound interest. For the first time we confess to some apprehension for the Federal Union. How it can be maintained amid such a conflict of feelings and purposes on questions of vital interest, unless the slaveholders can be induced to relax something in their demands, is not exactly clear to us.

It is but fair that our Southern fellow-citizens should know on what grounds the bill, which they seem to think of so much importance, is opposed in the North. The action of the Conference referred to is a fair indication, we presume, of the views of the religious community generally in the free States."

"THE VIRTUES OF COTTON."—We have long entertained the belief that any influence the "Compromises of the Constitution" may exert in supporting slavery, is of a *secondary* character; that Commerce in the products of slave labor constitutes the foundation upon which the whole system of slavery, with all the political power and arrangements emanating from it, is built, and that the use and consumption of those products, being the corner stone of the monstrous fabric of iniquity, should be repudiated by all true Christians.

The article below, strongly confirmatory of these views, appeared, a few days since, in the

"*Daily Times*," a Democratic newspaper of this city. We commend it to the especial consideration of those abolitionists who condemn the "Compromises of the Constitution" and advocate a dissolution of the American Union, and yet promote, by their daily practice, the great evil which neither the Union nor the Compromises could sustain without such aid.

"The following remarks, from a cotemporary, give the clue to most of the political movements which have been and are now agitating the country, both North and South:—'All property is essentially conservative, but cotton especially so. Every cent a pound additional on cotton, adds a hundred dollars per head to the value of its cultivators. A stout, hardy 'nigger,' who is dull at six hundred dollars when fair cotton is but ten cents, goes quick at eleven hundred when cotton is stiff at fifteen cents. Then cotton politics are fashionable throughout the great Northern cities, as well as in the South. Then the right of slave-breeding planters to hold their human 'property' in any of the National Territories is vehemently affirmed at the South, and blandly regarded at the North. Then compromises are fashionable on the Eastern seaboard, no matter what is compromised nor who. Then the blessings of union and peace are trumpeted and sung, while freedom, justice, posterity, eternity, are practically treated as of small account. Then the Federal Constitution is regarded with awe and admiration as a contrivance especially for catching and holding fugitive slaves. Inestimable are the virtues of cotton, especially when stiff at fifteen cents per pound.'"

AMERICAN FREEDOM OF THE PRESS!—Jesse McBride, has been tried at Greensborough, North Carolina, on the charge of circulating a pamphlet in which it is shown that slaveholders violate the Ten Commandments. He was declared guilty and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, to stand in the pillory one hour and to receive twenty lashes! He has appealed to the Supreme Court.

In the 7th number of our present volume we copied from the *New York True Wesleyan* an excellent letter written by Jesse McBride, introducing an Epistle issued by North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends on the subject of slavery. We understand he is a worthy minister amongst the Wesleyans.

A person named Crook was also tried for the same offence and acquitted.

MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—Pursuant to the call of the Executive Committee, this meeting assembled at West Chester on the 15th ult. and continued its session until the afternoon of the 17th. Large numbers were in attendance, and the position of the anti-slavery cause, arising from the recent action of Congress, gave an unusual interest to the proceedings. Our limited space will only allow the insertion of a few of the resolutions adopted by the meeting. Those in relation to the Fugitive slave bill were as follows:

“Resolved, That the present Congress of the United States has stamped itself with indelible infamy by the passage of the fugitive slave bill, and that every member who voted for it, and any man who aids in its execution, is guilty of treachery to humanity, and treason against God.

Resolved, That as friends of the slave and lovers of liberty and right, we are bound to repudiate and resist, by all righteous means, this infamous statute, and that we hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, to the flying bondmen, to our country, and to our God, that we will neither obey nor regard it; that, though fines and imprisonments be our only alternative, *we will not* ‘bewray him that wandereth,’ nor ‘deliver to the master the servant who hath escaped from his master unto us.’

Resolved, That our warmest sympathies are with our persecuted brothers and sisters, in our midst, who are particularly exposed to the cruel workings of this bill; and that, although, according to the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and the practice of the great majority of professed christians, our colored friends are fully justified in resisting its execution by force of arms; this Society recommends them to resort to Christian measures only, for deliverance out of the hands of their enemies.”

The following resolutions on the subject of abstinence from slave labor products, were unanimously adopted:—

“Resolved, That we recommend to all enemies of Slavery to abstain, as far as practicable, from the consumption of the productions of Slave labor, as an endeavor after personal purity, and a testimony against the robbery of the Slave by the Slaveholder.

Resolved, That the efforts made by the Free Produce Association for developing the resources which exist on this Continent and elsewhere, for the supply of free goods, and to meet the increasing demand for them, have our thankful acknowledgements, with our earnest wishes for their continuance.”

“The Fugitive Slave Bill: its history and unconstitutionality; with an account of the seizure and enslavement of James Hamlet, and his subsequent restoration to liberty.”

This is the title of a pamphlet of 36 pages, published at the office of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 61 John St. N. York. It is not printed for profit, but to do good at this crisis, and should be found in the family of every citizen of the free States. If immediate application be made it can be furnished in any quantity at \$2 a hundred, for cash. Orders should be directed to Wm. Harned, 61 John St. New York.

SELECTIONS.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE USE OF THE PRODUCTIONS OF SLAVERY, MORE PARTICULARLY ADDRESSED TO THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

In the early settlement of America, when there was little known of the manner in which slaves were procured in Africa, and the purchase of them here was deemed favourable to both master and slave, Friends not only purchased and held slaves, but even engaged in the foreign slave-trade. At a very early period a few Friends were enlightened to see the sinfulness of this trade, and after long and arduous labours with their brethren the practice was condemned. Our worthy forefathers, however, continued to hold their slaves in bondage, because they had not sufficiently examined the subject in the Light of Truth: for when in the course of a long series of years they became convinced that this practice also was wrong, they united in abolishing it. Our Society having thus cleared itself of the sin of owning slaves, yet finds that millions of them are held in cruel bondage by our fellow-citizens and by the inhabitants of some other countries; and now, the very serious and awfully important question arises—whether in our commercial intercourse with these, or in paying the slaveholders for, and partaking of, that which they cruelly and wrongfully exact from their slaves, we are in any degree encouraging the atrocious system or enjoying its fruits.

That deeply instructed and faithful servant of Christ, John Woolman, declared “the trading in or frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labours of those [slaves] who are under such lamentable oppression, hath appeared to be a subject which may yet require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of peace. After long and mournful

exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may please the Lord *further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in such further manifestation.*"

It is well known that John Woolman declined the use of the productions of the labour of slaves, and that from his day down to the present, the same testimony has been upheld by many of our most prominent and worthy members. Believing that the time of which he spoke has arrived when this subject demands our "most serious consideration," and that the present state of slavery and the continued horrors of the foreign and domestic slave-trade loudly call us to faithfulness in this matter, we feel concerned to address our brethren in relation to it.

"Deep-rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered; but it is the duty of every one to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them." "As men obtain reputation by their profession of the Truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and those of less note to justify themselves, say, such and such good men did the like." "Customs generally approved, and opinions received by youth from their superiors become like the natural produce of a soil, especially when they are suited to favourite inclinations; but as the judgments of God, by which the state of the soul must be tried, are without partiality, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and try the treasures of the soul by the infallible standard, Truth."—Woolman.

In reference to slavery itself, John Woolman inquires, "whence is it that men who believe in a righteous, omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related and are equally accountable, remain so easy in it, but that *they do not discuss this matter with that candour and freedom of thought, which the case justly calls for?*" and this, we believe, is one great reason why so many now remain easy in a custom which is the main support of slavery—the use of its productions.

"Christ, our holy leader, graciously continueth to open the understandings of his people, and as circumstances alter from age to age, some who are deeply baptised into a feeling of the state of things are led by his Holy Spirit into exercises in some respects different from those which attended the faithful in foregoing ages"—"and from a clear conviction, may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on

them to *desist from some parts of conduct*, which some good men have been in."—Woolman. Thus it was in regard to a participation in the slave-trade and in slavery, and thus it is as respects the support of slavery by using its productions.

"Under a solemn sense of the awful load of guilt which is impending over our beloved country, and of our share in the responsibility, may we seriously and impartially examine what is required at our hands." "If our hearts are softened and expanded by the love of God, we shall be prepared to view these oppressed people as children of the same Almighty Father, equally with ourselves the objects of His divine regard, and of that salvation which comes by Jesus Christ; and thus be enabled to enter into a lively feeling of the miseries and hardships they endure; to put our souls in their souls' stead, and in singleness of heart to follow every clear opening of duty in their behalf, *whatever sacrifice it may cost us, either of worldly treasure or popularity.*"—*Yearly Meeting Minute*, 1839.

Let us then inquire by what means the vast and atrocious system of slavery is maintained, and upon whom the responsibility of its continuance rests. The whole system is composed of parts necessarily connected with and dependent upon each other:—viz. man-stealing; slave-trading; slave-holding; buying and using the productions of slavery. We all acknowledge that a tremendous load of guilt rests *somewhere*. Is it upon the poor, ignorant, heathen Chief in Africa, who attacks a neighbouring tribe and seizes his miserable victims for the slave-trader? Is it upon him who in performing his share of the dreadful business, furnishes the slaveholder with "human chattels?" Does the slaveholder in retaining them in bondage, incur the whole guilt of the system? For what does slavery, with all its abominations, exist? Its gains. What supports slavery? *The use of its productions*. If, therefore, there was no contributor to its gains—no purchaser of its productions, it would of necessity cease. *Is he guiltless who furnishes the incentive for its continuance and the means of its support?*

In this view of the subject, how plain is the course which our duty as Christians points out! "Cease to do evil;" "do justly;" "thou shalt be far from oppression;" "be not partakers of other men's sins;" "cleanse your hands, ye sinners;" "all things, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

If, indeed, slavery is the most monstrous evil of the times, wicked in itself, and dreadful in its con-

sequences—depriving, in this country alone, nearly three millions of human beings of their right to act out the ends for which an all-wise and bountiful Creator formed them; stifling His spirit in their hearts, and when through darkness it manifests itself, disabling them from following its requisitions; making, as far as human enactments and customs can make, the slave-master the slaves' God, and the slave, not a man created in God's image, but a chattel, a brute, a tool—not his own, but his master's:—if, indeed, slavery thus tramples under foot the highest principles of moral obligation, ought not all to avoid upholding it? And should not Friends especially, who, above others, profess to be very delicate in their perceptions of *right*, and firm in their adherence to it, refuse to sustain it by any means?

In a "Minute on Slavery," issued by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1839, we find the following paragraphs: viz.—"The close connexion and intimate intercourse which are maintained between the different sections of our common country, through the diversified and widely spread channels of commerce and business, may, unless we are very watchful, blunt our sensibilities to the cruelties of slavery and diminish our abhorrence of its injustice. We wish tenderly to incite our dear friends to an individual inquiry, with a single eye to the pointings of Truth, how far they are clear in these respects; and should such an examination awaken serious apprehensions as to any part of their traffic, that they may be willing to forego every prospect of gain, arising from the prosecution of business, which is incompatible with the purity of our religious profession."

What connexion and intercourse are here alluded to? Those with slaveholders. What part of their traffic is it that Friends may seriously apprehend is incompatible with the purity of their religious profession? That composed of the productions of slave labor. Here then is the principle distinctly recognized by our Yearly Meeting, that a *traffic* in the productions of slavery tends to blunt our sensibilities to its cruelties, and diminish our abhorrence of its injustice, and may be found incompatible with the purity of our religious profession; how then can the use of these productions be consistently indulged in or advocated? What difference exists in principle between our purchasing a bale of slave grown cotton, or a hogshead of slave made sugar, to sell it again for the support of our families, and our purchasing the same article to be used in

them? Does the turpitude of the transaction consist in our selling to another that which we may innocently use ourselves?

"Seed sown with the tears of a confined, oppressed people—harvests cut down by an overborne, discontented reaper, make bread less sweet to the taste of an honest man, than that which is the produce or just reward of such voluntary action as is a proper part of the business of human creatures."—*Woolman*.

If our moral sense would revolt at holding a slave ourselves, it should also revolt at another's holding one.

If it would revolt at using the unpaid toil of him we might so hold, it should also revolt at using the unpaid toil of him who is held by another.

It is no argument for our partaking of the fruit of crime, that if we do not partake of it others will; and as therefore our abstinence will not arrest or mitigate the evil, we may innocently derive from it a good to ourselves. We do not know the premises to be true. God has made us moral instruments, and we are to act as the medium through which His ends are to be accomplished. So far as our means extend, we are to combat evil as if its extirpation depended on our individual action. Does slavery exist for its gains, and would it cease if there were no purchaser of its productions? If the answer be affirmative, could I, let each of us inquire, morally be *THE* purchaser? Could I innocently hold up one end of a system which the slaveholder at the other would in vain attempt to sustain without me? Does the circumstance that several join me in the purchase, make it right for me to do that connectively, which to do singly was wrong? Do numbers annihilate responsibility, and make me a virtuous partner in the mighty aggregate of wickedness?

That the slave-trade and slavery exist only by reason of the use of the produce of slave labor—to obtain which is the sole end of the slave-trade, whether foreign or domestic, and of slavery with all its abominations—is so plain to every understanding, that it may be assumed as self-evident. Indeed, it is universally acknowledged that as respects manufactures, and the products of the earth raised by the labor of *whites*, the consumer who pays his money for such articles is the great supporter of those productions; and of course, the same rule must be admitted in respect to the productions of the labor of *blacks*.

If the institution of slavery were now to be commenced, knowing its character as we do, men

of pure minds would revolt instinctively at using the productions of the labor of a fellow being seized to be a slave, and retained in that condition for the sake of giving existence to these productions. They would just as much refuse to connect themselves with *the end* proposed by such an outrage, as they would *the beginning* of a purpose looking to that end. Habit, the foe or friend of virtue, according to the direction it takes, may blind us in some degree to the wrongfulness of this use, but it can never make the use right, or justify us in the mal-practice whilst there is left to us the moral faculty of recurring to first principles, or putting ourselves feelingly into the condition of the sufferers whose woes and bonds the use occasions and continues. Without bringing the question nearer home than would be presented by the case of the poor Indian with whom we sympathise—let slavery be added to his existing wrongs; let, not his lands only, but also his soul, mind and body, be taken to the use of the usurper—under whatever solemnity of law—and no sophistry could disguise from us *his* crime who would consent to use the avails of that crushing tyranny. When the cupidity of the whites shall have seized on the last hunting grounds of our red brethren, and, in accordance with the popular doctrine that “two races cannot co-exist on the same soil but in the relation of master and slave,” the remnant, which the vices and the swords of the intruders may have spared of the hereditary owners of the American soil, shall be doomed to slavery, will *Friends* shake hands with the oppressor, or shall we spurn from us the productions of the new and horrible robbery? If, as we believe, they would with one voice be rejected, how can we *now* receive and use productions of exactly the same character?

But it is objected:—“God blesses the produce of the slave’s labor, and therefore in refusing to partake of it we do wrong, and call in question His goodness and His mercy.” It is true His rain descends upon the just and the unjust; are we therefore to be partakers of the sins of the unjust? His light guides the robber to the work of evil—the murderer to the deed of death; are we hence to conclude that the robber and the murderer are right, or that we may innocently partake of the fruits of their deeds?

The inference from God’s blessing the slaves’ labor, if just, would be more comprehensively expressed thus: God has blessed the labor of slaves, therefore the holding of slaves is right! But the rice, cotton and tobacco plants, the sugar cane

and all other plants which are cultivated by slaves, grow in accordance with a law which was established by the Almighty when he said, “Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth.” Now His laws of nature are unalterable, except by His special intervention; and are we to conclude that because He does not thus interpose, and by a miracle blast all the plants cultivated by slaves, He therefore regards their labor with His especial favor and blessing! And because He does not send down fire from Heaven to destroy the oppressor—the slaveholder—that therefore he blesses slavery! God blesses the labor of all, both freemen and slaves, in contemplation of His having benevolently given to the cultivator of the soil, the production of the sweat of his face. God changes not; it is man who perverts and misuses his blessings. “When the earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are applied to support unrighteous purposes; here the gracious design of infinite goodness, in these his gifts, being perverted, the earth is defiled, and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable, ‘Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities.’” — *Woolman*.

We assert for man an ownership in the production of his own toil, unless alienated by his direct or implied consent; the exception being an affirmation of the doctrine. The freeman cannot raise his arm to do an act of labor but that he *feels* the truth of this ownership. The christian cannot read the history of man’s fall and the accompanying promises, without perceiving that in the sentence which connected labor with his condition,—“in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,”—the fruit of it was given him. Thus both natural and revealed law accord to man the produce of his labor. It is true that man in society parts with some of his rights that others may be the better secured; and thus is the primitive law rightfully modified by parties to the social compact, and is so modified in the matter of labor: though the justice of natural law is often affirmed in the granting of specific liens on workmanship performed. But shall the slave’s right be mystified by the plea of having surrendered some of his rights that others may be assured to him? Who is he? An outlaw! What is he in contemplation of the social law? A chattel! What are his rights in that relation? He has none—not even the right to complain of being treated as the beasts that perish! He has no lot

in the social arrangement. The fruits, then, of the sweat of his brow belong to him, and he that takes them from him commits a robbery: not the less true or monstrous because sanctified by law. What, in this view of the case, are the rights of the slaveholder to the produce of the slave's labor? Can he create ownership to it by selling it to us? Can we honestly buy it?

(To be continued.)

From the Newcastle Guardian.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN NEWCASTLE, ENGLAND.

On Thursday evening, a large and influential meeting of the friends of freedom was held in Salem chapel, Hood-street, to afford Dr. Pennington and the Rev. H. H. Garnet, two gentlemen of colour from the United States, an opportunity of addressing the inhabitants of this town, on the wrongs and sufferings of their fellow-countrymen. The Rev. J. C. CRUCE presided.

The Rev. H. H. GARNET, who spoke first, was received with loud applause. He had, he said, been accustomed to meet his esteemed brother Dr. Pennington in his own land, and he was truly glad to have an opportunity of meeting him in this country, to advocate the cause of freedom. Since he came to this country, his heart had been cheered by seeing the cordiality and warm-heartedness with which the principles he had advocated had been received. A day or two ago, the news reached them that the great battle, which has so long been in progress in the United States, between freedom and slavery, has at length been terminated, at least for a season. Since December last, when the Congress was opened, a struggle had been going on, which for fierceness and determination was unprecedented in the history of the country. On the one side there were those in favor of the propagation of slavery over the whole American territory; and on the other side were the friends of freedom, few in number, but bold and persevering, sustained by the good men of the country, and by the smiles and approbation of that God who ever takes the side of the oppressed and looks with indignation on the oppressor. The struggle had at length terminated; and though they had some reason to lament that New Mexico had been admitted into the Union without a prohibition of the introduction of slavery, yet they could rejoice that California, the modern land of Ophir—and indeed, according to the opinions of some, the ancient land of Ophir—attracting by its gold and other treasures, the

people from all parts of the world, had unfurled the banner of freedom, and declared that slavery should not exist. Another part of the intelligence overwheeled him with grief. The far-famed Fugitive Slave Bill had passed both houses of Congress, and become law.

There was nothing in the annals of tyranny that surpassed such an outrage as this. It was tempting the whole race to depart from the principles of peace, and when that bill was under discussion, men of christian character and feelings began with the greatest alarm to make preparation for the event, if it should transpire. He had seen men calmly look on all the consequences, and declare that never should their domestic tranquillity be interrupted by the steps of the slaveholder, without resistance; the black men were even now arming themselves, the seeds of civil war had been scattered, and he expected soon to receive the intelligence that some dreadful conflict had taken place in the United States. He hoped God would bring light out of this darkness, and that the friends of freedom would be stimulated to greater exertion, to hasten on the day when slavery should be abolished, and liberty proclaimed. By this bill, also, if any person opened the door of his house to a fugitive slave, he could be thrown into prison, and the full amount of that slave charged upon him. The question seemed to arise, will Britain extend an arm to help the slave, and use her influence to roll back the dark tide of slavery? He could go to Virginia, or any other of the slave markets, and by consulting the market price of slaves in those places, tell what is the state of the cotton market in Liverpool, or he could go to Liverpool, and by ascertaining the state of the cotton market there, could tell the price slaves were selling at in America. He was convinced that the only way by which slavery could be effectually abolished would be by discouraging the use of slave-grown produce, and giving the preference to free-grown. Brother Jonathan did not keep slaves merely for the pleasure of keeping them, but for the profit derived from them, and so long as he was convinced that it was a paying matter to keep his brethren in slavery, so long would he keep them. Mr. G. produced considerable sensation in the meeting by exhibiting a slaveholder's whip, the thong of which was three yards long, and which, he said, had been in use, and been made red with the blood of men, women, and children. He also produced some chains made for the necks of slaves, not in America, but in Birmingham, and remarked that this showed how

the whole trade was linked together, and how the system upheld in one country was supported by another. He concluded an eloquent and earnest address by exhorting the meeting to substitute free-labor for slave-labor produce, and not to refrain from carrying out what they considered to be right, merely because the great masses of the people had not at present adopted their views.

Dr. PENNINGTON, who was enthusiastically received, expressed the great pleasure he felt in again appearing before a Newcastle audience. The system of slavery was ensnaring men, and was a great stumbling block in the way of human progress. He had been surprised and somewhat alarmed at the number of cases of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, who have been ensnared and entrapped, and tempted from their fidelity by American slavery. The reverend gentlemen mentioned the case of a man now living in London, who, a few years ago, went from this country to New Orleans, the Babylon of America, and after making a fortune by engaging in the slave trade, returned to London, where he still lives upon the labor of his American slaves. It was a subject which concerned every nation on the face of the earth which traded with America, or sent emigrants there, and he presented this case as an answer to the question—"What have we to do with American slavery?" To show the manner in which the fugitive slave law might be expected to work, he related two or three affecting cases, where the slave, rather than lightly surrender his hard earned liberty, had resisted the attempts of his tyrants to secure him, feeling that if he lost his life in the struggle, it would be preferable to returning into bondage. He should be ashamed of the Americans, if they persisted in bringing down on their country the consequences that would ensue from the carrying out of the new bill. He spoke advisedly when he said that human nature could not bear much more; he felt proud in the conviction that they had given to the world evidence of their endurance, forbearance, and long suffering under abuses, and if America drove them to extremes, he believed that in the judgement of the civilized world, they would have the advantage of her when this case was decided. This measure would arouse thousands and thousands of Americans to a decision upon this question, and he had no idea that the thousands who professed the principles of abolition would be by any means what ever coerced into the measures proposed by this bill. In many parts of the country it was a non-

entity before it had gone through the Congress, and could not be enforced. In reference to the practical proposition brought before the meeting, he believed they had a powerful case, and one of the best cases of the age, and they were resolved to work it in earnest. He could tell them that gold was the sinew of slavery's framework, and that the slaveholder's notions of civilization are measured and tempered according to his ideas of gain. All they asked was that as they could furnish a considerable amount of free-labor goods, that the people of this country should give an expression of their abhorrence of slavery, by giving the preference to them. A free-labor association had been formed in Philadelphia and New York in furtherance of the object, and on this side of the water many persons were now supplying free-labor goods. He had lately visited Manchester, and he found that some of the ablest spinners in that region were taking up the subject, and saw the propriety of cultivating cotton on the free soil in the British dominions. If associations were formed in different towns, and a *bona-fide* demand created, there would soon be a *bona-fide* supply. He concluded by appealing more especially to the ladies to exert themselves in this cause.

The meeting separated, powerfully impressed with the horrors of slavery, and apparently determined to use their utmost efforts for its extinction.

SLAVERY AND CHRISTIANITY.

Anxious for some reform in their legal code, the legislature of Georgia requested the Hon. James H. Lumpkin, Chief Justice, to make a report on the subject of Law Reform, making such recommendations as he should deem advisable. His report is published in the January number of the United States Law Magazine for 1850. He advises many alterations and amendments, which he particularizes, and which in the main seem to be salutary and useful. But on the subject of the slavery code he says—"In the present state of the Union and of the world, the law of slavery should undergo the most thorough examination, and its various details and provisions be made to conform to the exigencies of the times. If duty to ourselves, as well as to our slaves, requires increased severity, [I wonder what duty to them could require it,] by way of security, let it be imposed, regardless of the hypocritical cant and clamor of the fanatics of our own or other countries. If, on the other hand, it shall be

found that existing enactments may be relaxed or ameliorated, without prejudice to our safety or rights of property, let us not be deterred from doing what is right and just as *Christian masters*.

We need not fear that our motives will be misapprehended or misrepresented. Our position has been taken, and is well understood everywhere. The conscience of the whole South, after having been thoroughly aroused to the most earnest and intense investigation of this subject, by the remorseless and unremitting assaults of our relentless foes, has become thoroughly satisfied that this institution, like government itself, is of God. That being recognised and regulated by the Decalogue, it will, we have every reason to believe, be of perpetual duration. That it subserves the best interests of both races, and that we will preserve and defend it at any and all hazards."

LETTER FROM JUDGE JAY ON THE FUGITIVE
SLAVE BILL.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

BEDFORD, 2d OCTOBER, 1850.

Gentlemen: In pursuance of instructions given you by a meeting of colored citizens, you ask me, in your letter of the 27th ult., my opinion, first, "of the constitutionality and binding force" of the late act of Congress for the seizure of fugitive slaves; and, secondly, of the course most proper to be pursued by our colored citizens in reference to the personal jeopardy in which they are now placed.

Many years since I endeavored to prove, in an argument published at the time, that Congress has no constitutional power to pass any law whatever respecting fugitive slaves. I find from Mr. Webster's speech of 7th of last March, that such is also his opinion. But the Supreme Court has otherwise determined, and hence Mr. Webster advised the Senate to exercise power which the Constitution, in his judgment, had conferred exclusively on the States. The law in question appears to me as palpable a violation of the Constitution, as it certainly is of the principles of justice, the rights of humanity, and the obligations of the religion of Jesus Christ.

Of the "binding force" of this law, in its practical operation, I entertain no doubt. It is said, I know, that it is too atrocious to be executed, that public opinion will not endure its enormities. Be not deceived. There was indeed a time when such a law would not have been thought of, much less enforced at the North. Some years

since, as I was directing a fugitive as to the route to Canada, he told me, to my surprise, that he wished to go to Massachusetts. On asking him why, he said he had heard Mr. Adams say at Washington, that if a slave once got into Massachusetts, there were not twelve men in the State who would give him up. Little did Mr. Adams anticipate the recent developments of Boston gentility and Andover divinity.

The slave-catching law is a boon granted by the North, not a measure fastened upon us by the slaveholders. It is a law passed through Massachusetts' influence, voted for by the Representative from Boston (!!) and approved and applauded by a very large number of politicians. A presidential election is approaching, and the result will be decided by Southern votes. Hence our politicians will seek to propitiate the slaveholders by zeal and diligence in slave-hunting. The law will be executed in all the plenitude of its diabolism, or, to use the words of Mr. Webster, when pledging his support to the bill, then before the Senate, "to the fullest extent—to the fullest extent."

If you ask my opinion, of the "binding force" of the law, in a *moral sense*, I answer that its binding force is precisely the same as was that of the law of Nebuchadnezzar, commanding the multitudes on the plain of Dura to fall down and worship his golden image—of the decree of Darius, forbidding prayer to God for thirty days—of the order of the Jewish magistrate to Peter and Paul "not to speak at all, nor to teach in the name of Jesus"—of the commands of the Roman Emperors, that Christians should cast incense on the altars of idols—of the edicts of Louis XIV., requiring Huguenots to embrace the faith and practice the rites of the Church of Rome. This accursed statute requires us to become *active* instruments of treachery, cruelty and oppression to the persecuted but innocent fugitive—to set at naught the law of Jehovah, to do justice and love mercy—to trample under foot the great commandment of our blessed Redeemer, to love our neighbor—regardless of his authority, to do to others what would fill our souls with anguish if done to ourselves. Let us with our families, enter the dungeons which Northern politicians have prepared, rather than hazard our souls by rendering obedience to the requirements of this wicked law.

Most deeply do I sympathize with you in your unhappy state. With your wives and children, you are now placed at the disposal of any villain who is ready to perjure himself for the price you

will bring in the human shambles of the South. With less ceremony and trouble than a man can impound his neighbor's ox, you may be metamorphosed from a citizen of the State of New York, to a beast of burden on a Southern plantation. On leaving your house in the morning, you may be enticed into another, where one of the newly appointed Commissioners, after reading one affidavit made a thousand miles off, and another that you are the person named in the first, or on the bare oath of the kidnapper himself, may inform you to your amazement and horror, that you are a SLAVE. The fetters previously prepared are placed on your limbs, and in a few minutes you are travelling with railroad velocity to a Southern market. Never again will you behold your wife and children, nor will any tidings from them ever reach your ear. The remainder of your life is to be one of toil and stripes. In this war against human rights, "the law's delay" is utterly unknown.

The Commissioner is commanded to despatch the affair "IN A SUMMARY MANNER." The oath of the wretch who has seized you, and who expects to clear eight hundred or a thousand dollars by your sale, is of itself all sufficient and abundant proof that you are his property, while your own oath to the contrary is excluded by law. The act gives you no right to demand a postponement of the hearing, allows you no process to command the attendance of witnesses, no time to send for counsel. However essential these privileges may be to your restoration to freedom, to family, to happiness, you must beg them as *favours* to be granted or denied at pleasure, from a creature who has accepted the office of a slave-catching judge, and who is to be paid ten dollars if he dooms you to slavery, but only *five* if he sets you at liberty. And who is this Commissioner? Heretofore he was a person appointed by the United States Courts to perform certain acts, as taking affidavits, &c. Now he is elevated to the office and dignity of a JUDGE, and the Courts are expressly commanded "*to enlarge the number of Commissioners, with a view to afford reasonable facilities in relation to fugitives from labour.*" Hence the judges are to be appointed for the express and only purpose of catching negroes, and the *amount* and *condition* of their reward, indicate the character of the men who it is expected will accept the infamous office.

From the decision of one of these men, given under the circumstances I have described, there is no appeal to any court in the United States. Yet this man, whose judgment is too sacred to

be reviewed, and in whose awful presence the trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, and all the forms of the common law devised for the protection of liberty, are but as things of nought—this high and mighty judge, who sits in judgment upon the right to the souls and bodies of immortal beings, made in the image of God, is deemed unworthy to decide on the title to a horse. Such a question is referred to a *higher* court! And how are these omnipotent slave-catching commissioner-judges appointed? No popular vote invests them with their tremendous powers—no President and Senate are responsible for their learning, wisdom and integrity, notwithstanding the Constitution entrusts to them the appointment of the federal judges. Among the wonders of the times, is this discovery of judicial generation. By virtue of this new law, judges procreate judges at pleasure, for the convenience of the slaveholders!

Our commissioner-judges are to have a force at their command to maintain their dignity and execute their behests. They are authorized to appoint an unlimited number of slave-catchers, and each of these miscreants is empowered, by law, to roam through the whole extent of the State, executing warrants, seizing alleged slaves, white or black, ordering out the *posse comitatus*, calling the citizens from their employments and commanding them to join in slave-hunts. Should any dare to refuse obedience to the satanic mandate, a fine of \$1,000 and imprisonment for six months will vindicate the insulted authority of the slave catcher. When the chase is ended, and the MAN is taken, he may be guarded and transported to the slave region, at the expense of the NATIONAL TREASURY. Thus have our dough-faces—whigs and democrats—in taxing their constituents, to give jobs to slave-catchers, and to rivet the fetters of the bondsmen, fallen down in the dust, and licked the very feet of the slaveholders.

You ask me how you shall secure yourselves from the kidnapper. God only knows. May He have mercy on you, for our law makers have had none. Rumors have reached me, of an intention on the part of our colored citizens to carry arms in self-defence. If I have earned any title to your confidence, may I not ask you to ponder my advice, to abandon such intention? Most freely do I confess my utter ignorance of any system of morals founded by divine authority on the color of a man's skin. Whenever, and for whatever cause, God permits a white man to take life, I believe he equally permits a black

man, in similar circumstances, to do the same. Some, I know, maintain that life may never be taken in self-defence, but it is not on this ground that I urge you to abstain from the use of deadly weapons. I implore, I beseech you, not to attempt the life of the kidnapper, first, because his death will not secure your safety, and being therefore unnecessary, it would be morally wrong; and, secondly because such an act of violence would prove the source of great evil to yourselves, and to your brethren.

The facilities afforded by this law to the kidnapper are so great, the means of converting you into a slave are so plainly prescribed, the physical force furnished him for perpetrating the outrage is so abundant, that the whole villainy will be done "according to law," and under circumstances rendering resistance vain. The fraudulent affidavit will be regularly verified, warrant duly issued, the seizure strictly legal. Hence, should death occur by your resistance, you would in law be deemed guilty of murder, for having slain an officer in the legal discharge of his duty. Think you, that at a time when parties are sacrificing truth and honor for southern votes, and their leaders openly scoffing at the "higher law," that you would be permitted to escape with impunity? There would be a mighty struggle among our politicians who should make the most southern capital out of the slaughter of a slave-catcher. The pro-slavery papers of New York and Boston would be seized with a fit of horror and indignation against the blood thirsty negroes, and of admiration for the patriotism of the departed martyr, and for that lofty devotion to "the compromises of the constitution" which had cost him his life.

The occasion would, moreover, be embraced for rendering new homage to the slaveholders, by urging the forcible expulsion to Africa of all such negroes as unhappily have no masters to take care of them, and control their savage tempers; and not unlikely hints would be thrown out that, before long, self-preservation would require the re-establishment of slavery at the north. Such an act would furnish an excuse for armed bands of slave-catchers roaming through the country, insulting and terrifying our citizens, and picking up negroes at pleasure; for you will recollect, they may be seized either with or without a warrant.—Leave, I beseech you, the pistol and the bowie knife to southern ruffians and their northern mercenaries. That this law will lead to bloodshed, I take it for granted, but let it be the blood of the innocent, not of the guilty.

If anything can rouse the torpid conscience of the north, it will be our streets stained with human blood, shed by the slave catchers. * * *

This very slave-catching law has a direct and powerful tendency to beget in our people a reckless contempt for the rights of individuals, a disregard for the usual conservatory forms of legal and judicial proceedings, and a selfish indifference for the claims of humanity.

For years, most strenuous efforts, prompted by commercial and political views, were made to deprive the opponents of slavery of their constitutional privileges by lawless violence. The right of petition was suspended—the freedom of debate interrupted—the sanctity of the post office violated—public meetings dispersed—printing-presses destroyed—furious mobs excited—churches sacked—private houses gutted, and even murder perpetrated. All this violation of rights was regarded with complacency by many who had much at stake, so long as abolitionists alone were its victims. But the spirit of aggression thus raised and fostered, is seeking new subjects on which to exercise its power. "Gentlemen of property and standing" are now beginning to feel alarmed about socialism, anti-rentism, agrarianism, &c. Hence, of late, we hear so much of the importance of *conservatism*, as it is called. The political movements of the last few months seem to indicate that our land-lords, and our cotton-lords, and merchant princes, regard an alliance with the aristocracy of the south, as at least in some degree a security against the violation of vested rights, sequestration of rents, oppressive taxation, unequal laws, &c. &c. To the influence of gentlemen of this class, the late slave law owes its passage.

And is it indeed believed, that the rights of the rich will be protected by familiarizing the populace with the practice of injustice and cruelty towards the poor? Will the sight of innocent men seized in our streets, and sent in fetters to till the broad fields of great land owners, increase the reverence felt for land titles? Is it wise to give the people practical lessons in the demolition of all the barriers raised by the common law for the protection of the weak against the strong? Is it true conservatism to obliterate, in the masses, the sense of justice, the feelings of humanity, the distinction between right and wrong? No man looks with more loathing than I do, on the destructive and disorganizing theories of the day; but I have no idea of counteracting them by the extension of human bondage and the example of ferocious injustice in

hunting innocent men and robbing them of all the rights of humanity. The only conservatism to which I look for the protection of my rights and property, is the inculcation of that "HIGHER LAW," which, with the authority of Deity and the sanctions of the invisible world, says to each individual, high or low, rich or poor, DO JUSTICE, LOVE MERCY—DO TO OTHERS AS YOU WOULD THEY SHOULD DO TO YOU.

But, alas! this law is sneered at by men whose all depends upon its observance. The vindications of property in MAN, which are poured forth from the pulpit, the forum and the press—the maintenance of caste in the church—the apathy with which the oppression of three millions of countrymen is viewed—the permission given to introduce slavery into our new territories, with a pledge to receive them as slave States—the broken faith of many of those by whom the permission and pledge were given—the contempt expressed for the scruples of conscience, and the horrible iniquity of the fugitive law—are all combining to break down those barriers of justice, humanity, and the fear of God, which, under our popular form of government, can alone stay the flood of spoliation and anarchy. Well may we tremble lest God should apply to our nation the maxim of his moral government towards individuals "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM JAY.

Messrs. GEORGE T. DOWNING, WM. P. POWELL.

SOUTH CAROLINA BAPTISTS ON SLAVERY.

The Southern Baptist, organ of the Baptists in the State of South Carolina, makes the following declaration respecting their opinions on slavery:

"So far from believing Slavery to be a sin, they believe it to be an institution sanctioned by God, and the best relation of the servers and served that can exist."

DENMARK AND THE DUCHIES.

To the Members of the late Peace Congress at Frankfort.

You are, perhaps, generally aware, that on the morning of the last sitting of the Congress, a gentleman of high respectability from Berlin, applied to the Bureau for permission to present a memorial, signed by several distinguished individuals of that city. This memorial requested the Congress to investigate the merits of the controversy now pending between Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. On consideration, it was decided that such an investigation

could not be entered upon without violating one of the rules which had been adopted for the regulation of the proceedings, and which proscribed any direct allusion to the political events of the day. Nevertheless, many of the members of the Congress were inspired with an earnest desire that no favorable opportunity should be lost for interposing pacific counsels, with the hope of preventing the further effusion of blood, and of promoting an amicable adjustment of the differences.

Entertaining this hope, and disclaiming all intention of entering on the merits of the case, we ventured, solely on our own responsibility, to proceed to the theatre of the contest, for the purpose of entreating the contending parties to refer the whole question at issue to the decision of enlightened and impartial arbitrators, and thus to spare themselves the further infliction of the calamities and horrors of a war, which could never satisfactorily settle the matter in dispute, and which is contemplated with pain and sorrow by the friends of religion and humanity throughout the world.

In order to prevent any misapprehension in regard to the object of our voluntary mission, we embodied the views expressed in the preceding paragraphs in a written statement, intended to be presented in the first place to the authorities of Schleswig-Holstein. We arrived at Kiel in the evening of the 2d of September, and the next day waited upon the President of the Representative Assembly and several members of that body, upon the Burgomaster, persons connected with the University, and other influential individuals, representing different classes of the community, and explained to them the object of our visit. Although a fixed determination was manifested to resist force by force to the last extremity, yet, without a single exception, they expressed their willingness to leave the whole question at issue to impartial arbitration.

On the following day, we proceeded to Rendsburg, the principal fortress in Holstein, and then the seat of the Schleswig-Holstein Government; and waited upon the Stadtholders and other members of the Government. They received us with the greatest courtesy, and listened with serious attention to our written statement, and to the consideration and arguments which we urged in favor of arbitration, as an equitable and practical mode of settling the existing difficulty. They replied that it was quite impossible for the Government of the Duchies to make any proposition, and that we must distinctly understand, that we

had no mission from them to the Danish Government. But they added,

That they should be willing to refer the claims of the Duchies to the decision of enlightened and impartial arbitrators, provided Denmark would also submit its claims to the same tribunal, reserving for eventual arrangement the appointment, composition, and jurisdiction of the Court.

We reduced this reply to writing, and afterwards submitted it to their examination, when they assented to its accuracy.

Having obtained this declaration from the Government of the Duchies, we left the next morning for Copenhagen, where we arrived on the 10th inst., after having been detained several days in quarantine.

We readily obtained separate interviews with the Prime Minister, and with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who received us with great cordiality and kindness. We presented to them a written statement of the object of our mission, and of what transpired at Rendsburg. We invited their especial attention to the Treaty of Alliance between Denmark and the Duchies, bearing date 1533, which was renewed in 1623, and confirmed at Travendahl in 1700; by which "the contracting parties bound themselves mutually to assist each other, and, with respect to any differences that might arise between them, they agreed to adjust them, *not* by means of arms, but by means of councillors constituted as arbitrators, on the part of each, and disengaged from their oath of allegiance." We concluded our statement in these words:—

"We come as private individuals, invested with no political authority. But we know that we represent the convictions and sympathies of millions, both on this and the other side of the Atlantic; and we entreat the Danish Government, in the name of our common Christianity, to arrest the further slaughter of those to whom God has united them, not only by the ties of the universal brotherhood of man, but also by close affinity and neighbourhood, and whom they even consider their own countrymen. We earnestly appeal to them to put an end to this unnatural and deplorable war, and accept a mode of settlement which shall recognize and establish the just rights of both parties, and heal the breach which the sword has made between them." We added a few verbal remarks, and among others to the effect that Denmark, by this mode of settlement, would release herself from those obligations to foreign diplomacy which might obstruct

the full development of her free institutions.

Both the ministers expressed their desire to effect a satisfactory and pacific arrangement. They said they were sensible of the evils of the war, and were anxious to bring it to a speedy termination, by an amicable mode of adjustment. At our last interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he said substantially, that if the Government of the Duchies would authorize a plan or basis of arbitration, the Danish Government would take it into immediate consideration. We subsequently received the declaration, that they accepted the principle of arbitration to the same extent, that it was accepted by the Schleswig-Holstein Government at Rendsburg.

Having received this reply, we returned to Kiel, to communicate it to the Government of the Duchies, and to endeavor to induce a direct negotiation on the composition, appointment, and jurisdiction of the Court of Arbitration. On the 23d and 24th inst., we met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who authorized a plan of arbitration prescribed by the treaty between the two countries, to which we have referred. He also appointed a gentleman to meet any one the Danish Government should be willing to commission, for the purpose of agreeing upon the measures requisite to carry this plan into effect. Steps have been taken to bring these parties together as early as possible; and one of our number (Elihu Burritt,) will remain at Hamburgh, for a few weeks, with a view of doing all in his power to facilitate and expedite this preliminary stage of negotiation.

Although you were in no way responsible for our voluntary mission, yet as it originated in the Memorial addressed to the Peace Congress from Berlin, and knowing the deep interest felt on the subject, we have deemed it right to lay this statement before you. There may yet be difficulties in the way of a final and satisfactory settlement between the contending parties; but we have great confidence that those with whom it now rests, will be able to bring it to a speedy and successful conclusion. And, indeed, it has filled us with astonishment as well as sorrow, that this unnatural war, in which brother is arrayed against brother, and even father against son, should ever have been declared, or have continued so long, with men at the head of both Governments, who appear to feel strongly those obligations of humanity, and of the religion of Christ, which impose upon them the solemn duty to settle the difference by reason and justice, and not by an

appeal to brute force. If such an arrangement be not now effected, we believe that it will be mainly attributable to the interference of the great European Powers, contrary to the wish of one of the contending parties, as indicated in the London Protocol of the 2d of August—a document which has excited strong dissatisfaction in the minds of the inhabitants of the Duchies, and in which millions in other portions of Europe largely participate.

If the steps now in progress shall result in a pacific solution of this aggravated difficulty, we hope that the friends of peace will be encouraged to labour, with renewed zeal and activity, to substitute, in every case of international controversy, the arbitration of reason, justice, and humanity, for the cruel and barbarous decision of the sword.

JOSEPH STURGE, England,

ELIHU BURRITT, United States.

FREDERIC WHEELER, England.

Hamburgh, September 25th, 1850.

From the *Sunderland Herald*.

H. H. GARNET AND J. W. C. PENNINGTON,
AT SUNDERLAND, ENGLAND.

A public anti-slavery meeting was held in Smyrna Chapel, on Monday evening last. The Rev. John Parker presided. Long before the time appointed for the services of the evening, the chapel was crowded to excess; and as it was thought desirable that none who had come interested in the prosperity of the movement should be disappointed, it was resolved to open Union Chapel for those who could not obtain admittance into Smyrna. In a few minutes that chapel was also crowded. When Dr. Pennington and the Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, gentlemen of color, and once slaves, but now ministers of the Gospel, the former in the city of New York, and the latter at Geneva, State of New York, entered the chapel, the immense assembly rose, and in the most welcome and enthusiastic manner greeted them as brethren. It was then agreed that they should each address both meetings. The Rev. James Muir presided over the meeting in Union Chapel. The addresses of the gentlemen were eloquent, persuasive, and thrilling, and were received with expressions of the highest approbation. Many of their statements filled the audience with horror, and drew from them the deepest sympathy. They showed that the history of slavery on the cotton fields of America is the very epitome of human misery. The slaves are treated like beasts of burden—their family ties are disregarded—they are constantly

worked under the whip—even the women being flogged unmercifully, when they fail in accomplishing their appointed task. Should they attempt to escape, they are hunted with bloodhounds, and not unfrequently shot down like wild beasts. They exhibited American slavery as they had seen and felt it; they showed its debasing character, injustice, and impolicy, even in a temporal light; the oppression, cruelty, and wretchedness of the fugitive slave law, lately passed by both houses of Congress, and which is now the law in operation in that country. They also pointed out the means by which the system may be entirely suppressed, viz., by using free labor produce, and refusing to touch, or taste any article produced or manufactured by slaves. In the United States, Brazil, and Spanish colonies there are seven millions of slaves who produce cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, and coffee, which articles are consumed in large quantities by the British nation. They give the slaveholders their money or manufactures in exchange for the products of the blood-stained fields, and thus furnish the means for continuing the atrocious system. The remedy is apparent—abstain from their produce, and slavery must cease. A whip of a slave-driver was shown, which has often been wet with the blood of the oppressed slave. This whip was nine feet in length, a fearful weapon to be applied to the punishment of a human being. Manacles for the legs and necks, which had been manufactured in Birmingham, were also shown, and produced sensations of the most intense nature, and cries of “shame, shame.” Both meetings were most enthusiastic. The Rev. James Pringle, from Newcastle, Revds. S. Watkinson and John Morris, with Mr. Wakinshaw, took a part in the proceedings of the evening. A vote of thanks was given to the strangers in the same expressive manner as they had been greeted when they entered the meeting. A collection was taken for aiding the good work commenced; it was liberal, and showed the intense feeling of the meeting. After prayer, by the presiding gentleman, the meeting separated. On Wednesday morning at 11 o’clock, a most respectable meeting was held in Union chapel, for forming a Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Association, for promoting the sale of free labor produce. The Association was formed with all its office-bearers; and a considerable number of ladies have become members. There is a something about these movements that leads us to contemplate the day as not far distant when slavery shall be no more.

ELIHU BURRITT'S VISIT TO HUMBOLDT.

During Elihu Burritt's tour of preparation for the Peace Congress at Frankfort, with Henry Richard of London and M. Visschers of Brussels, they visited the celebrated Baron Humboldt. The following account of this interview, we find in Burritt's *Christian Citizen*:

"Monday, July 22, was the most important and interesting day of our operations and enjoyments in Berlin, and its vicinity. At 8 A. M. we took the railway train for Potsdam, for the purpose of waiting upon the celebrated BARON VON HUMBOLDT. Immediately on our arrival, at that metropolis of palaces, we repaired to one of them, in which he was residing as chamberlain to the king. It was to me one of the most impressive incidents of my life, to appear in the presence of such a man, whose greatness and glory will outlive the memory of all the kings that ever sat upon the Prussian throne. All was simple to a rigid degree—the servants, the rooms, &c. Nothing indicated the residence of ostentation, pride or luxury. The servants took in our cards, and immediately returned and conducted us into the presence of the distinguished *savan*. He received us with that easy, unaffected affability and kindness which makes one at home with men of true eminence of mind and character. He is now more than eighty, but comparatively active, and full of vivacity in his conversation. His head which inclines a little forward, could belong to no one but a Humboldt, and his countenance is full of benevolent expression. Mr. Visschers immediately introduced the subject of our interview in a few happy remarks in French; when the venerable man commenced with the very beginning of the Peace movement, and alluded to all the early writers on the subject, both in Germany and France, and in other countries. He spoke with great rapidity and animation, sometimes in French, then in German, and occasionally in English. Owing to my distance from him, and the continual rattling of wheels in the street, I lost much of what he said. Having glanced rapidly over the history of the individual and organized efforts to promote peace, he frankly stated his views of the obstacles and difficulties which oppose the realization of the idea. He had seen too many Congresses to expect any very practical result from them. The whole history of the world, for the last 60 years seemed fresh in his memory, and the shadow of the past, embodying periods of moral darkness, violence and bloodshed, appeared to eclipse the sunlight of that

better future which dawns upon a less extended experience. The want of respect to the first and fundamental principles of justice, which marked the conduct of nations, he thought would be a serious impediment to any arrangement which should prevent them from resorting to arms to settle difficulties which had excited their passions and prejudices. To illustrate this, he referred to the example of the United States in the war with Mexico, and to the transactions which led to that war. Still he said he could not permit us to go away with the impression that he was unfavorable to our enterprise. Far from it. His heart was with us in the work; and he wished us abundant success. He was too old to go himself to the Congress, but he would write a letter giving his full adhesion to its objects, and without stating the difficulties which he had enumerated. I then addressed to him a few words, in reference to the profound veneration which was felt for his name and character in the United States, and to the importance which the friends of peace in that country would attach to his adhesion to our great movement. He then spoke, with a great deal of feeling, of his interest in American institutions; of his sojourn in the United States; of his acquaintance with Jefferson, and other great men, saying that he felt and called himself a citizen of the Union. But the more he was attached to the country and her institutions, and the more he hoped from them for the world, the more he was grieved at the reckless spirit of aggression and conquest which produced and sanctioned the war with Mexico, and the Cuban expedition, for more slave territory. If Russia, or any European monarchy had done this, it would not have been such a matter of surprise; but in the United States, from which the world expected so much, it was a matter of astonishment and sorrow. He regarded slavery as the great evil of our country—the black spot on our national reputation, to which despotic governments and dynasties love to point their subjects, as an illustration of the first fruits of democracy. Still he could understand and appreciate the difficulty, and perhaps danger, of the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves in the United States; but he could not understand the eager avidity which was manifested to extend the institution to new territory, and to seize that territory by violence. These were hard truths for an American to hear and digest; and I feel deeply, what every honest American must be made to feel in Europe, how completely the existence of slavery paraly-

zes the moral influence of our great nation upon the Governments and peoples of the Old World at this important transition moment. I however made a few remarks in reply to his observations, admitting their truthfulness and propriety, but suggesting that the struggle which he had observed in America, to extend the territory and domination of slavery, was a struggle for its existence in the old states; that slavery must die, unless a constantly expanding territory is provided for its extension; that the Southern States see, feel and assert this; hence their determination or desire to acquire new territory to cover with slavery. But, I observed, the anti-slavery sentiment in the Northern States was becoming stronger and stronger every day, and the determination more fixed, not only to prevent the further extension of slavery, but to exterminate the institution in the old states in which it exists, by all the moral and legitimate means which could be employed. I found that he was perfectly acquainted with the movements in America, with the deliberations and proceedings in Congress, and with almost every phase of our politics. He adverted also to the invaluable contributions to science; to the astronomical observations and investigations made by the citizens of the United States, of which he spoke in high terms of commendation.

Our interview lasted nearly an hour, and we took our leave of the distinguished *savan*, more impressed than ever with his vast knowledge and experience.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN BARBADOES.

A highly interesting anti-slavery meeting was held in this island on the 1st of August last, the Chief Justice presiding. Our space will only permit us to give an outline of the proceedings.

W. H. Austin moved the first resolution—"That this meeting rejoices, with gratitude to Almighty God, at the successful abolition of slavery in these colonies, and the extinction of much wickedness and woe attendant on that monster evil, and ardently desires the universal abolition of the slave trade and of slavery."—That slavery was a "monster evil" was known by the personal experience of most in that room. He gave some illustrations of what he had himself seen, but declared that, bad as it was, it was better than in the foreign colonies.

The Rev. J. L. Badham, in an eloquent speech, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Joseph Hamilton moved—"That the disuse of slave produce being a potent auxiliary to the great anti-slavery movement, this subject is earnestly pressed on the considerate attention of the friends of freedom, that, as far as practicable, they may try the experiment, and thus promote the good work, and enjoy the satisfaction of using the produce of free labor only."—The disuse of slave produce, he said, as far as practicable, by every friend of humanity, would tend, he believed, to diminish in a great degree the amount of such produce in the markets, and thereby give a moral check to the abominable traffic, by which no less than about 150,000 of their poor suffering fellow-creatures were stolen and torn from their homes and carried into distant countries, where they were worked as beasts of burden. He considered that the Sugar Act of 1846 had given an impetus to the traffic. It had increased the amount of slave labor—prolonged the existence of slavery itself in the colonies of Spain and Brazil—and promoted the feeling of cupidity for gain in the breast of the slave dealer, who has no more right to the unrequited labor of his fellow-man than the purchaser of stolen goods has to the articles of which he is found in possession. But he hoped that something would soon be done by the Government and Parliament of Great Britain to remedy this great moral evil.

J. Y. Edgehill, in seconding the resolution, showed that the disuse of slave produce, and not the British squadron, was a grand means of rendering slave labor unproductive, and thus suppressing the African slave-trade. Here was a practical mode of evincing their sincerity in the anti-slavery cause. This island had contributed, for the last five years, some £16,000 or 17,000 sterling towards the perpetuation of slavery in Brazil and Cuba, by using the sugar of those countries, sent hither from the refineries of England. How much they had helped the slaveholders of America by the use of rice, tobacco, &c., &c., he was not able to say, from the late hour at which the resolution had been put into his hand. If they cried in one breath against slavery, and in the other asked for refined slave sugar, and rice produced by slave labor, the slaveholder would laugh at them. Their life and practice must be consistent with their preaching. Barbadoes could reject those articles from daily use, and substitute for them her own free produce, and the fault was in the inhabitants themselves if it were not done. He was for abolishing slavery by all moral means, and here was

one which was within the reach of all. If the people of England had adopted it when that country supported the slave-trade, it was not too much to ask, or expect, the people of Barbadoes to adopt it now.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

S. J. Prescod moved the third resolution—"That the friends of freedom in the United States of America were entitled to, and are hereby assured of, the hearty sympathy of the anti-slavery people of Barbadoes; and that the practice which obtains in the Southern States, of arresting and confining in prison the free colored subjects of Great Britain, should be protested against by every class of her Majesty's subjects in this hemisphere."—He paid a handsome tribute to the abolitionists of America, who were second only to our own Clarkson and Wilberforce. That they were entitled to the sympathy and the prayers of the friends of freedom, was well known to those who had any acquaintance with the iniquitous system that prevailed in the States. To the second part of the resolution he spoke at considerable length. He mentioned two cases of natives of Barbadoes being confined in prison in Charleston, and dwelt upon the case recently published in England, and brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Cockburn. At Lord Palmerston's reply he expressed himself very indignantly. It was clear that in America a man, for no other crime than having African blood in his veins, might be taken from under the British flag and subjected to imprisonment, or even reduced to slavery. Lord Palmerston had recently endangered the peace of Europe to obtain for Englishmen their property that had been invaded, but he coolly told the British subjects of these colonies that their liberty would not be protected by him. He (Mr. Prescod) should never place himself in circumstances to be put in prison in America; but he did not know what accident might compel him to put in there; and if he ever found himself in any of the Southern States, he should be conscious that he was not to expect protection from England's Minister. In those circumstances he should rely only on his own resources, and remember that it was better to die a free man than live a slave.

A. Barclay briefly seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

After thanks to the chairman, the meeting separated.—*Anti-slavery Reporter.*

AFRICA.

What a wonderful continent is this rounded, smooth-shored Africa, known from the earliest dawn of time, yet so unknown; the granary of nations, yet sterile and fruitless as the sea; swarming with life, yet dazzling the eyes with its vast tract of glittering sand! North America, first seen but the other day, has been probed from end to end: its gallant and restive Philips, Tecumseh, and Montezumas, have been bridled and broken by the white man; but Africa has seen no Cortez, or even a De Soto or La Salle, "wringing favor from fate." Some solitary Mungo Park, or faithful Lander, or persevering Burckhardt alone has tried to read the secret of the mother of civilization, the gray-haired Africa.

If we seek a land of romance and mystery, what quarter of the globe compares with that which holds the pyramids; the giant Theban temples, one roof of which clusters a modern village; the solemn hewn mountain cliff of a sphinx; the ruins of Carthage; the Nile with its hidden sources; the Niger with its unknown outlet; the heaven-bearing Atlas; the dimly-seen Mountain of the Moon?

There, reader, the slave rose romantically to be the ruler of millions; there Moses floating in his cradle, is saved by a king's daughter, and, like the hero of some earlier chivalry, breaks the bonds of his people, and founds a new and mighty nation. There was the home of Dido, of Hannibal, and the scene of Scipio's triumphs and Jugurtha's crimes; there lived Tertullian, Athanasius, and Augustine; the romance of the Moors dwelt there; the last breath of Louis of France was drawn there.

Africa is the home of the leviathan, the behemoth, the unicorn, the giraffe, the slight antelope, the earth-shaking elephant, the unaccountable lion, the all-conquering buffalo. It is the home too of the mysterious negro races, yet lying dormant in the germ, destined perhaps to rule this earth when our proud Anglo-Saxon blood is as corrupt as that of the descendants of Homer and Pericles.

The past, present, and future of Africa are alike wrapped in mystery. Who can tell us of the childhood of dark-browed Egypt, square-shouldered and energetic?—Carthage, the England of the world's rulers, has not even a romancing Livy, still less an unwearied Niebuhr, to explain her rise and untangle the mysteries of her constitution. Of all the vast interior, what do we know more than the Punic merchants, who, like us, dealt there, taking slaves, ivory and gold?

And what can we hope hereafter to see in those immense, unknown lands? The European has driven the North American, step by step, toward extinction, and has given a great continent the full development and trial of whatever permanent power the Caucasian race possesses; but Africa is preserved—for what?—For future contest? For an imported foreign civilization, to be entered through Liberias and Cape Colonies? France and Britain are watching each other now along those burning sands, as they once watched by the icy rocks of Canada and Arcadia: is it to end in the same subjection of the aboriginal owners to one or both of these? Or does the dark race, in all its varieties, possess a capacity for understanding and living out the deep meaning of the world's ruler, Christianity, as the offspring of the followers of Odin never did, and never can, understand and act it.

If the old Egyptian Sesostris had paused to contemplate the illiterate wanderers of Greece, to whom Cadmus was just striving to make known the letters of Phœnicia, would not Plato and Aristotle have seemed as impossible to him as the existence in Africa of a higher Christianity than has yet been seen, seems to us? Would not the present position of the Teutonic race, have appeared equally incredible to the founder of the Parthenon, or the loungers in the gardens of the Academy?—*Foreign Review.*

DRAYTON AND SAYRES.

Drayton and Sayres are still in prison at Washington, for befriending certain fugitive slaves in their attempt to escape awhile since. They are ill clothed and fed, poor, needy, and in distress! Shall they be neglected and forgotten? The Editor of the *National Era* receives donations.

POETRY.

From Burrill's Christian Citizen.

THE NEGRO FUGITIVE'S APPEAL TO HIS WHITE BROTHER.

[Especially addressed to those who have signed the Pledge of Universal Brotherhood.]

Brother! 'tis not every white man
That my sable hand would clasp,
They would shrink, as if polluted,
From a negro's friendly grasp.
But our holy pledge assures me
Thou wilt look, with pitying eye,
On my race, despised, degraded,
Held in Christian slavery.

Christian! nay, 'twas profanation
To pollute that sacred word,
Linking it unto a system
Hateful to the Christian's Lord.
No! the slave-gang and the auction,
Cruel whip and burning brand,
Tell us of a fiend-like system,
Fit for darkest heathen land.

I have 'scaped through countless dangers
From the man who claimed my soul,
Mind and body, as his chattels,
Subject to his full control.
I have crossed Niagara's wave,
Canada is now my home;
But for dear ones still in bondage,
Brother, unto thee I come.

I have left an aged father,
But no wife is at his side;
Oh! my mother! ere we lost thee,
Rather would I thou hadst died.
Where thou art, alas! I know not,
Know not where my sisters dwell,
And where my younger brother pineth,
None the fugitive can tell.

Scattered in that Southern land,
Which is Christendom's disgrace,
Hopelessly they toil and languish,
'Midst the millions of our race;
Who, if they but knew the power
Sleeping in their fettered arm,
Even in one little hour
Could their tyrant's might disarm.

Yet I would not, e'en for freedom,
They should strike th' avenging blow;
Nor should slavery's bloody altar
Meet with bloody overthrow.
Rather let the hideous monster
Vanquished be by truth alone;
As the midnight darkness fleeth,
When the glorious light steals on.

Brother! such my simple story—
Thousands more could tell the same;
With such added scenes of horror
As would blanch thy cheeks to name.
Be 'No Compromise' thy watchword,
Pledge thyself to freedom now,
And to ceaseless hate of bondage,—
Then through life redeem thy vow.

E. B. F.

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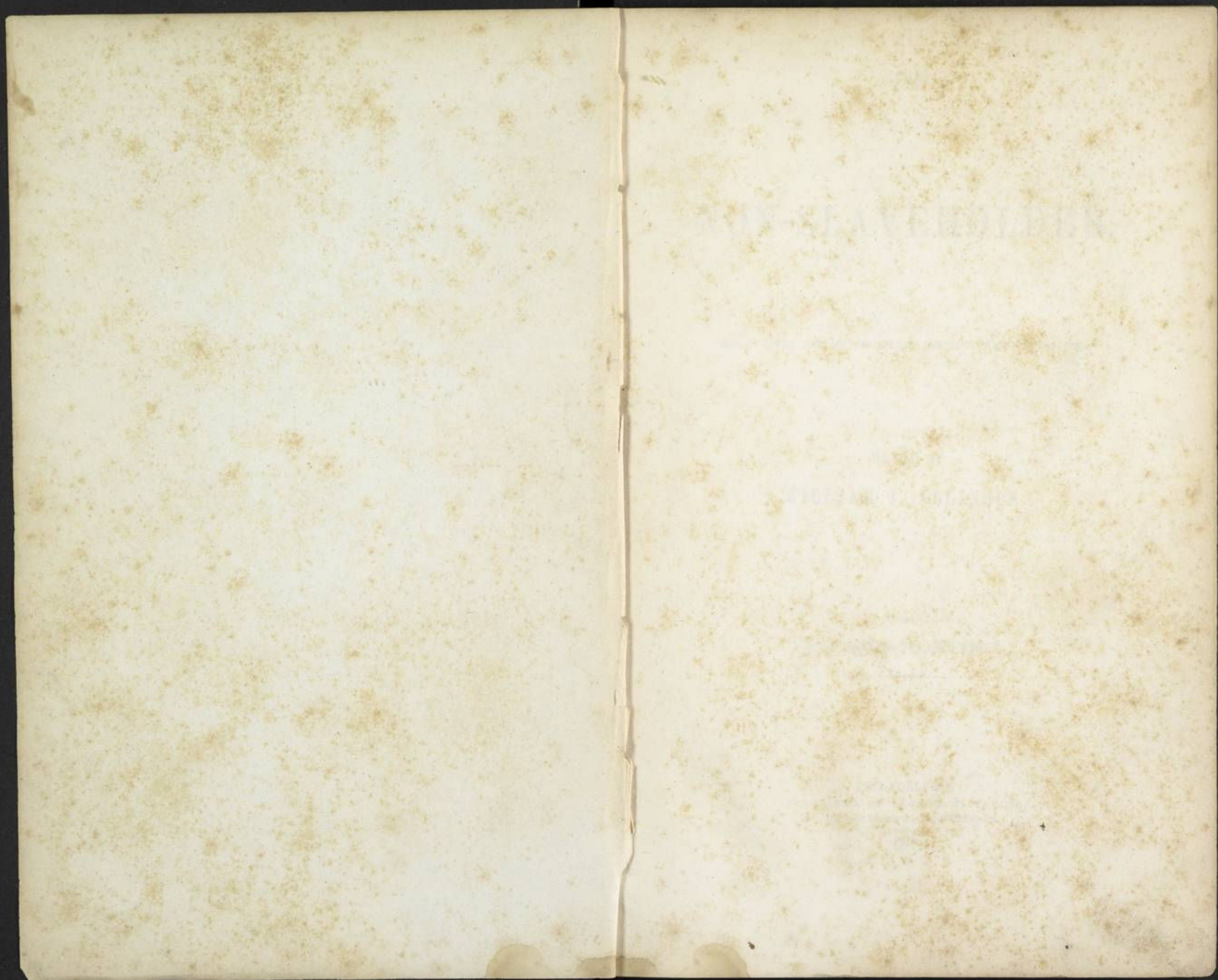


OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

Mrs. Thomas R. White
July 26, 1954.

Wm C Allinson

of a



THE

Wm Allinson

NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE MAKES HIS BROTHER'S SIN HIS OWN."

EDITED BY

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON.

NEW SERIES--VOLUME FIRST.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
NORTH WEST CORNER FIFTH AND CHERRY STS.

1853.

The Quaker of the Olden Time.

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

The Quaker of the olden time!—
How calm and firm and true,
Unspotted by its wrong and crime
He walked the dark earth through!

The lust of power, the love of gain,
The thousand lures of sin
Around him, had no power to stain
The purity within.

With that deep insight, which detects
All great things in the small,
And knows how each man's life affects
The spiritual life of all,

He walked by faith and not by sight,
By love and not by law;
The presence of the wrong or right,
He rather felt than saw.

He felt that wrong with wrong partakes,
That nothing stands alone,
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own.

And, pausing not for doubtful choice
Of evils great or small,
He listened to that inward voice
Which called away from all.

Oh! Spirit of that early day,
So pure and strong and true,
Be with us in the narrow way
Our faithful fathers knew.

Give strength the evil to forsake,
The cross of Truth to bear,
And love and reverent fear to make
Our daily lives a prayer!

JOHN RODGERS, PRINTER,

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ERRATUM.

In a part of the edition of No. 1, on page 8, Judge Jay is made to declare Mary Murray's work "comparative-ly" instead of "incomparably" the best compendium of American History he had ever met with.

Page 59, 4th line of essay on Slave Produce, &c., for *privacy* read *piracy*.

In the poem on page 64, the 18th and 19th lines should read thus—
Whose streams in crystalline clearness roll,
With healing fraught for the sin-sick soul.

Page 86—second line of Literary Notices, for "Wilson Burgess" read "Wilson Burgess."

Page 87,—5th line from the foot, for "at all" read "all at."

Page 88—At the end of 5th line in poem by Upham for "around" read "round."

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 1853.

[No. 1.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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PROSPECTUS.

The NON-SLAVEHOLDER has been suspended for two years, and the class of community among whom it circulated has sustained a loss. A strong desire for its resumption has been evinced by numbers, on both sides of the Atlantic, and the present Editor finds himself in an unsought position, which he would by no means consent to occupy, did he not hope thereby to be of some service to his fellow-men, and to the cause of Truth.

As the present is a specimen number, it will, in some degree, exhibit the intended character of our journal. Our object and principles are identical with those so well set forth in the first number of the former series, and maintained with so much ability and in so christian a spirit throughout the five years of its course. Primarily, we aim at bearing a temperate but most uncompromising testimony against Slavery, and, in doing so, to enforce the fine idea embodied in our motto.

The thralldom of INTEMPERANCE, the tyranny of PARTY, the system of WAR, and the DEATH PENALTY, ("the crime of law") shall be considered legitimate objects of attack;—whilst we shall be willing to diversify our pages, so far as our space will admit, with flowers of literature, to relieve, for a moment,

the eye of the pained and overtaxed moralist, when his

"Soul is sick with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage."

We enter upon our new and unexpected engagement with diffidence, yet with a degree of confidence.

The NON-SLAVEHOLDER, is to be issued on the first Fourth day in each month, at the terms stated at the head of this page. When taken in clubs of eight, the price (25 cents per annum) will be little more than nominal. It will be cheaper to the subscriber than to the Editor and Proprietor. The cash system forms an essential part of our arrangements, and payments must invariably be made in advance. Our friends are requested to forward their subscriptions, in current funds, post paid, with explicit statements of each subscriber's Post Office address, to the Publisher, George W. Taylor, N. W. cor. Cherry & Fifth Sts., Philadelphia. Editors disposed to exchange will direct to "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, New Jersey."

WHO ARE THE SLAVEHOLDERS?

A MORAL DRAWN FROM "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."

Let us fancy ourselves in a pleasant country place, named Fernbrake, situated in one of England's midland counties. It is a village of the genuine old English stamp; in other words, a collection of houses of all shapes, sizes and conditions, not set in close rank and file, but standing as though dropped at random from the clouds into a region of orchards, gardens and rickyards; the roads between them so delightfully irregular as to remind one of "Knickerbocker's History of New York," the streets of which city, he says, were planned by the cows making a track among the bushes, and the early inhabitants building houses by the side of it.

The western end of this long rambling place abuts upon an extensive plain, and the last house in the village is the residence of the Stanfields, the worthy family with whom we

have to do. The building is one of those "homesteads warm and low," which give such an air of comfort to an English landscape. It is built in the Elizabethan farm-house style, with mullioned casements and pointed gables. The house fronts southward into a garden, in which ornament and utility are pleasingly combined. The windows are fringed with jessamines and Chinese roses, and the old porch is overhung by a magnificent vine which presents its purple clusters most temptingly. Behind the building, and at a respectful distance, is the farm-yard, flanked by a noble array of corn-ricks, the harvest being just completed. Our business, however, is within, and the time of our visit is the evening, soon after the tea-things have been dismissed. We have gained admission to the antique sitting room, with its wainscot panelling and huge carved mantelpiece. Mrs. Stanfield is one of those sensible people that like to make themselves and others comfortable; and, as the evenings are cool, she has a moderate fire in the grate, just sufficient to diffuse a genial glow through the apartment. The master of the mansion sits ensconced in his arm-chair; the labors of the day concluded, he is prepared to enjoy himself with his family, which consists of half a dozen happy-faced children, between the ages of four and fourteen, who, with their mother, are seated at a round table, occupied with various light handicrafts and amusements. For several successive evenings they had spent the hour after tea in listening to that beautiful and affecting tale, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," read aloud by the elder children. Where is the Christian family that could stand the brunt of such an onset? Mrs. Stowe had swayed their minds as though she played upon a musical instrument. They had laughed and wept, despaired and exulted, melted into tenderness, and burned with indignation, as the narrative proceeded. They had trembled with Eliza in her elopement with her doomed child; laughed at Sam's devices for retarding the pursuit of the fugitives; sympathized with Aunt Chloe when her "old man" was torn from her, and cried "shame!" at the brutal Haley as he put the fetters upon Uncle Tom. They had been delighted with Tom's good fortune at New Orleans, and enraptured with little Eva his guardian angel. They had admired the dashing amiability of St. Clare, while they scouted the heartless selfishness of his wife. They had marvelled at the military tactics of "friend Phineas," and rejoiced at the downfall of Tom Loker. They had smiled at the hobgoblinry of Topsy, and shuddered at poor Prue's horrid death. They had wept by the death-bed of the infant evangelist; melted under the heart-

felt prayers of Uncle Tom; mourned the cruel fate of St. Clare, and deprecated the avaricious policy of his widow. They had traced poor Tom from the palace to the auction-block; accompanied him to Legree's plantation; execrated the proceedings of that fiend incarnate; thrilled with horror over Cassy's story; agonized with Uncle Tom in his sufferings, and boiled with indignation at his cruel martyrdom. The whole party, from the eldest to the youngest, had hung upon the narrative with intense interest; and it had left upon their hearts a deep and vivid impression of the heinous character of American slavery, suggesting the inquiry so natural to all well-regulated minds, "Can we do anything for its mitigation?" "I am glad we are not slaveholders," said little Frank.

"And so am I," "And so am I," echoed other five juvenile voices.

"Right, my dears," said Mrs. Stanfield: "it is a pleasant thought that our country has washed its hands of slavery by the noble act of emancipation."

"What," said Lucy, the eldest of the group, "were Englishmen ever so wicked as to hold slaves?"

"Yes," replied her mamma, "it is not yet twenty years since, that, after a long and arduous struggle, the fetters of the West India slaves were broken, and twenty millions sterling paid to their masters to compensate them for an act of justice."

"And so lately as when I was a boy," said Mr. Stanfield, "Englishmen were engaged in the atrocious slave-trade; they did not scruple to burn down the huts of the poor Africans, then drive their wretched captives to the coast, crowd them into the pestiferous slave-ships, and, after delivering a third or one half of their human cargo to the sharks, they sold the survivors to the planters of the West Indies, who worked them like beasts of burden in their cane-fields."

"All too true," rejoined the lady, "and therefore, we should be the more thankful that it is done away. 'Slaves cannot breathe in England,' nor in all the wide dominions of Queen Victoria. Our seamen, instead of engaging in the slave-trade, now bravely risk their lives for its suppression, while Canada stands open to receive the hunted fugitives of American slavery, and secures them an asylum beyond the reach of the Fugitive Slave-law, and where the baffled master does not dare to follow them. Thus, not only are we no slaveholders, but our influence is altogether on the side of the slave. We have renounced all connection with the accursed system; and surely this is cause for thankfulness."

"So it would be if it were really the case," said Mr. Stanfield; "but 'do not let us crow till we are out of the wood.' What if I could prove that we are all slaveholders?"

This was a puzzler for the young people, who immediately commenced a round of busy speculations.

"Pa a slaveholder!" exclaimed George, the eldest boy; "why, that's a new idea entirely! I wonder where he keeps his whips and fetters! Perhaps we should find them in the barn if we were to look?"

"And I wonder where papa's slaves are to be found?" said Lucy. "Are they in the kitchen, do you suppose? Is the cook a slave, who threatened to leave her place last week because 'ma would not allow her lobster to make sauce for the boiled salmon? But here's Betsy with the coal-scuttle: perhaps she can tell us. Betsy! papa pretends he is a slaveholder: are you one of his slaves, or do you know of any he has about the premises?"

"Oh! Miss Lucy, you are joking me now! I am certain master has no slaves in the kitchen: what he may have in the stable-yard, I cannot say; but I, for one, never saw any there."

"I think I've got it," said little Frank; "he means the dumb animals about the place. You know the horses are sometimes lashed with a good stout whip, and the cows are driven to the pasture. I have seen Charlie beat them very hard with a hazle stick, when they sauntered on the way."

The idea was immediately enlarged upon by little Ellen, who sprang from her seat, and shouted to the dog and cat upon the hearth-rug, "Dash! are you a slave? Puss, are you?" Dash wagged his tail in denial of the imputation, and Pussy purred an emphatic "No!"

"Your guesses are all wide of the mark," said papa.

"Do tell us what you refer to," said Mrs. Stanfield: "we are all anxiety till we know what you mean."

"First, then, I will ask you one question, my dear," responded her husband. "If we are the means of holding our fellow creatures in bondage, does it make any difference whether they work for us on our own premises or 4000 miles away?"

"I should think not," rejoined the lady.

"And now, George, a question for you. Can you tell me how many families reside in this village of Fernbrake?"

"If I remember right," said George, "at the last census, we had a population exceeding a thousand, and if we reckon five people for each house, it will make rather more than 200 families."

"Well, then," said his papa, "If I could take you into the quarry, and show you thirty slaves, men, women, and children, toiling for the people of Fernbrake; brutal overseers amongst them with huge cart-whips, flogging them every time they venture to take a rest; and savage bloodhounds at their heels, to pursue the poor wretches if they should run away, would you not be horrified, and scandalised at the sight?"

"So we should." "We should, indeed," cried the children, with much emphasis.

"And mamma has just told us," continued Mr. Stanfield, "that if we really employ slaves, it is all one whether we have them at home or abroad."

"There can be no doubt on that head," said George.

"Well, then, although we, the people of Fernbrake, have no slaves at work for us in the stone-quarry, I have no doubt there are at least thirty human beings toiling for us under the terror of the lash elsewhere. If I had a telescope that could spy round corners, and the knowledge necessary to point them out, I might show you, probably, a dozen slaves, toiling on Spanish and Brazilian plantations, labouring in crop time (which comprises, at least, four months of the year,) for more than 18 hours a day, raising sugar for the people of Fernbrake! I might show you, perhaps, a dozen or more, working on the cotton plantations of America, exposed to all the miseries and hardships which are but too prevalent in these dens of cruelty. I might show you husbands torn from their wives, and children from their parents; poor people forbidden to learn to read, kept purposely in a state of brutal degradation, and shut out from the light and consolation of the Gospel; all these sufferings endured; all this wickedness perpetrated in raising cotton for the inhabitants of Fernbrake! I might tell you that these dozen cotton growers would all be killed off in eight or ten years, and a dozen more brought in to take their places; to toil, and suffer, and die like their predecessors; and that thus, in the course of one man's lifetime, about a hundred human beings would be murdered in raising cotton for this one village! Again, I might show you women, wading in the swamps of Carolina, companions of snakes and lizards; haggard and forlorn as Lapland witches; childless, friendless, comfortless; pining under miasma, bowed with rheumatism, shivering with ague; their existence but a living death, its only consolation that it soon must end; all this to produce rice for the inhabitants of Fernbrake."

"These are doleful pictures, indeed, dear papa," said Lucy; "and I am quite as well

pleased that your wonderful telescope is not forthcoming. The mere description is enough for me."

"What made you say there were *thirty* of these poor creatures toiling for Fernbrake?" inquired George. "Have we any means of ascertaining the number?"

"It is of course but a vague estimate," replied Mr. Stanfield, "arrived at, I suppose, by considering the total amount of slave-produce brought into this country for home consumption, and from this data, calculating the number of slaves likely to be employed in raising it, and then dividing the whole population of Britain by the number so obtained. The result has been said to indicate that every five families in this country employ one slave; but in order to be quite safe, I have called it seven families, and if, as you calculate, we have above 200 families in Fernbrake, we must furnish employment to about thirty slaves."

"But how do you know, my dear, that we, in this house, are parties to these oppressions?" inquired Mrs. Stanfield anxiously.

"Did I not see in your last bill from the grocer's, an item for Porto Rico sugar? Is not the rice, so often on our table, and which is so large, and white, and pulpy, unmistakably the Carolina? And are you not aware that the material of your printed calicoes is American cotton, and that this, with a very small exception, is all slave-produce? More than half of the entire crop of American cotton comes to England, which thus becomes the main prop and bulwark of American slavery. So intimately are we connected with the cruel system, that the money value of a slave, in New Orleans, is said to be regulated on the Exchange of Liverpool: that is, when cotton rises rapidly in Liverpool, the price of slaves rises in America: when cotton falls, slaves fall. Nay, so deeply are we implicated, that some, who have excellent means of information, assert that American slavery could not possibly exist without the money support it derives from Britain."

Such was the decisive reply of Mr. Stanfield; and it drew from his feeling wife the rejoinder, "Well, I see we are self-convicted.—You have brought the evil home to our own doors. We must try to do better."

"But," continued Mr. Stanfield, "what if I say that worse remains to be told? I have shown you how the English people support slavery *unconsciously*; but, also! there are Englishmen to be found, men, too, of high respectability and standing, who support the slave trade with their eyes open! If I had the wonderful telescope of which I spoke, and were to direct it to the continent of Africa, I

might show you long lines of miserable slaves on their route to the coast, linked together by chains manufactured for the purpose at Birmingham, or Wolverhampton. I might show you these poor creatures arrived at the barracons, and bartered for flimsy calicoes and other fabrics termed 'coast goods,' got up for this trade in the looms of Manchester and Glasgow. I might show you them again, writhing and gasping in the hold of a slave ship, fitted out by the aid of British capital, and landed, in the form of living skeletons, in Cuba or Brazil, to raise an article for the British market—the sugar which sweetens our tea and coffee, our pies and puddings. Englishmen, perhaps, have too much refinement and good taste to engage in the awful slave-trade themselves, besides it is against the law of this country; but it appears to me that, by our conduct, we say virtually to the Spaniard and Brazilian, 'We have no taste for the slave-trade; we dislike to see human suffering; but we are fond of sugar, and must do business. We will supply you with piece goods, trinkets, and chains, as many as you require; we will discount your bills, and thus enable you fit out and man your ships, and we will buy your sugar as soon as it is ready. It is true our squadron is in the way. You know we *must* save appearances; and if 'Britannia rules the wave,' she must have a large navy, and some excuse for keeping it up. But this need not deter you from the adventure; for you know very well that you can afford to lose three vessels out of four, and have a good profit left. You have the savagery and we have the capital: between us it shall be done, and we will divide the spoils.' In a similar strain we address brother Jonathan: 'We abominate cruelty, but our looms and spindles cannot go without cotton; therefore, you do the whipping and hounding, and we will be your best customers.' Our gold is the bribe which the slaveholders look to as the reward of their oppressions."

"I see your argument, papa," said George: "you wish us to understand that the planters do not keep slaves from the love of slavery, but for the money which it brings them; and if it were not for the support afforded by customers, slavery would cease. No doubt, this is quite true; but as it is impossible to make every one think so, and as there are many who, if they saw it, have not the conscience to act upon it, but would still go to the cheapest market, it seems to me that the slaveholders would yet find customers if half the houses in England were closed against their produce."

"Remember, George, it is our own deeds we shall have to answer for, and not those of

others; at least if we have done our duty by them in laboring to induce them to act differently. If a thief were to come and offer you some stolen goods, or a smuggler were to tempt you with some cheap silk handkerchiefs, would you consider yourself warranted in saying to yourself, 'Well, if I do not buy them my neighbor will; I may as well have a good bargain for once?' or would such an excuse hold good in the eye of the law, which condemns the receiver of stolen goods as well as the thief? It would be far more noble to take a different course and say, 'Let others do as they may, as for me, I will do what is right. If all the world conspire to uphold slavery, I am determined it shall have no support from me, although my opposition should be but as a drop in the bucket. You shall not find me amongst those who cry out against an iniquity and then revel in its fruits.' Mrs. Stowe, I think, states our principle in her 12th chapter, where she says, speaking of the slave-dealer Haley, 'He is a shocking creature, isn't he—this trader? so unfeeling! It's dreadful, really!.....But who, sir, makes the trader?—Who is most to blame: the enlightened, cultivated, intelligent man who supports the system of which the trader is the inevitable result, or the poor trader himself?' I only wish the same able pen had pressed this doctrine home on the consumers of slave produce. If all right-minded people in England and America would but withdraw their commercial support from the slaveholders, and transfer their custom to the free-labour cultivators, who pay wages to their work-people, like honest men, the weight of such a practical testimony would be incalculable, even though it failed in exerting any direct influence on the market."

"I wonder, my dear," said Mrs. Stanfield, "that when you feel these things so deeply, you have never spoken of them before. You know I am always ready to carry out your wishes; and besides, I shall now consider it a matter of duty to do what I can to patronize free-labor. But you must tell me how to proceed."

"I am conscious of my fault," replied Mr. Stanfield; "but although I have long had a glimmering of this principle, it is the affecting exposure of slavery in Mrs. Stowe's book that has driven the subject home, and compelled me to look at it seriously. Our connection with slavery is so ramified in this country, that total and immediate abstinence from its produce is impossible; but we may, to a great extent, avoid the staple articles on which the system depends for its support. Sugar, coffee, and rice, the produce of free-labor, may be procured by inquiry at almost any grocer's. It

is true you may sometimes have to put up with an inferior article, but those who are earnest for a principle must be prepared to make some sacrifice. When your sugar happens to be a shade or two browner than you would desire, call to mind the example of the good William Allen, who abstained entirely from sugar for more than 40 years, and only recommenced its use on the day of the West Indian emancipation. Remember, too, that Clarkson has computed that, in the course of the arduous struggle against the slave-trade, 300,000 in this country, denied themselves the use of sugar rather than be found supporting the horrid traffic. With them, it was disusing sugar altogether; with us, it is merely preferring the free to the slave grown. The article of cotton is more difficult to deal with, as comparatively little of good quality, besides American, is brought to market. By a considerable effort, however, the friends of the slave have succeeded in bringing out a variety of articles, manufactured from cotton warranted the produce of free-labor. Other fabrics may be usefully substituted in linen at a very moderate price. Gradually, I hope, the difficulties in this department will be overcome, and then we may have the great satisfaction of dismissing slave-produce altogether from our houses. In the mean time, let us do our duty by increasing the demand, in order that the happy day may be hastened. If a large and unmistakable demand were once established, we might leave it to British enterprise to provide the supply."

The conversation, which had been listened to by the children with the deepest interest, was now interrupted by the nursemaid, who came to summon the two younger ones to bed; but, from that day forward, there were stationed to keep watch over Mrs. Stanfield's table and wardrobe, six of those little cruisers, which, according to Elihu Burritt, if established in every family, would be more effectual for the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade than the largest squadron in the world.—*Newcastle [England] Anti-Slavery Series, No. 1.*

A GOOD EXAMPLE.—At a recent election in Scotland the following was issued in a large placard about two feet long:—

"Bribery at Elections! Electors and Non-Electors!—Gentlemen, it is mean to be bribed with money! It is mean to be bribed with place. It is meaner, more degrading still, to be bribed with strong drink. Frown down the contemptible offer of strong drink as payment of a vote, and let the man who opens a public house, be shut out of the House of Commons."

To labor for a perfect redemption from the spirit of oppression, is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus, in this world.—*J. Woolman.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 5. 1853.

It is scarcely needful for us to inform the intelligent class from whom we hope to obtain our readers, that the SLAVE TRADE, though denounced as *piracy*, is still clandestinely abetted by citizens of the U. States. Witness the case of the Lady Suffolk, built and launched at Baltimore. A correspondent of the Herald says of her—

"She has sailed with her crew of 70 men for Africa. She is commanded by a notorious slave captain, who has hitherto been very successful as a slave trader, and who boasts of having murdered a boat's crew belonging to an English man of war, who attempted to board him on the coast of Africa."

We invite serious attention to the consideration, *who gives the motive?*

We have read, with interest, the "First Annual Report of the Walthamstow, [Eng.] Free Produce Association." It is an important document. Strong positions are clearly set forth, and enforced by resolutions. Witness the following—

"That a comprehensive train of religious thought, it brought to bear upon this subject, does not harmonize with and sanction the consumption of slave-labor merchandize—but does harmonize with and sanction the use of that which is free grown." * * * "That the preference of free to slave labor merchandize, when the opportunity of choice between the slave and free labor article is open to the purchaser, is, emphatically, the christian preference."

PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW AMONG THE CHEROKEE AND CHOCTAW INDIANS.

We have highest authority for the statement, that excellent things, hidden from the sagest expedientists, are "revealed unto babes"—and we not unfrequently find that, among savage or half civilized nations, the simple Truth is arrived at by the same short and direct process which childhood employs.

We have before us, (the loan of our friend Dr. Butler, son of the honored and time-worn Missionary) a rare and valuable volume of "CHEROKEE DOCUMENTS"—in which we trace a series of ACTS, commencing thirteen years ago, in which the course of entire PROHIBITION is adopted, in reference to the traffic in ardent spirits. Similar laws had been enforced among them at least since the year 1823, but the following is the first Statute upon the subject, in the collection referred to.

AN ACT to prevent the introduction and vending of Ardent Spirits.

Be it enacted by the National Council, That the introduction or vending of Ardent Spirits, in this Nation, shall not be lawful; and any and all persons are prohibited from bringing or engaging in the traffic of ardent spirits within five miles of the National Council during its Session, or one mile from any of the places designated for holding Courts, during their session, or one

mile of any public meeting or gathering in the Nation under penalty of having the same wasted or destroyed by any lawful officer or authorized person, by the sheriff, for such purpose.

Tah-le-quah, Cherokee Nation, Sept. 28. 1849.

W. SHOREY CORDEY,

President National Committee.

Concurred, YOUNG WOLF,

Speaker National Council.

DAVID CARTER,

Clerk National Council.

Approved, JOHN ROSS, Principal Chief.

After two years, we find this act substituted by a much more stringent one, with penalties annexed of from ten to five hundred dollars for each violation. Another Act in 1843 enforces the last one, and authorizes "the sheriffs or lawful officers of the several districts to procure search warrants, authorizing the entering and examining of any house when there is good reason for believing that spirituous liquors are therein concealed."

These enactments were not suffered to be a dead letter, but were strictly enforced. Nor did the sheriff wait for evidence that SALES had been made or contemplated. The liquor was evidence against itself, and was summarily "wasted." The paths leading from the white settlements were watched, and suspected persons were examined. As women had greater facilities for concealing the forbidden article in their robes, they were searched, and the spirit, if found, was promptly "wasted." The sale within the neighboring States being beyond the control of the Cherokees, the following resolutions, which ought to put the white man to the blush, and to stimulate him to action, were jointly passed by the National Committee and National Council.

Whereas, The use of ardent spirits, and other intoxicating liquors, is productive of the most demoralizing and otherwise degrading and mischievous effects; and

Whereas, The laws of this Nation prohibiting the introduction and sale of ardent spirits, are rendered inoperative to a great extent by the existence along the line within the States of Arkansas and Missouri, of distilleries, groceries, and tippling shops; from which those deleterious articles are issued to the Indians;

And whereas, Murders and other crimes of the most atrocious and alarming character, the very rehearsal of which is revolting to humanity, are clearly traceable to the still-house and the groceries as their source, Therefore

Resolved by the National Council, That the Principal Chief be, and is hereby requested, through such channel as he may deem proper, respectfully to ask of the Governors of the States of Arkansas and Missouri respectively, such co-operation, and the exertion of such influence as in their wisdom they may deem proper, effectually to put a stop to the traffic in ardent spirits along the Indian lines of their respective States.

Tahlequah, C. N., Jan. 10. 1845.

JOHN DREW,

President National Committee pro tem.

Concurred A. CAMPBELL,

Speaker Council, pro tem.

Approved, JOHN ROSS.

In 1843, it was enacted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation,

"That no person or persons shall be permitted to bring any whiskey or other ardent spirits into this Nation; and he or she so offending shall have the whiskey or other ardent spirits destroyed by the light-horsemen or any one of them; and the Captains and their warriors, of the several districts, shall have the power, and be bound to exercise the duties of the light-horsemen in assisting to destroy any whiskey or other ardent spirits which may be brought into this Nation."

The same act further provides for the protection of officers, who shall in self-defence kill any one who shall resist the destruction of his liquors; and attaches the penalty of death to any offender who shall in such resistance cause the death of an officer, or of any one engaged in the enforcement of this law.

Did our space admit, we would gladly transfer to our columns various specimens of wise and humane legislation—as, provisions for public schools, orphan schools, &c. One Act appropriates \$30 per annum "for the benefit of Ke-ti-keski, a decrepid and destitute citizen of this Nation"—another entitled "AN ACT for a Pension for blind TARCHURSA" provides for him a like annuity and appoints for him a guardian. Another and subsequent Act, makes the same provision for all destitute blind citizens of the Cherokee Nation. It is to be deplored that in reference to the holding of Slaves, these Indians are little if any better than their white neighbors.

Many of our readers are aware that the Society of Friends, in Great Britain, some time ago, under apprehension of religious obligation, addressed to the governments of the world, a Christian Expostulation respecting Slavery. This address has been separately presented by deputations to most of the governments of Europe; to several of them, by that veteran minister of Christ, William Forster, and lastly, to the sovereign and officials of Portugal, by our valued friends Jno. Candler and R. W. Fox. This truly christian mission has, so far, been most cordially received. A letter from the Marquis de Bemposta to the Friends last named, says—

"Having received a copy of the manifesto addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, and of the world, who profess Christianity, which you lately presented to her most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal, and which has not only excited attention but admiration, and finding that we are working in the same vineyard, I cannot but express my cordial approbation of your mission," &c. &c.

John Candler and wife and Wilson Burgess are now about consummating a similar mission to Brazil. J. C. writes—

"I feel more and more satisfied that the religious concern of our Yearly Meeting is a right one. We do not look for very early fruits from its labors; it is a work and walk of faith, but we already see that the Address, which we continue engaged to circulate, meets with a response in the hearts of some persons of influence abroad."

There have been incidents of surpassing mo-

ral beauty connected with this extended mission, with which we would seek to enrich our columns, did we not hesitate to violate the privacy of correspondence.

There are in Philadelphia ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWELVE licensed Tavern keepers. It were easy to demonstrate in figures an immense pecuniary cost to the community resulting from this wholesale license to make drunk; but these statistical exhibits, though so startling, lose, by familiarity, their full effect upon the mind, though backed by a knowledge of a far more astounding amount of moral evil. There has been a degree of supineness upon the subject, resulting from the inefficiency and the failure of all restrictive measures. The present policy, however, of PROHIBITORY LAW, not only theoretically desirable, but practically beneficent, and proved to be so by the experience of several Commonwealths, has inspired the patriot and the philanthropist with fresh hope. Let these be faithful and diligent in their efforts, by all Christian means, to enlighten the popular mind, and, by petitions and otherwise, to obtain a distinct and strong expression of popular sentiment in favor of the Maine Law, or its equivalent. Especially, let every prominent Temperance man carefully watch the course of Legislative action in his own State. Years of delay are not so much to be dreaded, as the tricks of wily politicians in the formation of law, as in the case of New Hampshire, where the statute was loaded with excrescences (not chargeable upon Temperance men,) for the apparent purpose of making it unconstitutional, of furnishing texts to its opponents, and of preventing its well-working and its perpetuity.

Considerable efforts have been lately made for the establishment of a wholesale Warehouse in London, for the supply of Free Labour goods. We are not advised of the result.

LITERARY NOTICES.

"THE SLAVE; HIS WRONGS AND THEIR REMEDY—Slavery is sustained by the purchase of its productions.—If there were no consumers of Slave produce there would be no Slaves."

The above is the title with the mottoes, of a very spirited and commendable monthly sheet, published in London, from which we could profitably make extracts did our space permit.

"HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, written according to the principles of Peace, by MARY MURRAY." This is a book which meets an absolute necessity of the age. It has our hearty commendation, with our desire for its general adoption in Schools. The

following are among many notices which it has received.

Extract of a Letter from Judge Jay.

"I have read your book carefully, every page of it, and thank you for sending it to me, but still more for writing it. It is incomparably the best compendium of American History I have met with. It is remarkable for fulness, condensation and lucid arrangement. It is admirably adapted for use in common schools, and I wish it might be universally introduced into them. It is also a very convenient book for reference, the dates being so constantly and so conspicuously given."

WILLIAM JAY.

"An excellent book. Not only is it written, as all history ought to be, in the true spirit of christianity, but has many other qualities which strongly commend it to general use in schools and families. It is lucid in arrangement, and brief, simple and perspicuous in style. It is of necessity little more than a full synopsis, within so small a compass, of our entire national history, yet sufficiently comprehensive for its purpose, and well deserves to be adopted as a text-book in our seminaries of learning. We wish our land and all Christendom were full of such histories, and only such in their moral tone. Every wise Christian parent will desire such a book for his children."—*Advocate of Peace, Boston.*

THE AFFECTIONATE AND CHRISTIAN ADDRESS of many thousands of the Women of England to their Sisters of the U. S. A.—This is a most christian and lady-like exposition on the subject of Slavery, and is now in circulation for signatures. We have but one criticism. It admits danger in immediate emancipation. The Word of the Lord through Isaiah (l. 16, 17) gives the true and safe order of Reform. "Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil—learn to do well."

THERE IS JOY IN HEAVEN OVER ONE SINNER THAT REPENTETH.

When to the lyre of Heaven
Another string was given,
The angels saw it glisten,
And hushed their harps to listen.

And when from Chaos first
Our mighty system burst,
The stars of morning sang
Till the high concave rang.

They saw new Heavens unfurled—
A re-created world—
The universe more wide—
Its Maker glorified!

And there was higher joy
Where bliss had ne'er alloy,
As the angelic choirs
Struck their resounding lyres.

And when, from endless death,
By penitence and faith,
Through HIS redeeming grace
Who loved our guilty race,

A sinner leaves his ways
And learns the voice of praise,
Washed in atoning blood
And reconciled to God,

Each high intelligence
Gains added bliss from thence,
And there is joy in Heaven
O'er one reclaimed, forgiven!

When sinful mortals bow
In self-abhorrence low,
With penitential tears,
With trembling and with fears,

Then countless seraph throngs
Raise their rejoicing songs,
And o'er ten thousand spheres
Are hailed those burning tears!

Oh, then, if angel eyes
Lend us their sympathies,
If God's unmeasured love
Is shared by all above,

Not unto Earth be given
Hopes which belong to Heaven!
Be it our aim to share
The high rejoicings there;

The banquet of the skies!
The untold ecstasies—
The ceaseless voice of praise
Which ransomed spirits raise!

W. J. A.

To CORRESPONDENTS.—We are obliged to postpone several favors. A transatlantic metrical contribution, of decided merit, was not perused till too late—which we regret.

NOTICE TO AGENTS.—It is hoped that those who formerly acted as Agents for the Non-Slaverholder, will kindly resume the office,—and that they and other persons interested in our paper and its objects, will use prompt efforts to procure subscribers, and forward lists as early as possible.

THE PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE STORE,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
Has constantly in Stock a large assortment of
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The product of FREE LABOUR exclusively.

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Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 1853.

[No. 2.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY G. W. TAYLOR,
North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, FIFTY CENTS.
" of three copies, ONE DOLLAR.
" of eight copies, TWO DOLLARS,
in one payment, always in advance, post-paid.

The present Number has been kept back some days by the delay of the Paper Maker.

Those who send names of subscribers will please say whether the first No. (which is nearly exhausted) has been received. We do not wish to send unnecessary duplicates.

The five volumes of the Non-Slaverholder already published, contain much that is of permanent interest and value; and as we hope to present in the present series matter worthy of preservation, we propose to furnish at the end of the year a title page and index.

All subscriptions and business letters should be sent to the Publisher in Philadelphia. Exchange papers and communications for insertion should be addressed to "Non-Slaverholder," Burlington, N. J. (the residence of the Editor.) Our contributors are requested, in consideration of the smallness of our paper, to observe brevity and condensation. Should our subscription list warrant enlargement, we may add to the number of our pages. Will not our friends, in various places, form clubs of eight or more?

We have numerous gratifying expressions of welcome to our little Periodical. We extract from a few letters of valued correspondents, whom we cordially recognize as our Agents and co-workers.

WEST ONEONTA.—"I am glad that the Non-Slaverholder is resumed. I enclose \$2 for eight copies."

SALEM, OHIO.—"I send \$8 for the Non-Slaverholder, which please send to the following addresses. * * * I intend to obtain more as soon as possible. I am not aware of there being an agent in this place; if not, the writer would offer his services."

STARKESBORO', VERMONT.—"Having received the first No. of the Non-Slaverholder (New Series) I may acknowledge that the regret which encumbered my mind for its discontinuance, has given place to feelings of joy. I fully believe that the Non-Slaverholder is al-

together the best auxiliary, (in proportion to its amount of matter) in the cause of equal rights, of any Periodical that has come under my observation, and I offer my aid, feeble as it is, in serving as Agent. * * I send the enclosed, for copies to be sent as directed."

Among numerous letters of a like gratifying nature, we were cheered with an approving one from the large hearted Lewis Tappan, and one from our long loved friend, J. G. Whittier, whose continued failure of health saddens the hearts of thousands as they receive the tidings. We quote a passage from his welcome favor:

"I am glad to see that thou hast undertaken to continue the NON-SLAVERHOLDER, believing as I do, that such a paper is needed. It touches a point of especial interest to the religious Society with which we are connected; and in inculcating the particular duty of abstinence from the products of an oppressive system, it leads us also to inquire more closely of ourselves, how far, in our business, our habits of living, and in our general intercourse with our fellow men, we are directly or indirectly giving countenance to other evils, or other forms of oppression. I was pleased to see in thy first No. a notice of Mary Murray's History. I have carefully looked over the book, and fully concur in the favorable estimate of it which Judge Jay has so well expressed. It ought to be introduced into all Friends' Schools, and I should be glad to see it in all others."

For the Non-Slaverholder.

THE CONSISTENT PLEADER.

"The Slave, the Slave, hath many wrongs,
Who might his pleader be!"—Lucy Hooper.

Not they who, in the expressive language of Holy Scripture, "join in affinity with the people of these abominations," and partake of the fruits of the oppression. It is an interesting fact, and strongly confirmatory of the truth of the doctrine which forbids the use of the productions of slave labor, that a large proportion of those who, from a state of apathy or opposition in respect to the abolition of slavery, have become thoroughly convinced of the sinfulness of the system and earnestly desirous to plead the cause of the slave, have also felt a deep consciousness that, so far as they were partaking of the fruit of his forced and unpaid toil, their hands were contaminated and their

moral power weakened. The "first love" of many has indeed waxed cold, and their tender consciences become seared, and their clear perceptions darkened and obscured through the influence of interest, or from considerations of convenience and policy.

Another large class of abolitionists err in this matter from "want of thought." A lady, near London, writing recently to a friend in Newcastle, on the subject of abstaining from slave labor products, said—

"If people had these things set before them and explained to them, many who exclaim loudly against Slavery would act up to their talk a little more than they do. It is often not want of feeling, but want of knowledge. Even many who appear true and sincere Christians encourage the crowning enormity of a guilty world, by their thoughtlessness, though they would discountenance it strongly in conversation. It is not enough in this, our present state, to talk. Let us work, for the time is indeed short." * * "It is extraordinary how very few people have the slightest idea, that each, individually, can help to put down Slavery, not by the force of arms or the blockade, but by merely refusing to buy the produce of iniquity. The ignorance that prevails on this subject is marvellous. Many will tell you that they think Slavery a dreadful thing, and that they fear it is impossible to put it down, yet, when told they themselves are encouraging it every day of their lives, look at you with astonishment and displeasure."

True policy, not less than sound principle, points to non-participation in the avails of slavery as one means of extirpating the evil. A friend in Boston, W. J. Bowditch, whose voice and pen are, of latter time, powerfully employed in pleading the cause of the slave, wrote to me, as follows, under date of 26th April—

"Will you have the kindness to send to me any documents which will give me information on the following points connected with free produce? The numbers of free producers; in what States they are; how often the travelling agents visit them, and in fact every information which can be had in a printed form."

"It seems to me that though the Free Produce movement may produce but little effect on slaveholders directly, it has, or may have, a very salutary effect on the non-slaveholding whites. If we encourage them to labor as freemen, and continually increase our demands on them, we gradually create an anti-slavery nucleus in the very heart of the South—indirectly, it is true, but none the less surely—and this is of the very greatest moment, for it is to the non-slaveholders that we are to look for co-operation. Unless we can instil into them anti-slavery sentiments, our labor will be in vain."

We are often referred to John Woolman as a noble pattern of an advocate for emancipation, but, alas, how few can plead, as he did, consistently, for the slave! He deeply regretted, in his day, that "the number of those who decline the use of the West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even among a people truly pious; and the labors in christian love on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive." In reference to a traffic with slaveholders, he said, "that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, 'They have strengthened

the hands of the wicked,' hath very often revived in my mind;" and on his death bed, he refused to take any medicine which came "through defiled channels or oppressive hands."

With such an example before us, and feeling in ourselves an evidence of the truth of the principles which he faithfully maintained to the end—remembering, too, the vast increase of the iniquitous system since his day—how can we shrink from our duty? S. R.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ACTING BY OTHERS.

Qui facit per alium facit per se.

Lines suggested by reading an article in "Friends' Review," under the above caption.

What means that awful piercing wail
From Africa's far distant shore,
That, borne upon the midnight gale,
Comes blended with the ocean's roar?

What means that sudden lurid glare
Athwart the dark vault of the sky?
What mean those shouts that rend the air—
The savage yells of victory?

The trafficker in human flesh
Has moored his vessel to the strand—
For him the warm blood flows afresh;
For him destruction wastes the land.

What means that fearful dying groan
Within that slaver's stifled hold—
Now mingled with the tempest's moan,
Now hushed in death's embraces cold?

Lo! the dark cargo closely prest
In one dense mass on oaken bed,
With foul air choked, with thirst distress,
The living hand-cuffed with the dead!

But see, a sail from Albion's Isle
Bear down upon the "stripes and stars!"
They strike their flag with artful wile
And shout "ahoy" the British tars.

With fearful speed and foaming prow
The fierce avenger draweth near:
The bursting bomb and cannon now
Strike the pursued with dread and fear.

The traders in the souls of men
Bring from the hold their shackled slaves,
Who wildly shriek in terror when
They cast them chained into the waves.

The greedy sharks devour their prey,
And mix with gore the briny flood:
The guilty wretches speed their way
Through mangled limbs and seas of blood.

Again, what means that shriek of woe
From Mississippi's turbid wave—
Borne on the breeze so mournful, low,
The plaint, the anguish of the slave?

It comes from canebrake solitude;
It comes from tortured manhood bound;
It comes from ravished womanhood,
And infants dying on the ground.

And with it comes in thunder peals
A voice unanswerably true,
That on the heart the maxim seals—
WE DO WHAT WE BY OTHERS DO.

Yes, we who use the proceeds of
The Negro's unrequited toil,
Are guilty of his wrongs, and prove
Ourselves partakers of the spoil.

For us the slave-ship plows the main;
For us the hapless hamlet burns;
For us the life-blood dyes the plain;
For us the childless mother mourns.

And when this voice the dead shall wake—
"WHERE IS THY BROTHER?" O how vain
Will be the plea the guilty make—
"Am I my brother's keeper?"—then.

When inquisition's made for blood—
The blood now crying from the ground—
What shall we answer unto God,
When on our skirts the stain is found?

A. L. B.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 2, 1853.

THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.

There is much encouragement in the history of this Society, which was organized in MOUNT PLEASANT, in the autumn of 1846, by a few individuals, who had been led to see the inconsistency of professing a testimony against Slavery, whilst sustaining it by a free indulgence in the use of its products. For the space of three years various difficulties prevented a general meeting of the Association, but, during this period, the Board of Managers maintained a healthful vitality, and an extensive correspondence. In the first month of 1848, the Managers, with a full understanding of all the difficulties to be encountered, took measures, and opened a subscription for the formation of a Joint Stock Company, to establish a Store, for the sale, exclusively, of products of Free Labor. A Company was started, with a capital stock of \$2500, which was subsequently increased to \$3000. This Association, now numbering about 150 members, is vigorously sustained, and has, within the last two years, published and circulated upwards of eighty thousand pages of Free Labor Tracts; in which the obligation resting upon Christians to abstain from the patronage of Slavery, and from supplying the motive, was clearly set forth.

ALUM CREEK FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

We learn with satisfaction that such an organization has been formed within the limits of Alum Creek Q. Meeting, a branch of Indiana Yearly Meeting. The Secretary is Griffith Levering, Bermington, Morris Co., Ohio.

As we have expressed, the formation of such Societies is a satisfaction to us. Nor is it easy to perceive therein, any cause for displeasure or uneasiness to any sincere friend to human freedom. It involves, of necessity, no aggression, or denunciation. It is a quiet, unobjectionable *let alone* policy. It offers, to those who desire to keep themselves entirely separate from the unclean thing, a *business channel*, through which they can supply their necessities, without being implicated in a system which is, in itself, a great sin against God and man, and which may fairly be said to include every variety of crime. We commend these Associations, and the various FREE PRODUCE STORES, to the support of those, who, (to quote the words of one of our predecessors) "believe that the maintenance of a pure conscience leads to the avoidance of all connection with evil, simply because such connection is wrong, and that abstinence should be primarily founded on a sense of the duty of individual purity, independent of its ulterior effects, just as *Honesty is to be pursued apart from a consideration of its policy.*" We hope, however, in the course of our publication, to lay before our readers frequent illustrations of the further sentiment of the Editor just quoted, "that it is abstinence only which can rightly concentrate, direct and give force to every other anti-slavery operation."

MAINE LAW MOVEMENT IN NEW JERSEY.

—A noble Temperance Convention, attended by thousands, was holden in Trenton on the 26th and 27th ult. Among the speakers were NEAL DOW, to whom so large a debt of love is due from us all, Dr. Jewitt, and John B. Gough. On the 27th, the Petition, with nearly Fifty Thousand signatures, was presented to the Legislature.

THE TAVERNER'S PROCLIVITY TO SIN.

We transcribe the following curious testimony against taverns from an ancient work "translated out of French by Samson Lennard," and printed in London, 1624. It is entitled—

"LVTHERS FORERVNNERS: or a CLOVD OF WITNESSES DEPOSING FOR THE PROTESTANT FAITH. Gathered together in the history of the Waldenses: who for diuers hundred yeares before Lvther successively opposed Popery, professed the trvth of the Gospell, and

sealed it with their blood: being most grievously persecuted, and many thousands of them martyred, by the tyrannie of that Man of sinne, and his superstitious Adherents and cruell instruments."

DE LA TAUERNA.

La Tauerna es fontana de pecca, Eschola del Dieull, &c.
Of the excesses and disorders which are commonly committed in Tauernes.

A Tauerne is the Fountaine of sinne, the School of the Dieull; it works wonders, fitting the place. It is the custome of God to shew his power in his Church, and to work miracles; that is to say, to giue sight to the blinde, to make the lame to goe, the dumbe to speake, the deafe to heare, but the dieuill doth quite contrary to all these in a Tauerne. For when the Drunkard goeth to the Tauerne, hee goeth vpright, but when he cometh forth hee cannot goe at all, and hee hath lost his sight, his hearing, his speech. The Lectures that are read in this school of the deuill, are Gluttonies, Oathes, Perjuries, Lyings, Blasphemies, and diuers other villanies. For in a Tauerne are quarrells, slanders, contentions, murders, and Tauerners that suffer them are partakers of their sinnes, and that wickednesse they commit. For hee that would speak as much euill of their Parents, as they suffer men to speak of God, and the glorious Virgin, and the Saints in Paradise, and all for a little gaine by the sale of their wine, they would never endure it so peaceably. And therefore it is said in *Ecclesiasticus*, that the Tauerner shall not be freed from sinne.

The passage in *Ecclesiasticus* above referred to is rendered in our version (xxvi. 29) "A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong: and a huckster shall not be freed from sin." The word *tavern*, which in this country is often confounded with *inn*, properly means merely a tippling shop, though Webster gives the derivation from "*tab*, the root of table, a board,—and *Sax. ærn*, place."

In the Romish Bible, the word "*haberdasher*" is, I think, given where we read "*huckster*." An ancient version gives it, "a retailer is not without sinne." In an old Bible lodged at Friends' Bible Depository, "imprinted at London by the deputies of Christopher Barker Printer to the Queen's Majestie, Anno 1595," we read,—"*There be two manner of things which mee thinke to be hard and perilous: A merchant cannot lightly keep him frō wrong, neither a tauerner himself from sinne.*"

A translation by Thomas Matthews, in 1537, differs from the above only in the orthography. "*There bee two maner of thyngs, which me thinck to be hard and perilous. A marchaunt cannot lightly kepe hym from wrong neyther a tauerner hym selfe from synne.*"

Being curious to know how far the Greek text would warrant these renderings, we consulted a friend who is a linguist, and received the following reply.

"It seems to me, that, whether *taverner*, or *huckster*, be the rendering of the word in *Ecclesiasticus*, the point is, the exposure to sin that there is in trade; and especially, in retail trading. 'A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong: and a huckster shall not

be freed from sin.'—And, the parallel place: 'As a nail sticketh fast between the joining of the stones, so doth sin stick fast between buying and selling.' The Greek word rendered huckster means exactly that; a dealer in various things in a small way.

"The word *tavern*, though so simple in its origin—the place where a board is—soon obtained a bad sense. And, so, *taverner*. We find it in Chaucer in the very worst company; as well as the word from which it comes.

"In Flaunders, whilom, was a compaynie
Of yonge folk, that haunteden folie,
As hazard, riot, stewes, and *tavern-es*.

PARDONER'S TALE,

and again

"And up they start, as dronken, in this rage,
And forth they gon toward-es that village;
Of which the *taverner* had spoke before,
And many a grisly oath, than, have they sworn."

INN.

And in a translation of Pliny, made by Philemon Holland in 1600, we read: "But this and such casts were derived by hucksters, vinters, and *taverners*, after the wines were laid up in their cellars."

Whatever may have been the meaning of the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, it is certain that there is a strong proclivity to sin, on the part of the Tavern-keepers, and of other venders of intoxicating beverage. We would exercise great caution in denouncing particular classes of men, yet, both our reason and our observation force us to the conclusion, that there is something peculiarly heart-hardening in the avocation. More than once have we known the Tavern-keeper to reject, with brutality, the wife and the child, who with tears besought him not to sell his bane to the one, who, though now the occasion of horror and degradation, would be, if sober, their pride and their support. We have known the recent inebriate, in the midst of earnest and well-known efforts at reform, enticed to the Tavern and made drunk,—and, when his money was exhausted, expelled with violence and personal injury. We have known such persons to come to us with tears of agony, remorse and despair;—we have known them to "resolve and re-resolve," and finally to DIE the victims of snares *purposely laid for them*. Are these extreme cases? Alas, we could tell of many heart-rending ones, without going beyond the reach of our own individual knowledge, and we long ago adopted the sentiment of the homely translation of the honest Waldenses. We have no unkindness towards the Tavern-keeper—we desire his prosperity, his happiness and his salvation—but we wish his business at an end forever, the world over. INNS are needed,—but the wedlock of "*Inns and Taverns*" is an unholy alliance. Hail to the Star in the East!

THE MAINE PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW!
And let all the people, from Madawaska to Palo Alto, and thence to Cape Flattery say Amen.

We rarely witness a greater forfeiture of self-respect for the sake of obtaining custom, or one more certain to produce the contempt of those to whom the price is paid, than the movement among New York Merchants, to remunerate the owners of the Lemmon Slaves, for their loss consequent upon the recent decision in the case. It is a naked and shameful business advertisement. The names of those who contributed to the fund, and also of those who decline, are published in papers circulating at the South;—that the business houses of the former may be patronized, and those of the latter avoided. Some pleasant instances have occurred of Southern Merchants seeking the stores of those who would not put their principles into the Market. We commend to those who are wise, and to those who are susceptible of shame, a passage from a Poem of the revolution, written by TRUMBULL, (the American Hudibras,) in 1775.

"And are there, in this free-born land,
Among ourselves, a venal band;
A dastard race, who long have sold,
Their souls and consciences for gold;
Who wish to stab their country's vitals,
If they might heir surviving titles;
With joy behold our mischief brewing,
Insult and triumph in our ruin;
Priests, who, if Satan should set down,
To make a bible of his own;
Would gladly for the sake of mitres,
Turn his inspir'd and sacred writers;
Lawyers, who, should he wish to prove,
His title to his old seat above,
Would, if his cause he'd give 'em fees in,
Bring writs of entry *sur disseisin*;
Plead for him boldly at the session,
And hope to put him in possession;
Merchants, who, for his kindly aid,
Would make him partner in their trade;
Hang out their signs with goodly show,
Inscribed with "*Beelzebub and Co.*"
And judges, who would list his pages,
For proper liveries and wages;
And who as humbly cringe and bow,
To all his mortal servants now?
There are; and Shame, with pointing gestures,
Marks out the addresses and protesters;
Whom following down the stream of fate,
Contempts ineffable await;
And public infamy, forlorn,
Dread hate, and everlasting scorn."

A letter from a lady at Munich, in Bavaria, states that 29 editions of Uncle Tom's Cabin have already been published in the German Language, and that even in the remote villages of the Tyrol, (where she had been visiting) "a powerful feeling of sympathy for the Slave has been awakened by this graphic and touching picture of Slave life." In view of the wonderful circulation of this Book, we have had our attention on the alert, to note any evidence that it had induced in its readers a relinquishment of the products of slave labor. The graphic and true picture therein presented, has excited the painfully intense sympathy of

hundreds of thousands; of persons enough to affect the slave interests materially, if they would all make the sacrifice for which Humanity calls. The philanthropy which spends itself in a mere excitement of feeling or ebullition of words, will not open the prison doors: the tears shed over the pages of Uncle Tom, will not rust away the chain of the Slave, nor give deliverance to the captive. From "THE SLAVE" (published at Newcastle upon Tyne), we clip the following paragraph, written by our immediate editorial predecessor.

From an anti-slavery correspondent at Philadelphia, dated 11 mo. 29, 1852.

"I am clearly of the opinion that your effort to raise funds for the redemption of the Weiss family will be useful to the anti-slavery cause. It can only be through action, ultimately, that the wonderful popularity of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" can benefit the slave. The sighs and tears expended over the book will soon be evaporated; and if the moral influence of the readers be not directed towards some definite action or object, slavery will continue prosperous and triumphant. I have always regretted the position taken by leading members of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society on this subject. I do not believe one of them would refuse to redeem a parent, brother, sister, or child from Indian Algerine bondage. Friends in England raised a large fund for the ransom of members of our Society, who had been seized and held in slavery by the Algerines; yet, in that case, the redemption was a direct encouragement to the taking of new prisoners. Here, the case is totally different. The ransom of an American slave does not occasion, but may prevent, the birth of another; therefore lessens, and cannot increase, the number of slaves."

We notice in "The Slave" an interesting letter from H. H. Garnet, dated in 11th Mo. at Madeira, whither he had been driven by unfavorable weather. He says, "We shall spend the day on land, and expect to start to-morrow once more. We have 100 passengers and as many men. Several passengers are respectable persons of colour. I rejoice to know that if we never reach our destination, we shall all be together: we shall not be separated." We since learn with pleasure that he and his family have arrived at Jamaica.

We referred in our last to the Address of the Women of England to their sisters in the U. S. of America, and objected to its admission of danger in immediate emancipation. There were not wanting in England persons of quick and true perception, to detect and point out this error. Samuel Gurney, Joseph Sturge, Sir E. N. Buxton and G. W. Alexander corresponded with the Earl of Shaftesbury, the reputed author of the Address, suggesting another form which they enclosed to him. The following is his reply:

"Gentlemen—I am much obliged to you for the kind letter I have had the honor to receive from you.

I am fully aware of the great zeal and exertions of that party who assert the necessity and safety of immediate abolition, nor do I deny that they formed their opinion on very strong and cogent arguments.

But our present purpose is less to discuss the question of the time of abolition than the mode by which we can obtain it at all. It is a sad thing that we should appear to be disunited. We are not so in fact. We all alike abhor and denounce that iniquitous system of slavery which disgraces and desolates so many regions of the civilized world.

My own views, as far as I am able to form any, and those of many with whom I am associated, are very moderate. An interval of three years would be ample to make all necessary preparations for the admission of the slave to every right and enjoyment of a freeman.

I heartily approve the course you propose. Obtain as many signatures as you can to your address, which requires immediate abolition. We will do the same by ours, which admits that it should be progressive. Both of them may then go together, for, with the exception of one passage, the addresses will be identical,—identical in spirit, sentiment, and expression, and differing only in the subordinate consideration whether a short interval, or more, should be allotted for the purpose of preparation. I am, gentlemen, your very obed't s'v't.

SHAFTESBURY.

FREE TRADE.—Much satisfaction is felt in the approach to Free Trade on the part of Great Britain, both from principle and on account of its well-working. An honored correspondent expresses his agreement with this feeling, "not so much through argument, or even result, as because I deem it consistent with Bible doctrine and Christian wisdom: tending to prove that the whole Earth is the Lord's—that all men are brethren:—and destruction of warlike tendencies." We shall not differ from our correspondent, or from the views of many English Philanthropists, when we except, from our general approval, the patronage given to Slavery by the introduction without distinctive duty, of Slave Produce, respecting which Act of retrogression Lord Stanley declared in the House of Lords, that they "would thereby add to the profit on every Slave engaged in the cultivation of sugar:"—asserting also that "an increased demand in this country [Great Britain] would have a tendency to stimulate Slavery." We would have Free Trade applied to every traffic which it is becoming for Christians to countenance, but we would gladly pile obstacles as high as Olympus, between Slavery and its Market; because

"We feel that wrong with wrong partakes:
That nothing stands alone:
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own."

The trial of the kidnapped RACHEL PARKER, on her petition for freedom, after her varied sufferings incident to her seizure, imprisonment, &c. and after the murder of her protector and chief witness, JOSEPH C. MILLER, resulted on the 12th ult. in the abandonment of the case, as hopeless, by the Prosecuting Attorney, before it was submitted to the Jury; and, consequently, she is acquitted, before the world, of the crime of being or of having been the property of Luther A. Schoolfield. But as each inhabitant of every State where the pecu-

liar institution is sustained has as clear a title to her as ever Schoolfield had, we cannot guarantee her exemption from future annoyance. We are not aware that any person will call in question the cruel injustice of this case; yet how much deeper is the hardship, and the injustice, endured *without redress in this life*, by each one of the millions who are actually held as slaves. Reader! could'st thou pay thy money to a Schoolfield for the product of the labor of a kidnapped Parker, and then wear or eat it? And what better claim than that of a kidnapper (if you trace the title back) can any slaveholder exhibit? "Every thing else," says Channing, "may be owned in the universe; but a moral rational being cannot be property. Suns and stars may be owned, but not the lowest spirit. Touch any thing but this. Lay not your hands on God's rational offspring. The whole spiritual world cries out FORBEAR! The highest intelligences recognize their own nature, their own rights, in the humblest human being."

SAMUEL GURNEY the distinguished English Philanthropist, in a recent letter which we are permitted to quote, says, in reference to American Slavery,—

"How heartily do I desire that such a noble country as the United States would clear itself of such abomination, the great preventive, in my judgment, of her rising to her full and highest destiny. How can she hold up to the nations of the Earth the great cause of religious and civil liberty, at the same time having within herself, and maintained by her laws, the most flagrant system of tyranny existing in the civilized world. With such a people, I do think the cause of emancipation must grow and strengthen."

We notice briefly for unqualified condemnation the recommendation of Governor Bigler to allow slave traders to bring slaves into the land of PENN. The A. S. Bugle has a caustic editorial of much force. We can only clip a paragraph from its midst.

"The recommendation would seem at first blush to be something of a sacrifice to the spirit of comity and good neighborhood, inasmuch as it denies to Pennsylvanians the privilege of holding slaves in the commonwealth, which it grants to those of a foreign state. But if the Governor will look at it, he will see that his recommendation needs amendment: that it falls decidedly short of that 'comity' which can alone save the Union. Is it not a most discourteous rebuke to the chivalrous emigrants, with their stolen women and babes, that it forbids its own citizens to imitate their patriotic example, and buy children and flog men and women? It is a tacit, uncourteous and cowardly rebuke of the system, against which the Union will hardly be able to sustain itself. It subjects these wandering patriarchs to great inconvenience, often preventing their sale of stock to Pennsylvania planters. It is an invasion of their rights. Why may they not sell a foot-sore woman or a sick babe, at half price, to an innkeeper, to pay a bill,—like drovers of other stock? It can't be that the accommodating Federal Constitution, when it proposed to regulate commerce meant to prohibit this traffic, and if it did, that 'comity' which permits Ohio drovers to sell sick calves and lame pigs, should certainly grant it to these merchant princes, who speculate in human souls and sinews."

We also notice the introduction of Bills for this pur-

pose into the Legislatures of Pennsylvania and New York. These bills are disgraceful to their framers and advocates, whom we may fairly though sadly conclude to be themselves slaves, "servants to him to whom they obey." It is no new thing to see activity on the part of the advocates of evil. Shall the friends of goodness and of right shame their professions by supineness? These pro-slavery deeds should prompt to faithful efforts, not only to arrest the progress of such outrages, but to clear our own hands of participation in the monstrous crime of slavery while we labor for its extinction.

"Up then, in Freedom's manly part,
From gray haired eld to fiery youth!—
And, o'er the Nation's naked heart,
Scatter the living coals of Truth!"

In a day when so much is said respecting the "perpetuity of the Union," we would call attention to the true source of real danger, as depicted in the following lines by a popular Poet,—as also to the true remedy, which must consist, not in compromise measures for the recapture of fugitives, but in a practical observance of the precept given by Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar: "WHEREFORE, O KING, LET MY COUNSEL BE ACCEPTABLE UNTO THEE, AND BREAK OFF THY SINS BY RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND THINE INIQUITIES BY SHEWING MERCY TO THE POOR."

THE WARNING.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

Beware! The Israelites of old, who tore
The lion in his path,—when, poor and blind,
He saw the blessed light of heaven no more,
Shorn of his noble strength and forced to grind
In prison, and at last led forth to be
A pander to Philistine revelry,—
Upon the pillars of the temple laid
His desperate hands, and in its overthrow
Destroyed himself, and with him those who made
A cruel mockery of his sightless woe;
The poor, blind slave, the scoff and jest of all,
Expired, and thousands perished in the fall!
There is a poor blind Samson in this land,
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,
And shake the pillars of this commonweal,
Till the vast temple of our liberties
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies.

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE ANNUAL MONITOR FOR 1853. London.—This is an annual "Obituary of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland." It has been conducted for 40 years and, as the present Editor remarks, "it will be readily admitted that for many years it has occupied a useful place, and exercised, in a religious sense, a 'sanitary' influence in our society." The introduction to the present volume, is, in itself, a valuable treatise, from which we should copy at length, were it not that our limits are too small, and that having been republished in the FRIEND'S REVIEW, it is accessible to a large number of our readers. We insert a single paragraph, not without a fear that we mar its excellence by separating it from the context. The sentiments, though not new, are

happily expressed. It should never be forgotten that the Church of Christ is not *sectarian*: that an honest Church organization "has no *sectarian purposes to answer*." And it is unspeakably important that Christians, whatever their name, their peculiarities of belief, or their stage of progress and degree of enlightenment, should continually seek, by example, by precept, and by wrestling in prayer, to draw souls away from sin and unto Christ; that the building up of a sect is not the mission committed to any Church by the glorious Head from whom all authority is derived; and that the travail of all regenerated souls should harmoniously tend to speed the coming of the day when there shall be one fold and one Shepherd.

"As a Religious Society, we have no sectarian purposes to answer, we have no party interests to support, 'we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord,' our mission is, in the highest and truest sense, a Catholic one;—its simple aim is the exaltation of the cause of our God and of his Christ, and the government of His church and the individual members thereof, by Himself, through the Holy Spirit, in accordance always, as that cannot but be, with the inspired words of the sacred volume. In surveying the present state of professing Christendom and of the world, it cannot but be cause for humble thankfulness, to the reflecting mind, that it has pleased our Heavenly Father, in His infinite wisdom and love, to grant us *both*; and, to the members of our religious community, it must be matter of peculiar satisfaction and gratitude, that *both* have been and are so fully recognized amongst us; so that, whilst we firmly and practically hold to the great scriptural doctrine of the immediate, the direct and perceptible influence of the Holy Spirit, we have *never* hesitated, as a people, and do not *now* hesitate, to bring all the doctrines we believe, and all the practices we allow, and all the testimonies we consider it right to bear, to the test of the Holy Scriptures; and those principles which have long united us together in the bonds of Christian fellowship are still found efficacious, both to equip the servant of Christ for the active duties of life, and to prepare him for the honest hour of death."

"THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLORED ORPHANS" is before us. We have several times visited their Asylum on Fifth Avenue, New York, and it would be difficult for us to convey in words our high appreciation of this noble Institution. We extract the following touching notice of the decease, in 5th month last, of an excellent colored teacher, who had been engaged in the establishment three and a half years.

"The decease of M. A. Bodee, announced at our last meeting occurred on the 20th of 5th month (May) last. She had been subject to a weakness of the chest for several years past, and had repeated hemorrhages of the lungs.

"It was not until six days before her decease, although quite indisposed, that she was induced, by the earnest entreaty of the Matron, to discontinue her indefatigable exertions in the school, and retire to her room after commencing the duties of the day.

"The cold which she had taken, resisted all the efforts of the physician; and as she carefully watched the failure of the applications intended for her relief, she repeatedly remarked, 'It is not the will of God that I shall recover—He does not intend that I shall;' and

with a cheerful resignation would exclaim—"The will of the Lord be done. He knows what is best." Still, as the separation from her children occasionally presented itself the conflict was severe. "What a struggle, what a trial," would she say, "to leave my poor fatherless children, orphans in the world!"

"She expressed to one of the Managers the assurance she at times felt, that her prayers had been heard and answered; and remarked that the blessings of religion were first experienced by her in this Institution. Her heart seemed filled with the love of God, and with the voice of prayer and praise she oft proclaimed his goodness.

"The condescension of her Saviour, and the love and faithfulness and goodness of God, were oft referred to by her. As she was beloved in an unusual degree by the different members of the family, their attentions to her were unwearied, for which she evinced the warmest gratitude, and manifested great patience under acute suffering.

"Being asked a little before her death, if she felt herself approaching the eternal world, she replied she did; and if it were the will of God to take her to himself, could she resign her children into his hands? With the utmost calmness and composure, she answered, that she had done so several days since. Soon after this her three youngest children, inmates of the Institution, were brought to her bed-side; and turning herself, she reached forth her hand to little Fanny, the eldest present, embraced her in the warmest manner, and wept over her in the tenderness of a mother's love. Then, after a solemn pause, she slowly raised her feeble hand, and placed it on the head of the child, saying: 'Fanny, I resign you to God and to Mrs. F——, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' As she moved her hand, her daughter retired, and Edward, the next in point of age, approached his dying mother; and in the same solemn and affecting manner did she resign this dear boy and his still younger brother to the care of the Managers of the Asylum.

"She then took an affectionate leave of the Matron, teachers, and friends present. The children belonging to her school were permitted to pass through her room and to take her hand; to some of whom she was enabled to address a few words of advice. Some of the larger children were next allowed to pass before her and look a last farewell. Her eye then turned upon her own dear children and she exclaimed: 'Is it possible that I have been sustained in this trying hour? Yes, yes, verily; praise the Lord! glory! glory! glory to God, who has given me this victory! Father! they are thine, and I am thine. The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law—O death where is thy sting! O grave where is thy victory?' Her last words were, 'O that my death may be a warning to many!' With one convulsive struggle the spirit was released, and the love of God, which had carried her through the gates of death, calmly settled on her countenance, which was radiant with a sweet and heavenly smile."

"PEOPLE-DIPLOMACY: OR THE MISSION OF FRIENDLY INTERNATIONAL ADDRESSES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE."—A London pamphlet of 24 pages fraught with moral beauty. Would that we could lay it before our readers. It is the modest report of Elihu Burritt, &c., who went to France on behalf of the People of England, the bearers of about fifty people letters, full of peace and good will, from British cities, to cities in France selected in reference to points of similarity. London, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dublin, each addressed an epistle to Paris. The first was signed by

four members of Parliament, by officers of various societies, and upwards of 1500 respectable citizens. Glasgow sent about 2000 signatures. The address of Liverpool to Marseilles was adopted at a large public meeting and bore 2500 signatures of adult men. A belligerent attitude towards France seemed to be assumed by Great Britain. The foremost Journals abounded in stinging epithets and imputations. But a popular counter-movement arose, instigated, doubtless by the lovely spirited Elihu Burritt, whose movements in the cause of Truth and Humanity we admire in common with philanthropists generally, whilst, personally,

"We find in his heart something dearer than Fame."

The reception of this mission of good will in the several French cities, by the officials, by the public Journals, and by the People, was most happy. One official in his speech of acknowledgment said:—"that the idea of fifty of the most important towns in the United Kingdom addressing such people-letters to fifty large towns in France, appeared to him a magnificent thought and act." The "*Journal de Maine et Loire*," (Angers) says—"It seems to us difficult not to show ourselves grateful.

* * * If we had to reply to their friendly manifestation, we should do it in a real French fashion; and we should say to them:—'Our very dear friends, you have won our sympathy, and to prove it, we invite the signers of the address to a monster banquet, at which we will fraternize each other.' It is impossible for us to do justice to the pamphlet; but it is calculated to clinch the conviction of our Universal Brotherhood, and to make us love, for the Eternal Father's sake, the People of Britain and the People of France.

QUESTIONS FOR BIBLE CLASSES AND FAMILIES. New York. S. S. & W. Wood. An acceptable aid to the religiously concerned instructor of youth.

FREE PRODUCE STORES.

We refer to advertisements on page 8 of No. 1—merely giving, as far as they occur to our memory, a list of Free Produce Stores, at which Dry Goods and Groceries, free from the stain of Slavery, may be obtained. We especially call attention to the Wholesale Establishment which heads the list, as our friend G. W. TAYLOR is prepared to supply orders (as per last month's advertisement) to all parts of the country.

George W. Taylor, N. W. Cor. 5th and Cherry street, Philadelphia.

Ezra Town, 86 Pearl street, N. Y.
E. Catell, Mount Pleasant, Ohio.
L. Coffin & Co., Cincinnati.
Joel Parker, Newport, Indiana.
Nathan Stanton, Newport, Indiana.
Seth Henshaw, Greensboro', Indiana.
C. M. & M. J. Scarlet, Penn's Grove, Chester Co., Pa.
"The Voice of the Fugitive," announces, prospectively, a Free Labor Store in Detroit, Michigan.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 1853.

[No. 3.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY
BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, FIFTY CENTS.
" of three copies, ONE DOLLAR.
" or of eight copies, TWO DOLLARS,

in one payment, always in advance, post paid,
and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight.
When gold or postage stamps can be remitted it will save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

Postage on this paper only 6 cents per annum, if paid in advance at the delivery post office.

All subscriptions and business letters to be sent to the Publisher, in Philadelphia.

Exchange papers and communications for insertion should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N. J." (the residence of the Editor.)

Extracts from our Correspondence.

[Continued from page 9.]

MASSILLON, OHIO.—Our ancient and valued friend, Isaac Bowman of this place, writes: "I am glad the Non-Slaveholder is again published. I enclose \$—. * * * I am getting to be an old man, now in my 78th year. I feel desirous to assist the distressed African race. I was well acquainted with Thomas Clarkson in 1795; and I abstained from the use of West India Sugar to bring about the abolition of the African Slave trade. Cotton was not so much used at that day."

UNION COUNTY, INDIANA.

"I rejoice that the Non-Slaveholder is resuscitated, and I have sent thee eight subscribers, and \$2. I shall try to send more names. I believe that the cause has suffered by the suspension of the Non-Slaveholder, but hope that it will now advance."

COLUMBIANA COUNTY, OHIO.

(With 25 subscriptions, the same effective Agent having previously sent a larger amount.)—"The surplus money of \$5.00, which I send, is designed to aid the Free Labor cause. Purely from this motive, I have prevailed upon several to pay a sum additional to the price charged for the paper." Another friend of the same county writes—"I was glad to receive the first No. of the Non-Slaveholder, and enclose \$3 for 12 copies."

CHENANGO COUNTY, N. Y.

"I fully agree with the Editor that the class among whom the Non-Slaveholder circulates, has sustained a loss by its discontinuance."

RUSH COUNTY, INDIANA.

(With 9 subscribers.)—"There has certainly existed a vacuum on the question of human slavery since the Non-Slaveholder was suspended. If my humble efforts would be acceptable to the Editor, I would be willing to act as Agent in this section."

An esteemed correspondent in Ohio, in sending subscriptions for 25 copies, writes:

"Thou wilt see that I have obtained them all at the club price, which I think is high enough for so small a paper."

So we thought, and therefore we placed the price so low. Yet we hope to make some of our single numbers fully worth the whole price for a year, and it is quite certain that our publication will be a pecuniary loss unless we have a large subscription list. But if our free labor friends, generally, will do as well as this correspondent, and send us "club price" for 25 subscribers, at each of their respective post offices, we shall aim at increasing, perhaps doubling the size of our sheet. We are obliged to omit a large amount of valuable matter, which we would gladly spread before our readers. [This friend has since furnished us with 25 additional names.]

WAYNE COUNTY, INDIANA.

(With 8 subscribers.)—"I shall make up another company soon. I am much pleased with the first No. of the paper. The article, 'Who are the Slaveholders,' alone is worth the subscription for a year."

LYNN, MASS.

(With 12 subscribers.)—"We are rejoiced to see that there is feeling enough on the subject to send forth the Non-Slaveholder again. I sincerely hope thou wilt find sufficient patronage to encourage thee to persevere in so good a cause."

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N. Y.

(With an enclosure.)—"It is gratifying to discover that the Non-Slaveholder is resumed. The cause which it was designed to promote has lost none of its excellence by lapse of time, and the influence it was calculated to exert is none the less called for."

MONKTON, VERMONT.

(With a list of subscribers.)—"In the course of my rambles I have seen a copy of the new series of the Non-Slaveholder, and heartily glad was I to see its face once more. * * * Allow me to say that I was much pleased with the Editor's resolve to treat the subject with moderation. I suppose it is his desire to convince and not to upbraid. It is true the apathy manifested by many who claim to be regarded as anti-slavery par excellence is disheartening; still this coldness on the subject does not dissolve the guilty partnership existing between the slaveholders and the consumers of slave-grown productions, nor ought it to check free expression from those who see and feel

"That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own."

"I hope never to forget the impression made upon my mind by witnessing a coffin of slaves, in the prime of life, marching through the streets of Richmond, Va. How could I suppress the conviction that they were on their way to the cotton field, to be used up in the production of an article which the slaveholders feel well assured will meet with a ready market amongst thousands at the North; notwithstanding the petitions they had signed, the prayers they had uttered, and the addresses in favor of emancipation which they had circulated. However careless the patrons of slavery may be as to where they bestow their patronage, have we not unquestionable evidence that the Slaveholder clearly

understands that they who buy his cotton, are his indispensable supporters."

JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO.

A valued friend and hearty co-laborer expresses a desire that our Journal may be filled with "matter of fact, and not of fiction"—having reference to the English tract in No. 1. We receive the hint kindly, as it is meant, and, while we had not thought of objecting to the article in question, we are opposed on principle to every deviation from truthfulness, and we do not favor the employment of fiction as the medium of Truth. We have wished to express our views upon this subject, and hope, ere long, to find space for their insertion. Our friend pertinently adds, "I believe the Truth has owned the cause, and will sustain it." In the town in which he resides we have 50 subscribers. In Salem, Ohio, 88. This is owing to disinterested efforts made for the cause' sake. There are many other cities and towns where still larger results would follow similar efforts. Will not persons be found willing, for the promotion of the Truth, to canvass their neighborhoods, at the club price, and thus increase the circulation of the Non-Slaveholder, prevent it from being a loss to those engaged in it, and enable us also to enlarge its dimensions?

CLINTON COUNTY, OHIO.

(With 8 Subscriptions and prospect of more.)—"There has been much loss sustained by the Non-Slaveholder being suspended so long. * * * There is a great advance in the free-labor cause in these parts. I think there are many who would rather make use of free produce (if they could be certain that it was such) than the slave grown: and some who were much opposed seven years ago, now think it right to abstain."

NEW GARDEN, OHIO.

"I have obtained 33 subscribers, and enclose \$8, and may say I have a prospect of obtaining a few more."

BOON COUNTY, INDIANA.

"I have received, and read with interest, two numbers of the Non-Slaveholder, and have obtained 13 subscribers. I was a subscriber for it so long as it was published before, and much regretted its stopping, as we are apt, if we have not something to stir up the pure mind to duty, to grow cold respecting things which we know to be right."

WASHINGTON COUNTY, INDIANA.

A much valued friend writes:—"Having received the first number of the Non-Slaveholder, I feel anxious to encourage its circulation among our own members and others, believing it calculated to do much good, particularly here, where we are within thirty miles of a Slave State. It has not yet been convenient to see many of our friends. Should some of those whose names I send be unwilling to pay me, I am willing to circulate it gratis. The members of our Monthly Meeting are generally taking the Review, yet I hope a considerable number of them will take the Non-Slaveholder. It is a publication which every member of our society should, as I believe, feel an interest in promoting the circulation of. I have full confidence in the abilities of the Editor and Publisher to conduct the paper in a consistent manner."

[We would not offer our paper to any one

as a substitute for *Friends' Review*, but would always be glad to let it accompany that able and excellent journal, the Editor of which has probably done more for the cause of Human Liberty, than any other living writer in the Society of Friends, unless we except J. G. Whittier. The beloved friend from whom we have just quoted, is one whose words of encouragement are peculiarly strengthening to us.]

CEDAR COUNTY, IOWA.

An order for 12—with promise of more.

ONTARIO COUNTY, N. Y.

(A second order from this friend.)—"I have just received the 2d No. of the Non-Slaveholder, and am so well pleased with it, as well as with the former, that I have made out a list of eight persons at a neighboring Post Office, who I think ought to take it, for which I send you \$2.00 at once. If any of these do not choose to refund the subscription when I inform them, I can pay for them. Would not Agents generally find this the best way?"

PARKE COUNTY, INDIANA.

(Eight subscriptions.)—"Five or six of the above are persons who have not heretofore been readers of the Non-Slaveholder, but have rather stood aloof, regarding the plan therein advocated as impracticable: just such names as I was most desirous of procuring, as they are candid, intelligent, orderly Friends. For, if the succeeding numbers should be as well prepared as the first, I think they can hardly fail to become convinced and enlisted in the cause. I expect that there will be a considerable number of subscribers from this county. The cause of Freedom and Humanity,—the principles of genuine Republicanism and Christianity, seem to be gaining advocacy in this vicinity."

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N. Y.

(With 24 subscribers.)—"A large portion of the persons in this subscription list feel a deep interest in the causes of Peace, Temperance and the Abolition of Capital Punishment, and hope to see those subjects treated in your paper according to the Prospectus, as well as the Anti-Slavery cause."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"The law of the LORD is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the LORD is sure, making wise the simple: the statutes of the LORD are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the LORD is pure, enlightening the eyes." Psalms xix. 7, 8.

"Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I sent? who is blind as he that is perfect, and blind as the LORD's servant?" Isaiah xlii. 19.

In the belief of these truths I stop less to enquire what was the mind of the servants in the utterance of the following discipline of Friends, than to seek to know what was the mind of the Spirit in its enunciation. That knowing, it should be our desire to bring to its fulfilment no lame offering. The rule is one touching impartially every case coming within the sphere of its comprehensive principle, and pronouncing all such described support of Slavery as immoral. Are we in no wise concerned in purchasing, disposing of, or holding

mankind as slaves, when by using the products of slavery we give the motive for so purchasing, disposing of, and holding them? Do we by no means encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves, when we use commodities resulting from, and which it was the direct end of the traffic to procure?

"Hear ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see." Isaiah xlii. 18.

"It is the sense and judgment of this meeting, that if any in membership with us are in any wise concerned in purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves, or shall by any means encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves, they should be treated with as for any other immoral, unjust, or reproachful conduct; and if they are not brought to such a sense of their deviation from the law of righteousness and Christian equity, as to condemn the same to the satisfaction of the monthly meeting, they should be disowned.—1774, 1834."—Discipline of Philadelphia Y. Meeting, p. 128.

Do any exclaim, in view of the involved principles and ultimate remedy, "This is an hard saying; who can hear it?"—let them bear in mind that when Friends, generally, shall wash their hands in innocency of the slave's wrongs, when, only, they can put the remedy into operation, that remedy will be as little needed to maintain fully the perfect law as it is now to suppress the acts which are recognized as infractions of it.

PENINGTON.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

IMPORTANCE OF CHRISTIAN CONSISTENCY.

Unhappily too many while they may be industriously engaged with one hand for the removal of an evil, are inconsiderately contributing, with the other to its permanence. Has not this been the case in respect to most of the labor performed for the liberation of the Slave.

The evils of Slavery in the United States, having become so conspicuous and so odious, especially within the last thirty years, have claimed the attention, of the more considerate, and Philanthropic part of the community, and some of both sexes, have entered the field of labor for its extinction. Associations have been formed, to enlighten and correct the public mind,—Legislative bodies have been memorialized, to prevent its growth; the press, (that mighty engine), has been employed, to some extent, in exhibiting the wrongs of the Slave.

These labors, however well directed, and well intended, have met with much opposition, which, although applied with the greatest solicitude, in Church and State has proved insufficient to prevent a growth of anti-slavery feeling. Anti-slavery advocates are now to be seen in much larger numbers, (compared with thirty years ago), in Legislative bodies, in newspaper articles, and in the membership of religious societies and of direct Anti-slavery associations. The influence upon Slavery of these Laborers, and their co-workers of other countries, may be estimated from the amount of hostility called forth, and the desperate means resorted to for the protection of the system. Witness the fugitive slave law of 1850, and kindred enactments of latter times. Thus it must be evident, to all who have, even to those whose information on the subject is limited, that in 30 years the cause of the Slave has materially gained ground, and has attained a position, so intimately connected with the prosperity, or adversity of the country, that the Slaves rightful claim to liberty can never be again smothered into silence. And such is the case with many religious denominations; so large

a number of their members, having become awakened to a sense of the slave's wrongs, they cannot with a clear conscience, permit their respective sects as quietly to slumber over the oppression of the Slave as in time past.

These results are the more encouraging, when we reflect that they have been achieved by a merely one handed labor, since, in most abolition efforts, the efficiency of the labor of the one hand, has been crippled by the aid given to the system with the other, through the inconsistency of participating with the Master in the products of the slave's unrequited toil. As it is for the produce of his labor he is first enslaved, it is undeniable and self-evident that the purchasers of these products furnish the inducement for a continuation of his bonds. Judging then from what has been effected, may we not infer, that, if this aid to the system had been withheld by all who loathed Slavery, the stain would ere this have been removed? How much remains to be accomplished!—Yet how quickly the finishing stroke might be given, by laying the axe to the root of the corrupt system.

Little does the Slaveholder regard the arguments and remonstrances of the Abolitionists, so long as he gives him the aid he wants for holding the Slave. In this way the Abolitionists have more than half neutralized their own labors. They proclaim the injustice and sin of slaveholding, (and they do well,) and at the same time publish to the world a practical acknowledgment of the right of the master, by paying him for the proceeds of the slave's labor.

The master for good reasons, is at a loss how to make any distinction between the principle, which governs him, in procuring the products of the slave's labor direct from his own hands, and that principle, by which the Abolitionist voluntarily possesses himself of these same products, with some intervening agency to pass them over from the slave to him. In brief, the master does not comprehend the difference in principle, between doing an act by the hand of another, and doing it himself. "Qui facit per alium, facit per se."

The merits of the cause in which the advocates of emancipation are engaged, imperatively demand consistency, and that we do not practice upon a principle which we condemn in the slaveholder. Let us then, as Christians, treat the slaveholder, as an erring brother, with kindness and due regard; but, giving him no countenance in his error and injustice, let us practically condemn the principle by which a fellow man is deprived of his liberty, and reduced to merchandize, for the purpose of depriving him of the fruits of his labor. Such a consistent Christian course pursued by the friends of emancipation, would in a short period, produce in many slaveholders such a sense of their own injustice, as would speedily cause the removal of the last fetter from the suffering bondman.

D. I.

Quaker Hill, 12th of 2d mo., 1853.

From "Love to God, considered as a preparation for Heaven."

Reader, if, notwithstanding the name of a Christian, thou art still a votary of this present world, following the vain devices and desires of thy own heart—pause, I beseech thee, in thy mad career, and meditate for a few moments on the heights of heaven, and on the depths of hell. The curtains of the night will soon close around thee, and thy mental and moral condition, thy happiness or thy woe, will be fixed forever. Repent of thy transgressions; bring all the burden of thy sins and cast it at the feet of Jesus. "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." Wash thy polluted garments in the blood of his atonement; and cease to restrain the influence of his Holy Spirit. Embrace, in good earnest, the faith, the hope, and the virtue of the Christian, and live forever!

Reader, if thou hast already made covenant with the Lord, to be his child and servant—if though hast already been taught of the Spirit to love him who first

loved thee—persevere. Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life; go forward on thy march towards Zion; give thyself wholly to the disposal of Him who died for thee and rose again; count nothing too near or too dear to part with for his name's sake; follow the guidance of the Comforter in all things; watch unto prayer; be humble, be faithful, be diligent; and *all will be well*. Christ will continue to be thy all-sufficient portion here; and soon, very soon, it will be thy blessed lot to exchange his cross on earth for a crown of righteousness in heaven, immortal, incorruptible and full of glory.

J. J. GURNEY.

From the Advocate and Guardian.

HINTS TO PROMOTE HARMONY IN A FAMILY.

1. We may be quite sure that our will is likely to be crossed in the day, so prepare for it.
2. Everybody in the house has an evil nature as well as ourselves, and therefore we are not to expect too much.
3. To learn the different temper of each individual.
4. To look upon each other member of the family as one for whom Christ died.
5. When any good happens to any one, to rejoice at it.
6. When inclined to give an angry answer, to lift up the heart in prayer.
7. If from sickness, pain, or infirmity, we feel irritable, to keep a very strict watch over ourselves.
8. To observe when others are so suffering and drop a word of kindness and sympathy suited to their state.
9. To watch for little opportunities of pleasing, and to put little annoyances out of the way.
10. To take a cheerful view of everything; of the weather, &c., and encourage hope.
11. To speak kindly to the servants, and praise them for little things when you can.
12. In all little pleasures which may occur, to put self last.
13. To try for "the soft answer that turneth away wrath."
14. When we have been pained by an unkind word or deed, to ask ourselves: "Have I not often done the same and been forgiven?"
15. In conversation, not to exalt ourselves, but bring others forward.
16. To be very gentle with the younger ones, and treat them with respect, remembering that we were once young too.
17. Never to judge one another, but attribute a good motive when we can.
18. To compare our manifold blessings with the trifling annoyances of the day.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 2, 1853.

As this humble periodical is not conducted with a view to emolument, in funds or in fame, it would be a cheerless task without the prospect of our object being in some degree attained. Our aim is to strengthen the tie of human brotherhood; to waken dormant sympathies, and to stimulate those in danger of waxing cold; to encourage our readers to break off from participancy in evils which they loathe; and to remind them that, although the monster we would attack is an "abomination of desolation," and truly "standing where it ought not," yet, as George Fox was often heard to say, "God's power is over all," and it is the

province of his rational creatures to be, without assuming anything to themselves, co-workers with him, by a dutiful avoidance of what ever is contrary to his pure and perfect will. He who is truly concerned to be thus passively submissive to the Divine Will, and to do nothing against the Truth, will not be a drone in creation, but will be made, in some manner, an active agent, and an instrument in carrying out the glorious motto given from Heaven at the Messiah's advent: "Glory to God in the highest! on Earth Peace, and Good will to Men!" In a moral warfare, the greater the magnitude of the evil to be overcome, the stronger the necessity of blamelessness in the mode of attack; "Men of *clean hands* shall wax stronger and stronger." We have, it is true, inherent in ourselves, no power at all. For the removal of slavery, intemperance, war, or other evils, we can neither appoint nor even know the time or the season "which the Father hath reserved in his own power." We know that

"God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts,"

but is eternally all-sufficient for His own blessed purposes towards a race, which, though fallen and degraded, is to be made subservient to His glory. These considerations being devoutly arrived at, will not induce supineness. Their legitimate effect will be, a humble persistent effort at conformity to the true standard of right. The kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ is not to be established by the workings of the feverish excitement, the passionate opposition to wrong, which the writers among FRIENDS significantly style "*creaturely activity*," in contrast with that ready zeal which is the offspring of the divine Spirit, and the labor of which is "not in vain in the Lord" if pursued in that wisdom from above, which is "*first pure*, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits." But, "if there first be a willing mind," we believe that there is for each one a field of labor, and an application of the Apostle's words: "God is able to make all grace abound toward you, that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things may abound to every good work."

It has been a satisfaction to us to receive words of approval and encouragement from many valued correspondents, which evince that the labors of the former Editors of this Journal have been appreciated, and have left the right impression upon the minds of their readers. We give, on another page, extracts from a few of the letters received.

We gladly make room for the communication from PENINGTON, although received by

mail after this number was nearly ready for the press. We recognize the authorship of a valued Friend, whom we have long "delighted to honor," and one who was, (if our memory serve us faithfully,) one of the Committee upon the last revision of the Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; when the clause which he has recited was condensed more than one half, and rendered a more emphatic and stringent testimony against all who should, "*by any means encourage or countenance a traffic in Slaves.*" The next paragraph in the "Rules of Discipline of the Y. M. of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Eastern parts of Maryland," contains so righteous a testimony against the *traffic in slaves*, that we introduce it in this connection:—

"It appearing that, notwithstanding the many afflictive dispensations with which Divine wisdom has seen meet to visit this land, many of its inhabitants are so deaf to the language of the rod, as to continue in the nefarious traffic for slaves to the coasts of Africa, and that the introduction of them into the United States is, in some places, still connived at; this meeting, considering such a conduct as a bold and impious defiance of the Ruler of nations, and pregnant with the most alarming consequences to our country, earnestly recommends to the meeting for sufferings, to embrace every suitable opportunity for advancing our testimony in this respect, and for calling the attention of the public mind to this awfully interesting subject."—1786, 1787, 1806, 1834.

Other passages in the same book of Discipline provide against Members of the Society of Friends "acting as executors or administrators to estates where slaves are bequeathed," "*doing anything whereby their bondage may be prolonged*;" and directs, (after due labor for their reclamation) the excommunication of members who hire slaves and pay the compensation for their services to those who assume to be their owners, unless such payment is to be applied to their liberation. Members are earnestly desired

"to promote the instruction of the people of color, as objects of the common salvation, in the principles of the Christian religion; as well as in such branches of school learning as may fit them for freedom, and to become useful members of civil society. Also, that Friends in their several neighborhoods, advise and assist them in the education of their children, and common worldly concerns."

Another clause, referring mournfully to "the practice of enslaving mankind" as a shameful one, exhorts members

"to be no way accessory to this enormous national evil, but to discourage it by all the justifiable means in their power; it being obvious that wherever it prevails, it tends to corrupt the morals of the people, so as not only to render them obnoxious to the displeasure of the Almighty, but deaf to his warnings, and insensible and regardless of his impending judgments."

JOHN CANDLER.—We noticed, on page 7, the Anti-Slavery mission to Brazil of our beloved friends John

and Maria Candler and Wilson Burgess. A Friend in England writes, under date of 1st Mo. 20th:—

"We have information of the arrival of our dear friends John and Maria Candler from Brazil. Their mission appears to have answered its purpose. They were well received by the Emperor, who expressed his wish to see the slave trade abolished every where. They had interviews with many of the principal inhabitants, and the general feeling appeared to accord with that of the Emperor. Their address was introduced into the principal newspapers, and they met a society who have for their object the abolition of the trade."

RICHARD NEAL'S ABDUCTION.—When a case of this sort has filled a large space in most of the daily and many of the weekly journals, we may fairly conclude that it has come to the knowledge of our readers. To do full justice to the outrage now before us, would more than fill a whole number of the Non-Slaveholder, and the character of our present engagements precludes our making such a condensation as will be satisfactory to ourselves. We find Richard, on fourth day morning, the 25th of 1st month, "with good will doing service" in the stable of his employer, our esteemed friend Townsend Sharpless, of Philadelphia, whose confidence and generous kindness he had secured by a course of good conduct. He is called to the stable door, on a treacherous pretence of business, and, on presenting himself, is arrested by two persons claiming authority as officers. This wicked and cowardly deed was done so secretly as to be unknown to the family for some hours. He was hurried in a carriage to Chester, whence he was to be despatched to Baltimore in the night train. Leaving him there, in the custody of cruel men, and in an agony of suspense, we will give a few leading facts of his previous history. He was held as property by James Cheston, of Maryland, a benevolent man who, whilst his judgment on the Slavery question appears to have been a mistaken one, was a humane master, and anxious to provide for the welfare of his laborers; as may be seen by these words from his will:

"I commit my servants to my sons: not as property, but that they may make such disposition of them as shall most conduce to the benefit of said slaves."

This will, through defect of evidence, could not be admitted to probate, but the heirs, true to the instincts of humanity, and to the dictates of "higher law," executed papers of manumission. Richard fell to the share of Dr. Caspar Morris, who promptly liberated him; but his wife and children (having no connection with the Cheston Estate), were held as slaves by a certain Isaac Mayo (who has, prefixed to his name, a *title* which signifies his connection with Slavery's unlovely sister, WAR.) Richard, after a while, removed to

Philadelphia, where he labored for the means of emancipating his family. At length, without his connivance, (though we are far from regarding such connivance as anti-republican or anti-christian) the wife and children, desperate from their experiences of the workings of the "peculiar institution" as carried on by "Patriarch" Mayo, absconded, were recaptured, were sold by Mayo (whose ownership or whose right to sell them was, as we opine, no stronger than that of any of our readers) and, through the kindly efforts of Dr. Morris and others, were purchased for liberation at a cost of more than \$3000. He engaged himself, as coachman, with T. Sharpless, and has, in his employ, as heretofore, sustained a reputation more enviable than that of *Commodore Mayo*. This Mayo, after a lapse of years, resolved to charge Neal with having aided the escape from grievous oppression of her to whom he had promised love and faithfulness till death, and of the children whom God had given to him, and had not given to Isaac Mayo. Of this conjugal and paternal aid Neal has however established his innocence:—but Mayo, on the testimony of one of his slaves, obtained, from the Gov. of Maryland, a requisition which was readily responded to by a warrant from Gov. Bigler, whose zeal for the re-introduction of Slavery will, we presume, be appreciated, rather than respected at the South. That Gov. Bigler is much to blame in this case, appears certain. Whether his error extended deeper than carelessness, we care not to enquire. His pro-slavery message has made a blot upon his name, which must be washed out, before this one will be very conspicuous. A small blot, however dark, is not so much noticed upon a greater one of the same hue. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained, and an officer, with two citizens, proceeded with it to Chester, having no certain knowledge that they were upon the right track. "Unarmed," says Dr. Morris, "except in that divine panoply in which 'he is thrice armed who has his quarrel just,' they reached Chester just in time to prevent, by the interposition of this writ, the further abduction of Richard." It was now nearly midnight, and the emissaries of slavery might have said in their hearts, "Surely the darkness shall cover me." They were waiting to enter the cars as the messengers of mercy and deliverance landed. The writ was read, but was disregarded. The two friends of humanity held the arms of the intended victim. The representatives of the adage "*might makes right*," also seized and strove to drag him toward the train. The whole time for stopping at the station was five minutes. "Michael and his angels fought, and the Dragon fought and his angels." "It

became" (to quote the Pa. Freeman,) "a question of muscular strength." The kidnapper was frantic in his puny wrath, as the engine whistled shrilly, and the "iron courser," breathing out a long train of something which looked like *fiery indignation*, rushed onward with a lumbering noise which was no sweet music to the ears of Mayo. "To feel that one has sold himself to the enemy," says Whittier, "is no pleasant matter, but to mourn over the loss of the purchase money is still worse." Is it a dream? Does Satan leave his allies in the lurch, at the very moment of their extremity? Is it really the departing train after which Mayo's dilated optics strain? He became ridiculous in his fury. "I WILL GIVE A HUNDRED DOLLARS IF THE CARS WILL STOP ONE MOMENT!" In vain! There is something very impeccable in steam. A steam engine has what is called a governor, but we never heard of its accepting a bribe. Save thy hundred dollars, Isaac Mayo, thou mayest need them yet! Richard Neal, with his enemies and his friends, were still in the land of Penn. Said we that Satan had left his minions in the lurch? Nay, he was still present with them, as they evinced by murderous menaces, and gestures of assault. One of the friends of Richard received, through his coat, under his arm, a cowardly stab from behind, but was unhurt, and, "armed strong in innocence," they demeaned themselves with a calm heroism, indicative of so good a cause. Next day, Richard was by legal process removed to Philadelphia, where he was imprisoned for trial, and, after some unwarrantable detention, and several hearings of the case, the warrant of William Bigler being withdrawn, and the parties to the arrest finally failing to appear, Richard Neal was discharged; and although he has been deeply wronged, he is somewhat complacent in the reflection, that even at the South, where dark skin is at a discount, he kept better company than did the *Commodore*.

A KIDNAPPER UNDER ORDERS TO SUPPRESS KIDNAPPING.—The cause of the absence of Isaac Mayo from the proceedings before the Supreme Court in the case of Neal, was stated thus: "He is under sailing orders in the *African squadron*." There is a very trite adage which is severely applicable.

The case of Neal has excited some attention in the Senate of Pennsylvania; and he has entered complaint for violent assault and battery, against Charles Tapper, one of the Marshal's police, who was held in \$500 bail.

CHARLES WESLEY.—It is sickening to keep "posted up" respecting the continually occur-

ring cases of wrong and outrage. Charles Wesley, a boy "held to service" till he should attain the age of 21 years, escaped from Delaware, was re-captured at Philadelphia, and delivered to the oppressors. "At the final hearing of the case," says the Freeman, "the Bulletin reports the following as a touching little episode between the calling of the case and its conclusion"—

"A colored man, of modest demeanor, and considerable intelligence, but evidently an enthusiast, arose and asked permission to say a few words. Permission was granted him by the Commissioner.

He began as follows: I feel impelled by the spirit of the Lord to speak in this case. I do not claim to represent Him, but His Spirit, which dwelleth within me. I came here to raise my voice in behalf of the oppressed. I feel that I can exercise little power over men's actions, because I am one of the oppressed. I can only pray that a scratch of the pen will not be given to paper against the oppressed. If it shall be done, *woe* will come to every one concerned in it, for the army of the oppressed is now led on by the Lord in person. That same mighty Power which led your armies under Washington, when you were oppressed, now heads ours. Therefore, I say again, *Woe! Woe!* if you add to your oppressions!

These words were uttered in a plaintive tone of voice, and with much emotion. They had a very visible effect upon every one present, and the strictest decorum was manifested by every one present throughout the whole hearing of the case."

A SIGNIFICANT FACT.—Although several hundred persons died of cholera in Rochester during the past summer, it is stated by the Rochester Journal that not one of the members of the different Temperance societies in that city was included in the number.—*Philadelphia Sun*.

Statistics like these are worthy to be quoted, though not in presumption: not to inspire in the man who obeys the laws of his physical nature an overweening confidence in his hold upon life; but to extend to others the caution which Paul gave to the jailor, "DO THYSELF NO HARM."

PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW IN N. JERSEY.

It is to be:—but when? A talented correspondent under date of the 8th ult. playfully, and not very reverently, writes us from Trenton—"To-day our bill is to be presented in the Legislature. Ah! what a *slow shell* full of *snails* is this present jorum of 'wooden-heads'! They will perhaps find out ten years after their adjournment, what it was that God and Humanity asked of them. 'Woe's me!'" The bill was reported: attempts were made by puzzled Politicians to maim it by treacherous amendments;—but the final action will be after this number is in type. Some members are thoroughly right: others most sincerely desire to do what will be most popular. Let them make THE RIGHT their standard, and they need not waver.

LITERARY NOTICES.

LIFE OF ELIZABETH FRY, BY SUSANNA CORDER. London pp. 600, 8vo.—We find by the *London Friend*, that this work is in the press. It is there stated to "merit a place in the library of every Friends' family." We need no words of commendation, as the name of the beloved Friend who has undertaken (at the request of the relatives of Elizabeth Fry) this labor of love, prepares us for the sentiment expressed, that she has "executed her task with great judgment, and

with a fine and true appreciation of the subject of her memoir."

THE CHAPEL OF THE HERMITS, and other Poems, by JOHN G. WHITTIER. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. pp. 118.

"Whittier is certainly one of our greatest poets! The terminations of some of his lines sound like thunder!" Thus exclaimed the venerable Christian patriarch John Cox, on the appearance of the first authorized collection of his poems. From such a man, (as know all those who knew him,) words of praise were high praise: for he belonged to the select class of gifted spirits "whose verdict is prophecy, and whose applause is fame." But there were many minds, and minds of power, too, but unfortunately conservative, aristocratic, cold, and with a strong yet unconscious proclivity to expedientism, who could not perceive Whittier's full dimensions, until a waste of evidence was forced upon their notice—until, in sooth, a recognition of his greatness came to them, from quarters where "fanaticism" was not deemed to exist. Such as these would, at times, condescendingly lessen him by very faint and haughty praise; yet somehow his fame spread without their aid, and ten thousand intellects were influenced, and, to a considerable extent, moulded by his wizzard spell. It is no idle boast, but literal fact, which his soul is made to speak in that glorious poem, "MY SOUL AND I."

"I have wrestled stoutly with the Wrong,
And borne the Right
From beneath the foot-fall of the throng
To life and light.
Wherever Freedom shivered a chain,
God speed, quoth I;
To Error amidst her shouting train
I gave the lie."

When the first *unauthorised* collection of his verse came forth in humble guise, a rustic, uneducated back-woodsman, as he listened to page after page, walked the floor with rapid strides, till, filled with just appreciation of the sentiments which had been given to the generations that should walk the earth, he enthusiastically exclaimed: "I tell you what! THAT WORK WILL BE A TEXT BOOK OF LIBERTY IN AFTER AGES!" This unlettered man was a better critic than the learned cynic or the wise expedientist. Whittier is now in "life's mid span;" though, alas, with health enfeebled, and "overworn at noonday," he has too good reason to call himself

"A tired on-looker through the day's decline."

And yet few bards ever accomplished so much in their own life time. He has impressed the popular mind of his country; he has given forth couplets and stanzas which are already incorporated with the language; and we can

scarcely open a literary, philanthropic or even political journal which is in the least degree tinged with the idea of reform and human progress, without meeting passages from the Poet of Amesbury. Scattered through his voluminous works, we find some literary blemishes, as in Burns; some carelessness in grammar; Yankeeisms not a few; but he is a glorious bard, and as Poet of humanity he has not a living peer. Like Bacon, he may well trust his fame with "TIMES SUCCEEDING;"—like him, he can afford to "leave his name and his memory to foreign nations, and to his own countrymen, after some time be passed over."

From the volume before us we will not make selections in the present number. We have little sympathy with the taste of him who, knowing that a new volume by John Greenleaf Whittier has been issued, would not desire to possess it, and who would not, if needs be, almost sell his garment to buy one.

In the press, and will shortly be published; "THE AMERICAN SLAVE CODE, in Theory and Practice: its distinctive features shown by its Statutes, Judicial Decisions, and Illustrative Facts." By WILLIAM GOODELL, author of the "Democracy of Christianity," "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," &c. New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 48 Beekman street. This work will contain above 400 pages, 12mo, neatly bound in cloth, and will be sold for cash at 75 cents the single copy, \$6 per dozen, and \$45 per hundred.—Also, in paper covers, at a deduction of 10 cents per copy from the above prices.

Orders may be forwarded to LEWIS TAPPAN, 48 Beekman street, New York.

The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Judge Jay to the author—

Your analysis of the slave laws is very able, and your exhibition of their practical application by the Southern Courts, evinces great and careful research. "Your book is as impregnable against the charge of exaggeration as Euclid's Geometry, since, like that, it consists of propositions and demonstrations. The book is not only true, but it is unquestionably true."

We annex the table of contents, by which our readers may perceive the important range of subject matter.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

Part I.—The Relation of Master and Slave.

Chap. 1. Slave Ownership; 2. Slave Traffic; 3. Seizure of Slave Property for Debt; 4. Inheritance of Slave Property; 5. Uses of Slave Property; 6. Slaves can possess nothing; 7. Slaves cannot Marry; 8. Slaves cannot constitute Families; 9. Unlimited Power of Slaveholders; 10. Labor of Slaves; 11. Food, Clothing, and Dwellings of Slaves; 12. Coerced Labor without Wages; 13. Punishments of Slaves by the Owner and Hired; 14. Of Laws concerning the Murder and Killing of Slaves; 15. Of the Delegated Power of Overseers; 16. Of the Protection of Slave Property from Damage by Assaults from other Persons than their Owners; 17. Facts Illustrating the Kind and Degree of Protection Extended to Slaves; 18. Fugitives from Slavery; 19.

The Slave cannot sue his Master; 20. No Power of Self-Redemption or Change of Masters; 21. The Relation Hereditary and Perpetual; 22. Rights to Education—Religious Liberty—Rights of Conscience; 23. Origin of the Relation and its Subjects.

Part II.—Relation of the Slave to Society and to Civil Government.

Chap. 1. Of the Ground and Nature of the Slave's Civil Condition; 2. No access to the Judiciary, and no honest Provision for testing the Claims of the Enslaved to Freedom; 3. Rejection of Testimony of Slaves and Free Colored Persons; 4. Subjection to all White Persons; 5. Penal Laws against Slaves; 6. Education Prohibited; 7. Free Social Worship and Religious Instruction Prohibited; 8. Legislative, Judicial, and Constitutional Obstructions to Emancipation.

Part III.—Relation of the Slave Code to the Liberties of the Free.

Chap. 1. Liberties of the Free People of Color; 2. Liberties of the White People of the Slaveholding States; 3. Liberties of the White People of the Non-Slaveholding States; Concluding Chapter.

To CORRESPONDENTS.—Several communications are too late for examination in reference to the present number. It is always desirable that essays designed for insertion, be accompanied by the name of the writer. Our paper is small. A talented correspondent writes us: "It bids fair to be interesting: that is very important: do not let it be heavy." With this view, we desire each month to present due variety,—which can hardly be done if essays should be prolonged to treatises. Our friends are invited to practice the virtue of condensation. It will benefit their style and save room, if they will express their thoughts without redundant words. The motto is a good one; "Long or short, still hasten to a close." One unknown friend asks us to condense, and alter freely, a closely written article, which would fill two pages of the Non-Slaveholder. To do this without risk of injustice to the writer, would consume much more time than to pen the same amount of original matter. We hope that contributors will be amiable if we sometimes seem to slight their favors. We may have reasons for omitting essays which we value, and if we err in our judgment, it should be remembered that we are at times too much harassed to bring our judgment fully to bear.

ERRATUM.—Page 8, (No. 1) for "comparatively" read "incomparably."

NEW FREE LABOR GOODS.

JUST RECEIVED at the Philadelphia Free Produce Store, N. W. corner 5th and Cherry Sts. viz:

40 inch Manchester Gingham,
Fancy do.
Furniture do.

Plaid Muslins; Cord Check Muslins; Pantaloon Stuffs; Heavy Brown Muslins.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

[We would refer our readers to advertisements of Free Produce Stores in our previous numbers, and ask them, for the sake of the testimony, to give their patronage where it will tell in behalf of the slave.]

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 4.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, FIFTY CENTS.

" of three copies, ONE DOLLAR.

" of eight copies, TWO DOLLARS,

in one payment, always in advance, post-paid.

and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight. When gold or postage stamps can be remitted it will save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

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Passages from our Correspondence.

[Continued from page 18.]

A valued correspondent in Pennsylvania, in a letter not designed for publication, makes the following suggestions, which we prefer to give in his own words.

"At some time, I should wish to see exposed in the Non-Slaveholder, in a kind yet truthful manner, the great danger, if not great sinfulness, and sometimes the great untruthfulness, of pleading a want of light from the Holy Spirit, in justification of any practice shown to be immoral by sheer common sense and convictions of the natural mind. The persons who, continuing in a course which their reason condemns, professedly wait for a higher illumination, may reasonably expect to receive it when the admonition shall cease to be true. "They have Moses and the Prophets; let them hear them. If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." To run behind the Holy Spirit as a cover for indulgences, is, at the best, highly irreverent; and if not "a sin unto death," yet we may well conclude, is a sin which continued in will, by its death-doing consequences, materially impair our moral and religious well-being.

The plea adverted to, though not a true result of the doctrine of Friends, is almost peculiar to members of that society. The latter circumstance may render the discussion of it in a public journal, somewhat difficult, though not the less needful if Truth demands it.

Whilst Friends certainly believe that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," it by no means belongs to their principles to reject the assistance of the natural powers in the exploration of moral and practical religious truths. They ordinarily reason "of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," as do other Christians—perhaps with better success in some respects than they—yet after the same manner; and they claim the work of their great apologist to be an unanswerable argument. They reason of all the affairs of life; and they hold themselves bound

to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in them. In treating with offenders, they admit of no plea of their wanting super-human light, though they crave it for them.

I offer these notes with the hope of drawing thy attention to the important subject—believing it could be more advantageously treated of, editorially, should the way open in thy mind so to do, than by a mere communication."

RICHMOND CO., MAINE.—[With eight subscriptions].—"We have felt for some time that the cause is good, and that we cannot be justified in using slave labor goods. The subject is increasingly one of serious inquiry this way, and we hope the day is not very distant when all Friends will feel bound to cast their mite of influence into the available scale."

MONKTON, VERMONT.—[With \$3.00, making, with a previous order, 16 subscriptions to one address].—"While soliciting subscribers for the Non-Slaveholder, I am asked, in reference to the plan of operation against Slavery therein advocated, 'What good will it do?' To which I generally answer, 'What I apprehend it will do an amount of good, fairly corresponding with any other testimony faithfully and consistently borne against any other evil. Friends are advised in the discipline of New York Yearly Meeting 'not to unite with any, directly or indirectly, in a way calculated to promote the spirit of war, or which may encourage or strengthen them therein; to avoid engaging in any business tending to promote war, underwriting on armed vessels, or being concerned in any company where such insurance is made, or in shipping or ordering goods shipped in armed vessels.' They are thus advised, not so much from a belief that their testimony against it will be the means of bringing it to an end, as from a deep-rooted conviction, that as war is in itself absolutely at variance with Christian principle, Christians must not implicate themselves with it. Friends, in this view, refuse to speak well of it, voluntarily to sustain it, or to make money by it; and in this manner no inconsiderable amount of testimony against war has been borne. Still, though war has not come to an end, their testimony against it is as much required of them as ever. And so with Slavery. "Friends are advised to avoid any act by which the right of Slavery is acknowledged." Their testimony against it springs from the same root—its incompatibility with Christianity; hence, too, the necessity for a faithful and consistent testimony, and when they have become in earnest, in refusing their voluntary aid, by word or deed, in support of it; declining emoluments through any connection with it, then our testimony against Slavery may be regarded as at par with our testimony against war.

Such objectors mostly lose sight of the question, "where is the foundation for my right to use the fruit of another man's labor, without his recompense or consent?" Others who unite with the sentiment so happily expressed in the motto of the N. Slaveholder, require an assurance that they can obtain, "bona fide," the free labor productions for which they pay. To such it is not always sufficient to say,—"I have confidence in the integrity of those, through whom the goods have come." The confidence so much to be desired, might be sensibly increased in them, were they in possession of the information thou couldst give them of the "business channel," through which the cotton,

in particular, has passed from the plantation of the free man to the wholesale merchant in Philadelphia, or elsewhere.

The Anti-Liquor Law has passed the ordeal of the ballot-box, and we hope to see it in operation in due season. There has been much well applied labor expended in its favor, and, as a matter of course, a corresponding amount of opposition, but far less disturbance of the public quiet, than one would anticipate in such a struggle between *principle* and *appetite*, combined with selfish interest. Surely, it may be accepted by the friends of "progress," as proof that they are laboring in a right cause, and in a right spirit. It is greatly to be desired that the law may find calm and faithful administrators, and that other States may be encouraged to follow the example.

H. M.

AN ENGLISH FRIEND, WRITES:—"How do your American ladies feel generally, respecting our 'affectionate address' about Slavery? They have published at New York a very ill natured 'reply,' with too much of truth in it: but a considerable portion of it is *not true*. The condition of our poorer classes here and in Ireland, is very much improved and improving. And, after all, they are *free* and many of them *happy* in rags and in dirt,—for they cannot be torn from those whom they love, nor beaten, nor assaulted, nor abused with impunity."

"I'VE QUIT SMOKING IT."

[The Anti-Slavery Reporter has a narrative of David Holmes, a fugitive slave from Mecklenburg Co., Virginia, extremely interesting in its detail, but much too long for the Non-Slaveholder. David is safe in the British dominions. We extract the concluding portion of the narrative, commencing with a conversation, which took place between him and the Editor of the Reporter, on the 3d day of last 12th month.—En.]

"And so you smoke tobacco, David."

"Yes, Sir. I've smoke it ever since I was that high," indicating by a sign, the height of a little boy of eight or ten years old.

"Did it ever occur to you, David, where and how that tobacco is grown?"

"Well, we raised a lot in Virginia."

"Yes: where you were a slave, and where you have left many of your brethren in slavery."

"Yes, Sir."

"What do you think becomes of all the tobacco, and cotton, and sugar, and rice, that is grown by slaves, David?"

"I guess it's a good deal of it sold: most all I should say."

"Well don't you see how 'the buyer, the consumers of slave-produce,' help to keep up slavery? It is because the slave-owners find a market for the products of their slaves' labour that they keep them in slavery. You smoke tobacco. That tobacco has been grown by a slave: perhaps by some one you know. But if there were no one to buy it when it was grown, what use would there be in growing it?"

"I see that, Sir. I never thought of that before."

"Well, David, now you have it before you, turn it over in your mind, and next time you come, let me hear what you think about it?"

And so David went away, very much perplexed, but evidently pondering. In about twelve days, he came again. He had procured a situation as fire-man on board a West-India steamer, at fifty shillings a month wages. He came to thank us, and to tell us how he meant to do his best to keep his place: how he intended to learn to read and write: how he should try to get a better place, and to save money, and be "like a white man."

"And how about the tobacco, David?" said we.

"It's very hard Sir," he said; "I can't a'most do at all. I've been used to it so long."

"Yes, David. I'm sure what you say is true. But I'm asking what you think about—you know—smoking tobacco that is grown by slaves."

"Well, Sir, I do think it's right down wicked; raley now."

"I'm glad to hear you say so, David. And what do you think then you ought to do?"

"I can't say I'm sure, Sir. But I'll tell you what I have done."

"What's that David?"

"I—I've—I've quit' smoking it," sobbed David, but with such a brightened countenance, that we felt it had been with him a conscientious act.

And we believe David Holmes will keep his word.

We have related this anecdote to several of our friends, amateurs of the Nicotian weed, who have since renounced Cuban and Virginian and such kinds of tobacco, for Turkish and other sorts that are untainted with slavery.

When the physician walks with an anxious tread about the bed of his patient; when all his skill and energy are put forth to relieve and save the sufferer; does not this tell us that he fears dissolution? Do we not read the fate of the expiring man in the anxious countenances of his friends, in the thoughtful and despairing look of the physician? And such is the case with American Slavery. Its friends are every where guarding it with even maternal solicitude; statesmen watch about its dying bed with an anxiety that betokens the intensity of their fears; doctors of divinity gather around the scene, and offer up their prayers for its restoration to health; but, alas! the hurried step, the trembling hand, the multitude of physicians and the earnest inquiries, all proclaim that the disease is mortal.

WHITTIER.

From "The Slave—his wrongs and the remedy."

THE REMEDY.

In our former numbers, we have considered the Free Labour in its moral influence on the slaveholder. If the world might but behold the spectacle of a great nation, its quays piled with the rich products of slave regions, yet refusing to enjoy them—the sugar of the Spanish West Indies—the coffee and cocoa of Brazil—the rice and cotton of America—all this heaped in profusion on the strand of Britain, and British hearts turning from it with loathing—British hands stamping this produce of slavery with the brand of public reprobation, and then refusing to touch, taste, or handle it, as an unclean thing—if such a spectacle were happily exhibited; were any considerable fraction of our people to unite in this practical process against slavery, the slaveholder would be compelled to ponder his position; he could hardly fail to have his eyes opened to the fact, that there must be some intrinsic heinousness in a system of which Christian men thus repudiated the fruits.

But there is another point of view in which we are desirous to have this movement considered, viz., its influence on ourselves. We are exhorted in Scripture to "consider those that are in bonds as bound with them;" and surely nothing is more likely to furnish us with a perpetual remembrance of the slave, than the principle which refuses to participate in the blood-stained produce of his toil. Those who have adopted this principle, have the wrongs of their sable brethren brought vividly before them from day to day. Seated at the breakfast table, the aromatic odours of the coffee-pot

A MAGNANIMOUS MEMORIAL.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Pennsylvania, respectfully represents; That they regard the existence of slavery in the Southern States of this Union as injurious to the prosperity of the nation, destructive to the harmony of the several sections, incompatible with the great principles of liberty and the rights of man as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, and eminently calculated to retard the progress of those principles amongst other nations;—that while acknowledging that their right of direct legislation for the abolition of slavery rests exclusively in the people of the Southern States, your memorialists yet believe that inasmuch as the citizens of the Free States, through their commercial relations with the South, participate in the profits of Slave labor, and have thus become partners with the Slaveholders in the great business of Slavery, it is the duty of the National Government, whenever the Southern States may be disposed to adopt legislative measures for the purpose, to aid them in establishing universal freedom. And your memorialists, therefore, respectfully, but earnestly, ask of Congress the enactment of a law which shall provide that whenever any State, by its Legislature, shall pass an act emancipating the Slaves within its limits, an assessment shall be made by Commissioners appointed under the authority of the Governor of the State, and the President of the United States, of the losses sustained by the Slaveholders individually, and the aggregate amount to be paid out of the National Treasury into the Treasury of such State for equitable distribution.

(Signed)

Samuel Rhoads,	Abm. L. Pennock,
Enoch Lewis,	Jasper Cope,
Geo. W. Taylor,	Isaac Collins,
	Edward Garrett.

Honor to the true man ever, who takes his life in his hands, and at all hazards, speaks the word which is given him to utter, whether men will hear or forbear, whether the end thereof is to be praise or censure, gratitude or hatred.

WHITTIER.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

LEGAL PROGRESS.

The Christian Moralists, after strenuous efforts to induce legislation in accordance with what he believes to be the Divine will, often droops his head in disappointment. Yet is he sometimes cheered by unexpected changes in statutory enactments, which, though often prompted by personal sympathy or other inferior motive, tend toward a more perfect code.

Smuggling, and the varied evils arising from high tariffs of duties, act powerfully in breaking down these barriers to a brotherly reciprocity among the nations.

The voters of California were laborers; and because Slavery degraded and depreciated labor they excluded it by constitutional provision.

The recent legislature of this State, (New

bring to their remembrance the claims of the negro—the rice which so often accompanies their mid-day meal, carries them off in thought to the swamps of Carolina, where slave-women are pursuing their killing drudgery—and when the curtains are drawn, and the hissing urn summons them to the social pleasures of the tea-table, the sparkling sugar again implores them to "remember them that are in bonds." Nor are the wardrobes of abstainers less eloquent of suggestions for the relief of torn and bleeding humanity. In drawing on a stocking, or adjusting a frock, they are reminded to seek their own comforts without destroying the happiness of others; they are again silently, but impressively exhorted to "remember them that are in bonds." It was a beautiful thought of ELIZABETH BURNETT's, when he compared the children of an anti-slavery household to the African squadron for the suppression of the slave-trade. And surely the comparison holds good, though the former operate by more Christian means. Think of the sweet little cherubs cruising round the table, watching, with keen-eyed vigilance, lest any product of the blood-stained system should evade their righteous blockade; or standing sentry over the wardrobe, and challenging every article of clothing that seeks admission to its shelves! Establish such a blockade as this in Europe, and the African squadron would be soon dismantled; for the moral influence of such a warfare would be far more potent than that of shot and cutlass.

It is an axiom in moral science, that to excite the feelings by repeated tales of woe, without affording the opportunity for corresponding action for its relief, is liable to induce a morbid state of mind, and does more harm than good. This is the great objection to many works of fiction, which harrow up the soul by tales of imaginary suffering, that cannot be reached. We fear the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause is too often liable to this imputation. Our feelings are worked upon by the description of scenes of horror, unhappily too real; but we are not pointed sufficiently to any practical method of obviating the suffering which we deplore. The free-labour movement supplies this desideratum. It points to a field in which none need be idle, and where even the feeble child may labour with effect. Here then surely is another reason why the friends of the slave should be the patrons of free-labour. The sacrifice it involves is but small in money-value, so small, indeed, that it must be estimated in fractions; but it does involve some sacrifice of thought, some consideration for the rights of others, and a little trouble not to trench upon their happiness. We reverently believe that such a sacrifice, made in a right spirit, and with an eye to the glory of God and the good of our fellow creatures, will not be in vain; but that, while others are blessed through our humble instrumentality, we shall be well repaid with the peaceful satisfaction of having done what we could.

As Harts, o'er dreary mountains chased,
Pant for the water brooks below,
So should we ever thirst to taste
Those which from Mercy's fountains flow.
Nor shall they disappointed be,
Who, leaving Earth's delusive heights,
Convert, in humble trust, to thee
Oh well-spring of unmixed delights.

GEORGE DILLWYN.

Jersey) refused to enact a prohibitory liquor law, but they evinced their sense of the evils of the rum trade, by passing one to place the property of *habitual drunkards* under the care of Commissioners, as in cases of lunacy. May we not hope that, by another year, they will be sufficiently enlightened to eradicate drunkenness, by stopping the sale of intoxicating drinks?

A few years ago considerable effort was made to induce the legislature of N. Jersey to abolish *capital punishment*, and a powerful speech by G. P. Molleson it was hoped would secure it. But it failed. Public sentiment however, has advanced beyond the law, and the horror of taking human life, has so operated on juries, that, in accordance with the roused sympathies of large audiences, that they have in several instances brought in verdicts of "*insanity*," instead of "*murder in the first degree*," when the latter had been clearly proved. During the past winter a bill was passed authorizing the *Court of Pardons* to commute a sentence of death into imprisonment for ten or more years, or for life—the commuted sentence to be irrevocable. To this law it was objected that it was but the entering wedge for the abolition of capital punishment; that sympathies would be excited in the Court of Pardons in behalf of every man convicted of murder, and that no one, however guilty, would be executed. The opposition was strenuous, but the bill passed 37 to 18. Four days after it became a law, the life of a poor unhappy man who had murdered an acquaintance in a fit of intoxication, was saved by its operation!

Light does advance—will advance! "There's a good time coming!" S. A.

For the Non-Slaveholder. FREE PRODUCE.

The Society of Friends has taken the lead of all other religious societies, in bearing a testimony against Slavery. It has long since, by its discipline, declared that no member can be a slaveholder, and has continued from time to time, to publish to the world its views and principles on the subject. But while, as a society, we are holding up to view such a noble standard, are we not, individually, countenancing and supporting by the free use of its products, the very system which we publicly condemn? After taking such a noble stand against slave-holding as to clear ourselves from its reproach, have we not too much settled down at ease, as if all that was necessary had been accomplished? While slavery continues, I believe it will be required of the members of the society of Friends, to continue to bear testimony against it; and I know of no way to do so more effectually, than to abstain from the use of its products.

Our public declarations are less effectual, from the fact, that individually, our hands are not clean. We must acknowledge that the beam is in our own eye, as long as we continue to buy and use the products of slavery; then how can we see clearly to cast mote or beam out of our brother's eye? I rejoice to believe however, that there is an increasing interest felt on this subject, and that there is a more general desire among

our members, to procure and use, the products of free labor. But there are so many difficulties in the way, that many cannot conveniently accomplish what they desire. Our members are scattered over a wide extent of country, and the places for obtaining free goods are few, and far between.

In advancing the standard as far as it has been done, much labor has necessarily been performed; and in carrying it forward, much labor will be required, and a unity of action is necessary. I am willing therefore, to suggest the propriety, and necessity, for Friends, in every neighborhood, or meeting, to form themselves into an association for the promotion of this desirable object. They can thus devise ways and means for doing collectively, what cannot be done individually. By uniting their orders, and appointing one agent to obtain their goods, the difficulties that have heretofore been in the way, will be much lessened, and but small excuse left for inaction.

I believe that all we say, or write, or publish, on this subject, will be of little avail without action, and I am also aware of the necessity of a right concern, to produce the right kind of action; yet I think we are generally convinced of its propriety, but need to be often reminded of our duty, as a stimulant to its performance. Individual faithfulness on the part of our members, would again place our society in its true position, in regard to the important subject of slavery. W.

[We have no idea, (nor do we attribute such view to our correspondent,) of urging the plan of abstinence from Slave Produce as binding merely upon Friends. We wish to show to all candid men and women, that our principle is a true one, and then, by the universal brotherhood of man, and by the fatherhood of God, we would exhort all members of the family who perceive the right, to act it out. We dearly love the Society of Friends, and we wish its standard to be always pure, and always faithfully elevated. But we do not conduct this Journal from any view which is restricted by sectarian limits. "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity." Ed.]

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 6, 1853.

RUNNING BEHIND THE HOLY SPIRIT AS A COVER FOR INDULGENCES. The remarks upon this subject, on our first page, under the caption of "Passages from our correspondence," are from a Friend, whose consistency of life and weight of character entitle him to a candid hearing. The theme is indeed a delicate one for "discussion in a public Journal." We do not intend to make, or to admit into the Non-Slaveholder, attacks upon religious societies, much less upon the one, whose principles and whose members are unspeakably dear to us. But we agree with our correspondent that the "plea" which he exposes is no "true result of the doctrine of Friends." A belief in the unspeakable gift of the Holy Spirit which illuminates the mind and conscience of man, and which, if fully received, will lead into all Truth, is essential to theologic sound-

ness. But if such belief be made a pretext for rejecting ordinary and valid evidence and argument,—if any willfully remain in *known error* under plea of waiting for a spiritual guidance into Truth,—if, with sight and light sufficient to perceive a moral enormity, any refuse to admit it to be such, on the pretension that they must have first a spiritual revelation, *we do not hesitate to say, that there is no Quakerism in such a position.* We think it no unfriendly act to administer to those who are snared with such delusion, a fraternal hint that they are not *fairly carrying out* the great and precious doctrine which they desire to support, but that, by getting off the track, they are *running it into ranterism*, the probable tendency of which would be the failure of a true belief in the doctrine itself. But of some who professedly wait for evidence, we would kindly ask,—*have they not seen?* Has it not often been evident to their understandings, that to *give the motive to the slaveholder is to be implicated in slaveholding?* Are they sure that in such perception there was no divine illumination to *help the infirmities* and the darkness of their intellects? "Whatsoever doth make manifest is light"—and "God is light"—and "of Him are all things." When a moral position is *seen*, albeit dimly, yet with certainty, is there no irreverence in saying to Him that formed the eye, "give us more light, or we cannot recognize this truth?" "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness!"

We make no charges. We would bear hardly or uncharitably on no one. The letter of our esteemed correspondent supposes the existence of a class to whom these considerations apply. To such class we commend them.

The metrical effusion, "MOVING BEFORE THE BODY," was inserted seven years ago in the first volume of the former series. A firm supporter of the Non-Slaveholder requests its re-insertion, with which we comply, as it has also a direct bearing upon the subject treated of in the letter referred to.

PROPOSED INCENTIVE TO EMANCIPATION. We invite the attention of our readers to the Memorial of Samuel Rhoads, Enoch Lewis, and others. We regard the suggestion as a wise one, based in magnanimity and justice. Whilst we hold the title of the Slaveholder in his slave to be utterly nought, yet it cannot be truthfully denied that the North has been partner with the South in the profit and in the guilt of the system. It is proper that we of the North should share in the sacrifice which in many cases must be made in the abolition of slavery. We do not yield an inch of our former ground. We would not justify the

Master in holding his fellow man as property for one moment, in the prospect of compensation. We believe that in many thousands of cases the *pecuniary* interest of the master would be promoted by immediate and unconditional emancipation. But we believe the sin to be a *national* one, involving the whole country in guilt; and we would gladly see a National sacrifice upon the altar of Right. Whilst we regard the Southern master as implicated directly in a great crime, (in which we are perhaps *as surely*, though *indirectly* implicated) we do not exclude him from our sympathy; nor ought we to hesitate to make any pecuniary sacrifice by which we might aid him to put away this grievous curse.

THE PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW IN VERMONT, has been sustained not only by an overwhelming popular vote, but also by decision of the Supreme Court of the Green Mountain State. The majority in favor of the law was 1121,—the whole vote polled being 43,500. "This decision," says the *Christian Repository*, "embraces and sustains several of the most important principles of the Vermont Liquor Law; such as the right of search and seizure without warrant in certain cases; the right to anticipate and prevent evil in society; the right to destroy property in cases where the public good required it."

IN NEW JERSEY, sixty thousand people petitioned for a law equivalent to that of Maine, and an Act in conformity with the wishes of the memorialists, and prepared with great care, was reported to the Legislature, but was voted down in the Assembly by a large majority.—We believe this course to have been altogether without excuse. The license system was founded in a deep sense of the evils resulting from the sale of ardent spirits as beverage, and was designed to lessen the evil by restricting it. The experience of successive generations has shown that system to be much worse than useless, and that all *restrictive* laws upon the subject are utterly futile. The people of New Jersey are convinced of this, and they asked of their Representatives in the Legislature a law which would save, even in the course of the brief time that must elapse before better men can be elected, an immense amount of property, and a vast number of human lives and probably of human souls. It would lessen greatly the pauperism, the misery, and the crime in New Jersey. And all this is well known to the men who have so grossly violated their duty. We may, and we do, look into the future with hope; trusting that a Good Providence may put it into the hearts of the citizens to elect better men who will enact better laws. But alas for

the good that has failed to be done! Alas for the loathsome crime and fearful misery which must be charged upon these legislators, who might have prevented it, but did not. Alas for the responsibility and the guilt incurred by these men who were faithfully advised and enlightened and would not obey the light! It seems to us that if they could look intelligently upon the results of their unfaithfulness, if they could see passing before them in hideous procession, all the drunkards whose reformation they have prevented, all the widows, the orphans, the criminals, the convicts, the bankrupts, the paupers who will have become such through their misdeeds; if they could behold the injured children, the maltreated wives, the premature death beds,—and hear the death howls and see the “writhings of impenitent Remorse,” as the spirit of the inebriate (unreformed through them) is passing

“unannointed, unannealed,
With all his imperfections on his head,”

out of this beautiful world, and frantic with the consciousness that the drunkard has no promise of a better;—could the members who voted with the majority see all this, surely some of them would exclaim, “it were better for us that a mill-stone were hanged about our necks, and we cast into the sea.”

GENUINENESS OF FREE LABOR GOODS.—We cheerfully respond to the request of our Monkton correspondent, though we cannot in this number afford much space to the subject. The proprietor of the Free Produce Store in Philadelphia, has a list of names of *growers of free cotton*, in MISSISSIPPI, WESTERN TENNESSEE, ALABAMA, TEXAS, and ARKANSAS. The list was furnished by our late friend NATHAN THOMAS, whose conscientiousness, shrewdness, and efficiency were beyond doubt, and who visited them on their plantations. The same stationary agents, reliable men, who were appointed years ago, are still employed. It is important to state further, that, after ascertaining the fact that these planters do not own Slaves nor hire them, they are required on delivery of the cotton to give certificates, on their affirmation, that this cotton has been raised and ginned entirely by white people, and that they neither own nor hire Slaves. It is not enough that the particular parcel of cotton in question is raised by free hands: but it must be raised by persons who employ no Slaves. Again:—no temptation to deceive is extended to the planter in the way of a premium or higher price. The extra expense of the free goods results from the cost of separate manufacture. We trust that this explanation will be entirely satisfactory. The business arrangement for pro-

curing free cotton, through all the stages from the plantation to the Wholesale Store, is completely organized. There is no deception or mistake. Let all country dealers and country consumers be equally careful in assuring themselves of the character of the produce which they procure.

STATUTIZED BUT NOT LEGALIZED.—The Legislature of Illinois has passed an unlawful law which affords a melancholy demonstration of the depravity of its supporters. The new Editor of the Freeman appropriately declares, that “it is a bundle of atrocities: Every section of it is a fresh outrage.” We would rather trust in the tender mercies of Fecjee Islanders, than of those Legislators, who would seem to have studied carefully *what things are wicked*, that they might statutize them. We have neither space nor patience, to give even a synopsis. The authors and abettors of this loathsome iniquity will spread their own infamy, and our readers will hear of it, and will, we doubt not, join with us in craving for the perpetrators penitence and forgiveness.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

The Liberator in noticing the new volume of Poems by this author, to which we referred last month, uses the following language, which, as a testimonial, is all the weightier and more striking, from the fact that the Editor of that Journal, and the Bard of Amesbury, have of late years differed in their creed and their policy as Abolitionists. The impartial tribute is creditable to both parties.

“Nothing trivial or common-place comes from the pen of Whittier. He is one of the world’s noblest poets, and has done great and everlasting service to the cause of universal Freedom and Humanity. We find it difficult to say what is lacking in his poetry. Wit, humor, pathos, gentleness, energy, purity, womanly modesty and lion-hearted courage, love of the beautiful and sublime, intense abhorrence of oppression, the deepest sympathy with earth’s groaning millions, reverence for the higher law, spiritual insight, philosophical acumen, and absolute trust in God,—all these blend in the effusions of his glorious genius, and with almost faultless taste, judgment, and skill. Of the value and power of his spirit-stirring poems, in the tremendous struggle for the overthrow of slavery in this land, we know not how to speak. They have served to quicken and inspire thousands of minds, in times of imminent peril, to stand by the slave at whatever cost; and they have carried dismay into the ranks of those who are seeking to eternize the impious system of chattel servitude. No other poet has ever so allied himself to a world-wide struggle for the freedom of man as man, or uttered such flaming testimonies against the desecration of the image of God. For the last five years, his health has been growing more and more delicate, and hence his withdrawal from the active participation in that struggle, which, at an earlier period, made him so conspicuous.”

It is always cheering to perceive, in those who earnestly dissent on topics of absorbing and intense interest, a hearty appreciation and cordial acknowledgement of each other’s good points. Magnanimity is a noble trait, and certainly ought not to be dispensed with by philanthropists. We well remember the words of Whittier, when, in 1840; the separation in the anti-slavery ranks took place.

“The thing which I have greatly feared has come upon us. The original cause of the difficulty, a disposition to engraft foreign questions upon the simple stock of immediate emancipation, I early discovered, and labored to the extent of my ability to counteract. That in so doing I have been compelled to dissent from the views of some of my dearest personal friends, has been no ordinary trial to me. Whether a due degree of forbearance under injury and unmerited reproach, was manifested by those who have separated from the old American Society, I am, perhaps, not in a situation to decide. But the separation has taken place; and I can now only hope that both parties will go forward, each in its own way, steadily and without turning aside to assail each other, to promote the great and good cause to which they stand pledged before the world.”

And we would commend to all who seek the welfare of the Slave and of the African race, (too many of whom have been found, to the scandal of our cause,

“Unto one another giving in the darkness blow for blow.)

the sad and pathetic outpouring of exhortation, with which five years later he called upon Abolitionists to “bury all their idle feuds in dust.”

Ye with heart and vision gifted

To discern and love the right,

Whose worn faces have been lifted

To the slowly-growing light,

Where from Freedom’s sunrise drifted slowly back the

murk of night!—

Ye who through long years of trial

Still have held your purpose fast,

While a lengthening shade the dial

From the westerling sunshine cast,

And of hope each hour’s denial seemed an echo of the

last!—

Oh, my brothers! oh, my sisters!

Would to God that ye were near,

Gazing with me down the vistas

Of a sorrow strange and drear;

Would to God that ye were listening to the Voice I

seem to hear!

With the storm above us driving,

With the false earth mined below—

Who shall marvel if thus striving

We have counted friend as foe;

Unto one another giving in the darkness blow for blow.

Well it may be that our natures

Have grown sterner and more hard,

And the freshness of their features

Somewhat harsh and battle-scarred,

And their harmonies of feeling overtaken and rudely

jarred.

Be it so. It should not swerve us

From a purpose true and brave;

Dearer Freedom’s rugged service

Than the pastime of the slave;

Better is the storm above it than the quiet of the grave.

Let us then, uniting, bury

All our idle feuds in dust,

And to future conflicts carry

Mutual faith and common trust;

Always he who most forgiveth in his brother is most

just.

From the eternal Shadow rounding

All our sun and starlight here,

Voices of our lost ones sounding

Bid us be of heart and cheer,

Through the silence, down the spaces, falling on the

inward ear.

Know we not our dead are looking

Downward with a sad surprise,

All our strife of words rebuking
With their mild and loving eyes?
Shall we grieve the holy angels? Shall we cloud their
blessed skies?

Let us draw their mantles o’er us
Which have fallen in our way;
Let us do the work before us,
Cheerily, bravely, while we may,
Ere the long night-silence cometh, and with us it is
not day!

To CORRESPONDENTS.—Several favors are crowded out. The length of some excludes them. “Consistency,” is in type.

LITERARY NOTICES.

SOME MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF JOHN ROBERTS; WRITTEN BY HIS SON, DANIEL ROBERTS. Phila.; H. Longstreth, 347 Market street. pp. 108.

This is a very neat re-print of a deservedly popular book. It ought to meet with a ready sale, for the promotion of which we cheerfully insert the PUBLISHER’S PREFACE to the present edition.

If an apology be needed for issuing a volume from the press, the Publisher is at no loss for one in the present instance. This little book has passed through frequent editions, and is now out of print. Moreover, it is one which most of those who have perused it would willingly possess. It is the simple and graphic record of one who commenced his career of manhood with the deeds of a warrior, and, literally, “with garments rolled in blood,” but who, through Divine Mercy, was soon enabled to understand “a more excellent way,” to enlist under the banner of the Prince of Peace, and sturdily and valiantly “to fight the good fight of Faith,”—“enduring hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.”

“Even Quakerism had its apostolic jokers and drab-coated Robert Halls,” said an eminent Reviewer, in a parenthesis, in an incidental allusion to the subject of this Memoir; and the same writer, in another treatise, says of him, “Roberts was by no means a gloomy fanatic; he had a great deal of shrewdness and humor, loved a quiet joke; and every gambling priest and swearing magistrate in the neighborhood stood in fear of his sharp wit.” There are some persons (and our friend was one of them) so constitutionally mirthful, that, even whilst steadily pursuing their heavenward way, bearing their daily cross, alive to the solemn responsibilities of existence, and surrounded by “many tribulations,” they meet the fiercest assaults with a vein of pleasantry and wit, and compel the very enemies of Truth to laugh at their own errors and absurdities. Nor is it to be supposed, (though some disciples of a more sorrowing turn of mind may wonder that any one can laugh when life is so earnest and so solemn, when Heaven is to be lost or won, and the broad way is so thronged with sinners,) that temperaments such as these, are without their important uses in the economy of Providence.

“God hath many aims to compass, many messages to send, And His instruments are fitted each to some distinctive end.”

And well fitted for a distinctive end, honest John appears to have been. His boldness and his ready wit often enabled him to introduce important truths in such a way that they could not be resisted or eluded. When Justice George officially and sternly undertook to let him and his friends know “that we must all be of one church,” John, with ready coolness, told him that he ought then “to be well assured that it be the right church,” reminding him that if he should “force a man against his conscience to conform to a wrong church,” he could not in the day of account indemnify that man for so conforming. And who so well as he, could have

coped, again and again, with Bishop Nicholson, bringing him at last to beg for his forgiveness, and heartily to promise never to wrong him more? "Good old Bishop Nicholson," says Whittier, "it would seem, really liked his incorrigible Quaker neighbour, and could enjoy heartily his wit and humor, even when exercised at the expense of his own ecclesiastical dignity. He admired his blunt honesty and courage. Surrounded by flatterers and self-seekers, he found satisfaction in the company and conversation of one who, setting aside all conventionalisms, saw only in my lord Bishop a poor fellow-probationer, and addressed him on terms of conscious equality."

But though he had wit and humour always on hand for ready change, they were with him only subservient to the highest aims of an immortal soul. John Roberts was not a man of trifling or levity. He understood the idea that "cheerfulness is an acceptable hymn unto the Deity," and his heart sent up this hymn when one of a different temperament might have bewailed his lot, even in the midst of honest struggles for resignation. And the reader of our little book will find the wit to which we have referred, to be but a pleasant seasoning to strong meat and wholesome food.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"MOVING BEFORE THE BODY."

There is a pure inspeaking voice and competent to teach, Whose counsels if thou wisely heed, thy inmost need will reach!

There is a light—observe it well—no ignis fatuus ray—

Mistake it not—it came from Heaven and shows thy heavenward way!

And yet when light beside is given, and Duty's course is clear,

And selfishness alone creates what obstacles appear, By seeking miracles to teach what was already known, Or waiting further light, were want of Faith's obedience shown.

*Twere weak, presumptuous, vain, to seek a special revelation

To show what stands in bold relief and courts thy observation.

Oh bring not thou in disrepute the doctrines we revere, By pleading them for selfish sloth, mere pretexts insincere!

There's deference due to those who long have walked in Wisdom's ways,

Whose feet are beautiful in those Courts, whose entrance gates are praise;

But if on man too much thou lean,—pierced by the broken reed—

The Lord may take away thy staff* in thy extremest need.

With reverence view the Church and own with awe its holy Head,

Its councils never yet have erred, when He those counsels led!

Wholesome and binding its decrees forth in His power when given;

What thus is bound or loosed on Earth is bound or loosed in Heaven.

But take not for the Church's voice their dictum, whose example

Was money-changers of old time or vendors in the Temple;

Nor with the mystic body that associate mass confound, Who, on a catalogue enrolled, by common rules are bound.

The Body owned by Christ the Head, in Him alive remaineth

A Church composed of names enrolled, some halt and blind retaineth.

And if supinely thou should'st lie at earthly Temples' porches,

It may be thou wilt miss the Voice which speaketh to the churches,

Accountability to God must ever be direct— It is not through the medium of society or sect.

Summon up the ghost of Luther with Melancthon at his side!

The Waldenses, who, for the Truth their Church rejected, died—

And Fox—from the blind leaders of the blind who nobly turned—

From the true and living Witness the way of life who learned—

And Woolman, who in gentleness pursued the narrow way, Nor for the fellowship of man, nor for the Church could stay,

Who bore the bondman's burden upon his prayerful heart, Till in his exercise of soul the Church at length bore part;—

Ask these if Truth would dictate that you close your eyes on light,

Till a great unwieldy body can perceive the true and right!

Beware the enthusiast's ultra zeal! unbidden haste beware! In overweening confidence may lie thy fatal snare.

But let not bonds of sect keep back thy spirit from its goal, Restraining thy feet from Duty's path and manacle thy soul!

Reposing on thy Church's breast, forget not those who dwell in Slavery's shades, and look to thee their tale of woe to tell!

By word and deed continuous plead the outraged bondman's cause,

Nor implicate thyself in wrong for profit or applause.

Bind to thy heart the principles of thy most holy faith!

Swerve not from them in Fortune's beam or Persecution's wrath!

Bring all thy actions to the test of duty and of right— Let all thy steppings, day by day, be taken in the light.

But fail not when thy course is clear advancing steps to make,

Because a body too supine unreal rest may take.

Had Luther waited for the Pope and all his Priests to own The truths which burned within his breast, where then were Luther's crown?

He who would act a faithful part the path of some must cross:

Had Woolman waited for the Church, the Church had suffered loss!

But moving in the light of Truth the enlightening influence spread,—

The sluggish body followed on, where faithful ones had led. They waited for the opening way—but when the way was clear,

They pressed right onward steadily in meek yet bold career.

Brave pioneers, like Joshua and old Jephunneh's son, Exploring realms of principle, to them by Faith made known,

And walking blameless in those paths they ventured to explore,

Abundant fruit like Eschol's grapes back to the camp they bore.

Press on thy individual course of duty and of love, With conscience pure—after, before, or with the body move!

Act not from whim, caprice—but well persuaded in thy mind—

Nor harbor one ungenerous thought toward those who wait behind.

W. J. A.

*Isaiah, iii, 1.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 5.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 26.)

JEFFERSON Co. OHIO.—I think the fact that a preference for Slave labor is a direct participation in guilt and profits of the system, and that this preference is generally given in consequence of that profit, is one which should be forcibly and perseveringly pressed home upon Friends and upon Americans generally.—The habit of using Slave grown produce, has been so long established, as almost to prevent attention being so directed, as to make apparent a fact which is most palpable, and which in truth

"Stands in bold relief, and courts our observation."

WAYNE Co., INDIANA, (With eight subscriptions).—All wish to commence with the first number, so as to preserve for binding, an entire volume. The Non-Slaveholder meets the cordial approbation of the friends of free labor here. I should be pleased to see it reach a circulation equal to that of the National Era. I hope to obtain more subscribers in this neighborhood.

Another Friend from WAYNE Co., (with 8 subscriptions and promise of more,) after cordially welcoming the resumption of our paper, remarks:

"I trust it may prove a medium for promoting among Friends a deeper interest in the welfare of the African race, than, I fear, is the case in many places."

Another correspondent from the same neighborhood, mentions an interesting Free Produce Meeting, held about a month ago in Friends' School House, at White Water, composed of twenty-five Friends, including some of the most prominent members of the Monthly Meeting. It was concluded to form an Association, and a committee on organization being

appointed, they adjourned to a specified time. Our friend writes:

"All seem fully aware what it will cost us to carry out the measure, yet none seem disposed to shrink.—At the close I mentioned the subject of the Non-Slaveholder, and a few additional subscribers were obtained."

MORROW Co., OHIO.—"I perceive with peculiar satisfaction, that the Non-Slaveholder is revived. The choice of Editor could hardly have fallen upon a more suitable person. We are taking measures to furnish every family and part family in this Monthly Meeting with a copy of the work. We have already forwarded 60 names. * * * If Friends in other meetings would follow our example, I think the paper would not only be sustained, but a revolution would soon take place in our Society, in regard to the use of slave labor produce."

This letter mentions the annual meeting of their Free Produce Association, numerously attended by Friends of the first standing, who took much interest in the movement.

COLUMBIANA Co., OHIO.—(With eight subscriptions.) "I think it might be well to publish some information ere long, respecting the channel through which Free Labor Goods are obtained, as some seem to doubt its being confidential." [See This request was anticipated on page 30.—Ed.]

HOWARD Co., INDIANA.—An order for 16 copies. This Friend was a subscriber to the old series, and failed to forward his name upon the supposition that the old subscribers would, as a matter of course, be considered as patrons to the Non-Slaveholder. It is quite probable that many of them have been waiting with similar impressions, and would promptly subscribe on being asked. The first No. of the present series was sent, as we believe, to all former subscribers. We could not send out an agent to solicit patrons, but have to rely upon the efforts of those who are interested in the principles which we advocate and desire to promote. Acknowledgments are due to many Friends for disinterested and successful efforts, whilst the supineness of others has prevented our list of readers from being greatly increased in some neighborhoods.

HAMILTON Co., INDIANA.—A Friend, sending us 12 subscriptions, expresses a sense of loss sustained by the suspension of this Journal, and says:

"There is quite an interest manifested by Friends here in the Non-Slaveholder, and I trust they will be stimulated to action on the subject of abstinence from slave-grown produce."

CLINTON Co., OHIO.—(With 12 subscriptions.)—I am

1848

Isaiah M. Wadsworth & Halliwell Maine

glad the Non-Slaveholder is resumed, and hope that the Editor will be favored to conduct it in the same Christian spirit; which is well calculated to carry conviction to the heart. I hope to see the paper enlarged."

ANNA W. HINCHMAN.

BY LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY.

A solemn group had gathered round the bed
Of youth and beauty. Unexpected shafts
Stood quivering in a bosom late so warm
With health and joy.

Yet cheering words she spake
When the dire fever lulled, with messages
To friend and pupil, and the glorious hope
In that Redeemer who had been her strength
From early days.

But to the Mother dear,
She whose whole life, inwoven with her own,
Had grown to one close tissue, more intense
In trust and sympathy, each passing year,
She calmly whispered,

"Haste thee, to put on
The pure white robe!"
And then, she fell asleep.

Oh stricken mourner! may thy soul be wrapped
In the chief Shepherd's love so perfectly,
That by such garment He may know ye both,
Mother and Daughter, 'mid his flock above,
And lead ye to the same unchanging home
In those green pastures that can never fade.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

CONSISTENCY.

It is peculiarly satisfactory to the advocates of immediate emancipation from the yoke of American Slavery, to be continually finding their opponents decidedly availing themselves of the principles, which necessarily involve the duty of such emancipation, when other subjects are the topics of consideration.

A notable example of this, is presented to the Nation, in the Inaugural Address of our President.

In a retrospective view of "the new-born nation" he remarks—

"It was upheld by a broad and intelligent comprehension of rights, and an all pervading purpose to maintain them, stronger than armaments."

"The men of that day—with a firm and fearless step, advanced beyond the governmental landmarks, which had hitherto circumscribed the limits of human freedom," &c.

"The oppressed throughout the world, from that day to the present, have turned their eyes hitherward, not to find those lights extinguished, or to fear lest they should wane, but to be constantly cheered by their steady and increasing radiance. In this, our country has, in my judgment, thus far fulfilled its highest duty to suffering humanity. It has spoken and will continue to speak, not only by its words, but by its acts, the language of sympathy, encouragement and hope, to those, who earnestly listen to tones, which pronounce for the largest rational liberty."

"No example, be it remembered, can be powerful for lasting good, whatever apparent advantages may be gained, which is not based upon eternal principles of right and justice."

"No apparent advantage can be purchased at a price so dear as that of national wrong," &c.

In reference to the individual's rights, it is admitted to be the duty of the President to "see that no rude hand of power or tyrannical passion is laid upon him with impunity."

"I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in different States of this confederacy, is recognized by the Constitution—and that the States where it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the 'compromise measures,' are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect—not with reluctance encouraged by abstract opinions as to their propriety in a different state of society," &c.

Here we find the noble principles of Abolitionists proclaimed to the Nation by its highest Executive. Not only is the immutable authority of these principles maintained, but every practical deviation from them is declared to be incompatible with the "lasting good" of the Nation, "whatever apparent advantages may be gained." This is the very bone and sinew of abolition doctrine, confirmed by "the Eternal Spirit," that "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

It is a serious question, whether or not, "a broad and intelligent comprehension of rights," which primarily induced the country to resist the oppression of Great Britain, has actually induced "an all pervading purpose to maintain" those rights? No ambiguity attaches to the subject, demanding delay for a truthful answer. The numerous legal enactments declaring millions of our fellow men, made in the image of God like ourselves, to be chattels and things, "to all intents and purposes whatsoever," give the reply to the world, that we have violated the "intelligent comprehension of rights" in reference to our brother, and "are verily guilty concerning" him, being judged out of our own mouth. What a response did the clanking of the chains, and the heart-rending woes of the victims of American oppression send, on the morning of the inauguration, to the affirmation of the President, that our new born country possessed "an all-pervading purpose to maintain" human "rights"! "ALL PERVADING!" "What mean then, those wailings of agony in the human market-place? What those piercing lamentations of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, separated from each other to meet no more! What those cries which succeed the lacerations of human flesh by cruel task-masters, and which 'have entered the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth!'"

Has not this "purpose," which indeed ought to be "all-pervading," been bounded by the white man's interest? Has not our selfishness decreed, "Hitherto shalt thou go, but no farther." Does not the fact of our "comprehension of rights," being "broad and intelligent," enhance our guilt?

The President commends our fathers, because, "with a firm and fearless step, (they) advanced beyond the governmental landmarks which had hitherto circumscribed the limits of human freedom." This is precisely what Abolitionists have done. How it can be proved that it was a noble act for our fathers to advance, far enough beyond British landmarks of human freedom, to connect the right of representation with the right of taxation, and yet that it is "fanatical," for some of the children to advance far enough beyond American land-

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

WHO PAYS THE PROFITS?

Pittsburgh, 2d mo. 12th 1853.

I have just returned from the wharf, or levee, on the Monongahela side, whither I had been led by the business that brought me to the city. The rivers are at a high stage, and the shores lined with steamers, whose capacious holds are mostly receiving or discharging the products of the extensive west. Amongst them are several delivering cargoes of sugar and molasses, direct from the plantations of Louisiana.

As I saw the hundreds of hogsheads spread out before me, and the draymen actively engaged in carrying them into store, I felt more forcibly than I had ever done, our close contact with the dark and dreadful process of oppression under which all this was produced. When I reflected that the demands of the country would, in a few months, carry the contents of all these casks, through the thousand channels of trade, into the daily consumption of the liberty and justice loving families of Pennsylvania and Ohio,—(perhaps a few hogsheads are used up by my own friends and neighbors,)—I was more than ever impressed with the impossibility of escape from the guilt of encouraging and participating in that oppression, while we continued to partake of its fruits, and to divide its profits with the man who with his money bought the slaves, and with his own hands drove the victims to supply the market which we were offering him. I say *divide the profits* of that oppression, for if sugar can, by honestly paid labor, be furnished to the consumer in Ohio at 8 cents per pound—and *this* sugar, the product of a series of the most awful crimes against God and man, can be afforded at 6, are we not, by giving it the preference, *sharers in the profits of the commission of those crimes, in precisely the amount of the difference?* If we can believe the testimony of the planters, this is a per centage of profit fully equal to their own, although to each individual consumer of insignificant amount. And yet, how few, even among those who call upon the planters to be just—to let the oppressed go free—to deal with his laborers as with human beings, (when by doing so he would sacrifice his fortune, and perhaps for the present, his business,) are willing to sacrifice *their* share of the profits, amounting on sugar, to the trifling sum of two to five dollars per annum! Are the enormities of the slave system any the less *real* because they are committed beyond the immediate range of our vision? Are the sweat and blood—the crushing of humanity—the blotting out of intellect—the soul destroying

marks of human freedom, to allow a man to say his soul is his own, is a problem we leave for the logic of the President to solve.

"The oppressed throughout the world." This includes the outraged African. Did the wretched tenants of the slave-ships, in their manacles, turn "their eyes hitherward not to find (Freedom's) lights extinguished," nor "to fear lest they should wane," during the twenty years of the legality of that infamous traffic? Have they been subsequently "cheered by (the) steady and increasing radiance" of Freedom's lights? Surely, if the condition of the sons and daughters of bleeding, outraged Africa, "from that day (of our own freedom) to this," had come within the scope of the President's mental or physical vision, he could not have made such an assertion. O that some wretched coffee had passed at the moment to test its truth! Would he not have demurred to utter the affirmation, that "our country had, in my judgment, thus far fulfilled its highest duty to suffering humanity?" How glaringly will the faithful historic page falsify the representation!

Let us briefly extend this examination. It is farther affirmed, that the Country "has spoken and will continue to speak, not only by its words, but by its acts, the language of sympathy, encouragement, and hope, to those who earnestly listen to tones which pronounce for the largest rational liberty." Thousands have listened, millions in the land, now "earnestly listen" for these tones. Men and women made of the same blood, by the same Creator. What "words" fall on their ear! Let the "words" of the enactments of the Slave Code answer. O what sweet "language of sympathy, encouragement and hope!" What ample security "for the largest rational liberty." Its "acts" also, and "compromise measures," to save the Union, which righteousness only can save. What an admirable exemplification are these "acts," of our love and sympathy for "the oppressed throughout the world."

Does the Executive of the Nation declare the Institution, which is the shame in the eyes of the civilized world, to be in accordance with the principle of universal righteousness and freedom which he advocates as essential to our "lasting good?" No, verily. But it "is recognized by the Constitution." So was the foreign slave-trade now denominated piracy. Will the framing of mischief by a law, save us from the curse of the Almighty Avenger of the poor and oppressed! The alternative is before the President; either to affirm that Slavery is "based upon eternal principles of right and justice," or to acknowledge that his requisition that the "compromise measures—be unhesitatingly carried into effect," is incompatible with the "lasting good" of the Country, i. e. inconsistent with true patriotism. He has wisely determined, that "national wrong" is a price too dear to pay for any "apparent advantage" of any institution.

HENRY GREW.

Philadelphia, March 10, 1853.

Peace is the portion of that happy mind
Which has its Reason, Will, and all resigned;
For then, inspired by Truth's directing ray,
It presses onward to eternal day.
Through Faith the unequal road becomes a plain,
Nor hills obstruct, nor flow'ry vales detain.

GEORGE DILLWYN.

practices inseparable from the system which is now producing sugar at the lowest rate, a fiction of the imagination? Through the hands of how many Uncle Toms—of how many Solomon Northrups—of how many men and women of crushed spirits, of bleeding hearts and despairing souls—of almost obliterated intellects, driven on by how many Lagrees, and his more brutal Sambos and Quimbos, the identical hogsheads before me have passed, before they were, last week, rolled upon the steamboat, it is impossible to tell. But this we *do* know, that *each process* which has been employed in their production, has been carried on in violation of every principle of justice and humanity.

But yesterday, (since last autumn,) the cane which produced that sugar, has been cut and hauled, ground, and the juice boiled—the sugar packed and coopered up in these identical casks, from the cypress swamps, and taken to the landing by men and women *driven to their tasks* under the most cruel and revolting system of slavery ever practised by man.

The query, WHO PAYS THE PROFITS, WITHOUT WHICH THIS SYSTEM COULD NOT EXIST, is one that should come home to every honest mind, with an earnestness of demand not to be satisfied without a conscientious reply. M.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

STOLEN GOODS.

"Thou shalt not steal."—Exodus xx. 15.

It is often difficult for the truth to penetrate through the thick mists of law and custom, interest, inclination and prejudice, which so closely envelop us, distorting our moral vision, and giving a false coloring to objects viewed by us through these media. Particularly is this a common case in relation to the character of the products of slave labor.

A worthy co-temporary, whose judgment and feelings are almost universally correct in relation to the system of slavery, uses the following language:

"Though fully convinced that a clear and consistent testimony against the holding of slaves can hardly be maintained by those who are in the free and unrestrained practice of using the products of servile toil, the editor would be far from placing the fruits of slave labor on the same platform with those of piracy and theft. In the scale of oppression there are various grades, and a just argument is never strengthened by confounding distinctions which are easily discerned."

Another co-temporary, also an opponent of

*Our correspondent is here quoting from a wise veteran, who is perfectly sound in the faith, and is not often caught napping. His propositions are sufficiently tenable, and we rather suspect that the writer meant quietly to deduce from them the same conclusions to which Beta has arrived.—ED. NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

slavery, in reply to a correspondent on the subject of slave products, says—

"We think the comparison which he draws between using such produce and articles which we saw stolen from their owner, will not hold good, as could be readily shown, did it appear expedient to enter upon such a discussion in our paper."

If there are various grades of stealing, we suppose none would deny but that would be the highest, in which the robber is not satisfied with taking a portion of a man's property, and that perhaps only once from the same person, but steals *the man himself, with all his goods, and the produce of his labor, past, present and to come.* For as J. K. in his "Thoughts on Slavery," remarks, "He that purchases a man, were it not for the unjust laws which tolerate the practice, might be convicted of being an accomplice in theft or robbery of the most atrocious kind."

There are three degrees of participation in the crime of stealing, without being the actual thief.

1st. By the purchase, innocently, of stolen goods, in which case the purchaser is bound by law, as well as moral principle, on discovery, to restore them to their proper owner.

2d. When the purchaser knows at the time that the property is stolen. He is then accessory to the theft, and the law will punish him as such.

3d. When a tacit understanding exists beforehand between the thief and the receiver, that if the former will perpetrate the theft, the latter will be his customer. He then becomes accessory before, as well as after the fact, and party to the crime in the highest degree.

We are sorry to differ in sentiment from our friends above quoted, but we think we have shown good grounds for our belief, that, if there be any distinction, the moral turpitude of that species of theft which is by them considered the less, is the greater, and that the degree of our participation in it is of the superlative kind, if we are "in the free and unrestrained practice of using the products of servile toil."

If we are mistaken in our views, we would take it as a kindness if those who can so "easily discern," and "readily show" a distinction in the use of slave products, would bestow a little labor to convince us of our error, seeing that it is a testimony which is gaining ground, and involves no little self-denial, and some pecuniary disadvantage to uphold a practice consistent therewith. BETA.

BARON MONTESQUIEU satirically said, "It is impossible to admit the negroes to be men, because, if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed that we are not Christians."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

HOW DO WE KNOW?

When abstinence from slave labor is insisted upon, we sometimes hear the objection, "It will do no good," advanced, even by those whose humane impulses would prompt them to do something tending to the downfall of the oppressor's power. Such think, perhaps, that an evil so great, can only be destroyed by some tremendous revolution, wherein the demand of "blood for blood," shall be the moving principle; that the slave's misery will not be brought to an end by a process which holds the remedy so remote as that does, in which a non-participation in the products of his toil, is the course of action. A disposition thus to regard, or rather perhaps, to disregard the subject, will not enable us to plead *not guilty*, when the cause of blood-shed shall be searched out.

How know we that our refusal to aid the oppressor in his pursuit of unhallowed gain, will do no good? How do we know that the All Wise Ruler of the Universe does not design to bring about a termination of the wrongs which the slave has endured through long and wretched years, by increased faithfulness on our part, in extending anti-slavery principles to the point of *non-participation*, by a prompt refusal, on the part of the community resident on free soil, to meet the slaveholders in the market to which he brings merchandize fraught with human sighs, tears, and life-blood? Let us remember that while we are not separated from *traffic in the toil of slaves* however far removed we may be from the *scene of their sufferings in the physical world*, in the *moral world* we are standing beside them, receiving from their wearied hands the supplies which so abundantly minister to our demands.

WHAT CAN BE DONE? is the question of the spirit burdened and anguished by thoughts of all the evils nourished up into rank vigorous life in the evil soil of slavery. To enter the region and strong holds of oppression, with brave protestations against cruel laws, and with urgent entreaties that mercy might be shown to the oppressed, would be productive of little effect upon the African's bondage, while the inducement to its continuance is deep laid in gainful schemes. We cannot compel the slave-master to lay aside his instruments of torture—to sever his victim's chains, that the toilworn may rest, the grief-worn, rejoice—the oppressed go free: but we may *withdraw our aid* from the support of the system which inflicts the torture and binds the chain. We may let the oppressed go free from *that part* of their unrequited service which our demands induce: and we may practice a little self-denial

when our doing so may evidently influence the condition of the slave. If "to Afric's sable race, a fearful debt we owe," what blameworthy indifference does it indicate, to continue, while our years are speedily passing away, and the days, wherein restitution may be made, are gliding swiftly from us—to add to that "fearful debt"—to be instrumental in the support of tyrant power, which dooms thousands of human beings to a condition degraded and hopeless as can well be imagined. With a thought reaching to the time when "righteousness shall cover the earth as the waters do the sea," are we not ready to lament that in our actions and our influences, we make no perceptible advance towards that glorious event? If so, "let the time past suffice." Let not the slave pine in hopeless bondage, fettered in *thought* and limb," while we glide along the pleasant course of our lives forgetful of his griefs and sufferings. [Communicated.]

From Gems from the Spirit Mine.
WHAT IS GLORY.

Is it glory to cause the widow's tears
To roll o'er her fading face?
It is glory to watch the orphan's grief,
And the cause of its sorrow trace?
Such glory is caused by the battle-plain,
Where the husband and father lie with the slain.

Is it glory to break a mother's heart,
And from her home to tear
The only one who cared for her
In this weary world of care?
Then carry her son to the battle-plain,
And bury him there 'mid the thousands slain.

Is it glory to drive the soul in haste
To a world of black despair,
'Midst the dreadful din of cruel war,
Without one single prayer,
Then trample the youth amidst the slain,
And rejoice in death on the battle-plain?

Is it not glory to follow Him
Who said that brotherly love
Must reign in the breasts of those who wish
To dwell with Him above?
The Prince of Peace will smile on those
Who the sword and the battle-field oppose.

ANN JANE.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 4, 1853.

GENUINENESS OF FREE GOODS.

The request of our friend of Columbiana Co., Ohio, (see passages from our correspondence on our first page,) which bears date prior to his reception of our last number, is a very proper one, and it is answered in No. 4—Page 30, under the caption "GENUINENESS OF FREE LABOR GOODS." We would recall attention to the explanation there given, and will take this occasion to add, that not only is

the channel for obtaining free cotton a perfect one,—but a thorough care is also exercised to keep it *unmixed* in the process of manufacture. To secure this object an excess of free cotton is sent to the factory, a portion of which, at the beginning and end, being mixed with Slave cotton in the joining, (to avoid stopping the machinery) is rejected, and only the middle is received as free goods. The arrangement is perfect as regards the integrity of the free fabric.

We trust that FRIENDS, (particularly those who reside within convenient access to this city,) will bear in mind the annual meeting of the Free Produce Association, of which notice is given in another page.—Friends, of both sexes, who are interested in the substitution of the productions of Free Labor for those of coerced and unrequited toil, are invited to attend.

DELAWARE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

"'Tis Liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
Except what Wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil; hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eye-sight of discovery; and begets,
In those that suffer it, a sordid mind
Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form."

Would that these noble thoughts of Cowper had influenced the Delaware Convention, in connection with the still nobler sentiment and mandate of Him whose perfect will ought to be the basis of all human law: "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.*" Would that James A. Bayard, (who appears prominent as a mover in the great iniquity) and the other members of this convention had pondered the precepts, and received into their hearts an infusion of the Spirit of the holy REDEEMER who "took upon him the form of a *servant*," who recognizes a brother in the negro whom their "amendments" would call a *slave*, and who has pronounced him only to be "free indeed" who is made so by his blessed Truth. Do James A. Bayard and his colleagues fancy themselves to be *freemen* whilst every one who holds in his hand the Bible may trace the pedigree of their ownership in Rom. vii. 16, and in John ix. 44. And do they think that by votes and amendments, they can take away the franchise of those whom Christ hath made "fellow citizens with the saints?"

"The oppressor holds
The body bound, but knows not what a range
The spirit takes, unconscious of a chain,
And that to bind him is a vain attempt
Whom God delights in, and in whom He dwells."

It appears that the "amendments" of this Convention provide that "the Legislature shall have no authority to emancipate slaves without the consent of the owner or owners." A dia-

bolical provision, by which the *amenders* seem disposed to leave the world the worse for their having lived in it. Unworthy tenants of this beautiful planet, they repay its hospitality by seeking to deepen "the trail of the serpent." They prevent, on pain of fearful penalty, any free negro or mulatto coming into and settling in the State, impose a fine upon any person who shall employ him, and crown the impiety of the scheme with the pretence of benevolence, by appropriating monies thus wickedly obtained "for the colonization of such free negroes and mulattoes as may be inhabitants of the State at the adoption of this Constitution, and their descendants, who may be willing to emigrate."

In Delaware, we believe there is about one slave to every 45 freemen. The impolicy, the glaring folly here displayed are as apparent as the baseness.

WHO KEEPS UP SLAVERY?

The London *Times*, of 12th mo. 1st, a Journal not ranked as an Anti-Slavery organ, has the following candid observations, which we heartily commend to the notice of *thinkers*.

"We, of this free and happy country, are just the most extensive employers (indirectly, but not less really,) of slave labor, in the world. Negro slaves, working under the lash in the mid-day sun, and 'keeping their toe well up to the mark,' as Mr. Legree would say, produce the material of our cravats, our stockings, and the simple and comprehensive garment in which we take our repose. They supply the muslins and prints, and nearly all the other fabrics of our female costume, from the dress of the Sovereign to that of the poorest needlewoman. Slaves produce our coffee, and the sugar that sweetens it. By day and by night, sitting down and rising up, we are still encouraging slavery by consuming its produce. The prime agent who moves the wheels of southern slavery we are told, is the northern capitalist, who has his mortgage on the slave estate, or holds a bill of sale, and who secures himself, when necessary, by an order to his agent to sell off everything on the estate, slaves and all, for what they will fetch at the hammer. This man, Mrs. Stowe tells us, is really a guilty partner in the transaction, if not the most guilty—the most guilty because he supplies the strongest stimulus of the system, and compels the most violent measures. But if the northern capitalist pulls the strings of the southern planter, who pulls the strings of the northern capitalist? Most assuredly the merchants and brokers of N. York are mainly dependent on the British market. We use the slave cotton. We supply the *slave capital*. Our money buys the negro,—our money buys his works. It is an indissoluble union of interests and operations, of which the white slave of this country is at one end, and the black slave of America at the other end of the chain."

We do not, however, introduce the ingenuous confession of the London Editor, as a quietus to any American conscience. We are pleased with the paragraph, as showing that, even in the mind of the worldling and the politician, well applied common sense will recognize the truth which is the leading idea of our

periodical. But, as Cowper says, "Truth is not local." Participancy (on whichever side the Atlantic it exist,) constitutes partnership. "It is an indissoluble union of interests and operations." We are pleased that our transatlantic brethren should see their accountability and would welcome them to the platform of non-participancy. And we would hail, with pleasure and with courtesy, every recognition of truth and freedom in any member of the human family. We do not like the disposition which some evince, to twit our English sisters with the oppression which surrounds them in their own homes (and which many of them long and labor to alleviate.) Oppression, *any where*, is good cause for remonstrance from *any quarter*. The man who sees, in any part of the world, a brother man oppressed, has the instant right to interfere by raising his voice in remonstrance. Should it appear that he himself is guilty of some phase of oppression—it follows—not that he should fail to take his brother's part—but, that he should preach the same sermon to himself and cease to do evil. And he to whom the rebuke or exhortation is addressed, ought to receive it in the spirit of meek self-investigation, and not seek to dodge its application by hurling it back upon an inconsistent fellow transgressor, who perchance may perceive our errors more readily than his own, or may think that the existence of a *mote* in his own eye is no reason for his omission to pluck out a *scantling* from ours. We clip the following from the *Daily Register*, because of its recognition of the same principle set forth in the above extract from the *Times*. We love our British sisters all the better for their laudable movement, and altho' we have not failed to perceive something of the frailty of poor human nature mixed up with holy motive, we by no means charge it with "miserable shallowness," nor "consider them open to the discourteous insinuations of singular self-delusion or a flimsy hypocrisy."

THE ENGLISH LADIES AND SLAVERY.

It appears by our files received by the *Arctic*, that our American women are shortly to receive a mammoth address from their English sisters, on the subject of African slavery in this country. We are pleased to see that the world has arrived at such a stage of progress that the sentiment of humanity takes precedence of all others. But it is rather discouraging to see how blind and absurd it is in its way of getting at an acknowledged evil. There is no little self-righteousness and pride of supposed superior national purity at the bottom of this whole movement. We should have thought much more highly of the English ladies, had they sent their mammoth address to the cotton merchants at Liverpool, instead of to the women of Maine, Pennsylvania, Michigan, &c.

To lay bare the miserable shallowness of this whole feminine movement, we will use a short catechism. Why is slavery maintained? Because the sale of slave-labor products is profitable. What is the chief

product? Cotton. Where is the great cotton market of the South? At Liverpool. Where is the great town for the manufacture of cotton? Manchester. If then, the buyers of cotton are chiefly to blame for the maintenance of slavery, and the English are the principal buyers, it follows that the English are as justly chargeable with its maintenance as we. It would therefore, be more logical for the Duchess of Sutherland and her half million of coadjutors, to change the destination of their address, and send it to Parliament, adding a prayer for the prohibition of the purchase of slave-produced cotton. That would look like being in earnest. As the case stands at present, the whole business looks like an unfair attempt to shift on comparatively innocent persons the whole disgrace of an unpopular institution. So long as the English ladies shall show a disposition to lay the lash on the shoulders of American slaveholders, and spare those of the Manchester and Liverpool merchants who buy nearly all the cotton, so long shall we consider them open to the discourteous insinuations of singular self-delusion, or a most flimsy hypocrisy.

JOSIAH TATUM.—This beloved and valuable Friend "ceased to be mortal" on the 4th of Fourth Month, in the 63d year of his age. Of the very large and constantly enlarging circle of individuals who not only esteemed, but tenderly loved him, there is, perhaps, not one who has not felt afflicted, bereaved, "unready for the stroke." We do not question the perfect Wisdom which has called him from a life of blessing to a life of blessedness, yet there are many who sigh and exclaim "alas! alas!"

"Oh thy gentle smile of greeting,
Who again shall see?
Who amidst the solemn meeting,
Gaze again on thee?"

Gone before us, oh our brother,
To the Spirit land!
Vainly look we for another
In thy place to stand!"

Solemn as is the termination of an earthly existence, it is yet most glorious when the object for which it was given has been fully attained; when, as in the case of our dear friend, it is believed, that by the life thus bestowed, the glory of the Giver has been promoted, that the love of the Eternal Father has been evinced by continuous deeds of love to the human brotherhood, and that the now enfranchised soul has witnessed the efficacy of the one great sacrifice for sin, has been made white, and robed in white, and admitted within the gate, at whose portals all impurity is self-repelled. For such there is, in the very depth of mourning, a solemn joy; an unselfish and unworldly happiness which does not smile; and whilst

"In the shadow of a great affliction
The soul sits dumb,"

the language of the Amesbury bard is realized,

"Our Father's will
Calling to Him the dear ones whom he loveth,
Is mercy still."

We often drop a tear on the death of men

of talent and goodness, whose place in general society and in the Church, can be in a great measure supplied by others. But we are at times bereft of those who leave a void which those who appreciated them, do not expect to see filled. By the removal of such, the world seems to become poorer, and to receive a sombre tinge from the withdrawal of light. Josiah Tatum was one of those singularly rich characters. He was a manly Christian. Of a strong yet humble mind. Firm, yet gentle, loving, and most genial hearted. Even, consistent, prudent, wise,—too steadily "watchful unto prayer" to be readily thrown off his guard; his conversation, and his language as a more public speaker, were rich with a peculiarity and raciness of expression, which gave a singular charm and currency to the sentiments expressed. And thus he "kept the even tenor of his way," "doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with his God."

"So calm, so constant was his rectitude, That by his loss alone we know its worth, And feel how true a man has walked with us on Earth."

We are requested to announce the annual meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the evening of Fourth day, the 14th instant.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ANNA W. HINCHMAN.

We have stood where the Reaper was busy translating
For the garden of Eden a favorite blossom.
We have watched by the couch where the angels were waiting

To bear a dear saint into Abraham's bosom.
We have seen what a brief fleeting dream is mortality.
We have seen that true Faith is a blessed reality.
We have seen how a Christian, from soul-stains all washed,
In the arms of a Savior could fall unabashed—
Himself for her plea: and the death which he bore
Her claim for a share in his life evermore,
Every robe of her own as vile rags cast away,
His righteousness only her Spirit's array.

When her life tide was ebbing, her lips parched with fever,
And all that is seen was receding forever,
For the stream which from under the white throne is bursting,

For the River of Water of Life she was thirsting.
She panted, she listened, the accents to hear,
Of a Father whose voice to her spirit was clear;
And she longed in his presence to stand unreprieved
Whom, not having seen, she had tremblingly loved;
Unto whom, day by day, through Life's wearisome task,
She came for free pardon and mercy to ask,
And who turned not away from her agonized throes,
But made, in her sickness, her bed of repose,
And suffered no shade of Remorse to alloy
THE PEACE WHICH PRECEDED THE FULLNESS OF JOY.

How the spirit would sink with despondence and sadness

Were it not for the Faith that inspires us with gladness!
How the shadow of Death all our hopes would enshroud,

Were it not for the glory that strikes thro' the cloud!
That glory, dear spirit, it burst on thy sight,
And all Time's allurements were lost in its light!

That long, clear, intense, earnest gaze into Heaven!
For a vision like this was a human eye given?
Not often such glimpse is permitted to mortals
Till the spirit is entering Beatitude's portals.
That glance!—'Twas the last! and then closed in
Death's blindness

The eye which met ours ever beaming with kindness.
And a niche was left vacant;—and tears fell like rain;—
And light fell away from our pathway of pain;—
And sadness and darkness seemed closing o'er all;
And the shadow of Death was Joy's funeral pall.

But praises, high praise for the victory given,
Robbing Death of his sting and the Grave of its gloom!
Whilst we mourn for ourselves we resign thee, and even

In the midst of our tears we rejoice o'er thy tomb.
Alas, we exclaim, as our sorrow comes o'er us,
And we groan for Instructress, Friend, Sister and Daughter;

Then we think of thee joining the heavenly chorus,
And Peace comes like oil upon Grief's troubled water.

And e'en while the tears from our eye lids are streaming,
Those drops as they fall are with gratitude gleaming.

We beheld thee when storms threatened fearfully,
doing

The beautiful work which for thee was ordained;
We beheld thee, in conflict tho' faint yet pursuing
The end of thy faith, now sublimely attained.

We have seen thee drink deep, and athirst still for learning,

Now all lies exposed to thy purified vision!
And, knowing as known, and the secrets discerning
Which the angels look into with rapture elysian.

Nothing there to obstruct the free spirit's expansion
From knowledge to knowledge, from glory to glory,
Thou wilt blend with delight, in that heavenly mansion,

With the souls who found rest in Christ Jesus before thee.

Oh, limitless treasure, and rivers of Pleasure,
And Peace flowing away unstinted by measure,
No earth-soil defiling thy soul's gathered essence,
And confessed by the Son in the holiest Presence.

Dear Savior! To thee was our cherished one precious!
To her was thy offering for sin efficacious!
For her not in vain was thy holy side riven!
For her not in vain thy great ransom was given!
For her nought could serve but the robe of thy merit,
And the boon thou bequeatest 'twas hers to inherit.
And when at thy footstool she knelt with heart-breaking,

Thy spirit for her intercession was making.
For her, all sufficient thy blest mediation!
For her everlasting thy perfect salvation!

W. J. A.

The Annual Meeting of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association of Friends is to be held in Clarkson Hall (Cherry Street above Sixth St.) on 4th day the 18th inst. at 8 o'clock P. M.

PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE STORE.

Just Received—from the East Indies,
Fine Mull Muslins;
Also, a further supply of Armistead's Superior ENGLISH MUSTARD, which will be furnished to dealers at low prices.

Retailers will find it convenient to take that put up in tins, bottles and tin-foil packets.

GEO. W. TAYLOR,
N. W. corner of 5th and Cherry Streets.

5mo. 1, 1853.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 6.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

In order to give in full this important and interesting document, without precluding space for our usual variety of matter, the present number is given to our readers, of double the usual size.

The interesting Report of the New York Association having reached us since the matter for this number was prepared, we gladly make room for it.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The return of another year has devolved on the Managers the duty of again presenting to the Association their Annual Report of the services accomplished or attempted, during the year that has just closed. On this subject the managers have to acknowledge that very little has been effected, by their instrumentality, since their last yearly report.

The great and primary object of our Association, we doubtless all remember, was to encourage and promote by a union of efforts, the production and distribution, untouched and unstained by oppression and wrong, of such articles of domestic consumption as are usually and chiefly extorted from the labor of slaves. For this purpose a Store was opened in this city, several years ago, with the concurrence and encouragement of the managers, by our friend George W. Taylor. Efforts have been used, and continue so to be, to have that esta-

blishment supplied altogether through the instrumentality of free and compensated labor, with those tropical productions, which constitute the staples of slave cultivation. As the burden of conducting this establishment rests almost exclusively upon him, it is to that point that the attention of the managers within the past year has been chiefly directed. The goods which this store is designed to furnish, are of two very different kinds, and must be obtained from different sources; viz. cotton fabrics and groceries.

Cotton is well known to be extensively cultivated by the labor of slaves, in several of the southern states, particularly in Mississippi. The market for cotton may be pronounced the main pillar of American slavery. The increase of cotton cultivation, consequent upon Eli Whitney's improvement in the mode of separating the seed, gave a new and powerful impetus to the internal traffic in slaves—that most odious feature of an odious system—and the continued demand for the article keeps up a demand for the labor that produces it; and consequently, where the producers are slaves, it sustains the traffic in their persons.

We frequently hear revolting reports of men, women and children sold at public sale, in the northern slave states, at extravagant prices; not to be employed in the neighborhood where they were born, but to be transported to regions further south; there to drag out a few, and but a few, tedious years, separated from all that nature and habit hold dear. Let us then inquire what is the ultimate object of these cruel measures? It is not an innate love of cruelty that prompts the sellers or the purchasers of these heart broken victims of a brutalizing commerce. The proceeding is founded on a calculation of dollars and cents. The planter, who purchases the husband and leaves the wife behind, expects to be remunerated for his trouble and expense, by the sale of the cotton which the purchased slave will extract from the soil; and the cotton goes to swell the profits of a shipping merchant of a free state who conveys it to a manufacturer in one of the middle or eastern states, or to a house in Liverpool, from which it quietly passes to whirl on the spindles of Arkwright. The fabric is then thrown abroad over Europe

and America, to supply the wants and increase the comforts of those who

"Would not have a slave to till their ground,
To carry them, to fan them while they sleep,
And tremble when they wake, for all the wealth,
That sinews, bought and sold, have ever earned."

Cotton fabrics have indeed become so blended with our domestic supplies, that our habits must be greatly changed if we would deny ourselves their use; and happily we now know that cotton not only *may be*, but actually is, extensively cultivated in the United States, and various other places, by the labor of freemen. The cotton goods which G. W. Taylor procures and offers to the acceptance of his customers, are manufactured from cotton, untouched, as we are fully convinced, by servile hands. Of the character of those goods, and the difficulties attendant upon his efforts to secure a supply, he has furnished the following account:

"During the Spring and Summer of 1852 various fabrics, either wholly or partly cotton, were added to the stock, such as—

30, 33, 36 & 40 inch heavy Muslins,
6 cord Sewing Cotton,
32 and 36 inch fine bleached Shirtings,
A beautiful article of cotton and wool called Hungarian Fancy,
An assortment of Nos. of Knitting Cotton,
Plaid Muslins, cord check muslins,
Glazed Jaconet, Silk & worsted Check,
Plain, printed, stripe and check Lustres,
Fancy silk stripe Crossover,
Satin stripe printed warp,
Satin stripe de Laines,
Dimities, Fancy Gingham,
Fine plaid and hair cord Gingham,
Solid stripe Gingham and Chambrays,
Tickings, printed linen Cambrics,
Sirocco Fancies, Dress Cord, Poplins, &c.

An increased variety of Goods was ordered for the Autumn sales, to be made of a large lot of cotton which had been sent to Liverpool. But through the carelessness of the consignees, it was sold beyond the reach of our free labour co-adjutors in England. The consequence was, a complete failure to obtain several articles of indispensable necessity. This gave rise to numerous complaints by consumers; but it was too late to procure more free labour cotton, when the loss became known on this side.

The want of more perfect arrangements for manufacturing continues to be a source of much perplexity to the Store-keeper, and of frequent disappointment in procuring articles needed by families depending on this medium of supply."

From this account, and a little reflection on the nature of the case, we readily perceive that to secure a regular supply of cotton fabrics, suited to the various wants of the public, alto-

gether free from the taint of slavery, a concert of action and an amount of capital, only to be obtained by an extensive union of efforts, are indispensable. Though large quantities of cotton are raised, in some of the Southern states, entirely by free labor, yet this cotton, if bought in the general market, without special care in the selection, is likely to be blended with the products of slavery; and when brought to the doors of the manufacturer, it may be mixed with slave grown cotton in passing through the mill, unless provided in sufficient quantity to exclude the latter altogether from the factory. Hitherto means have not been found to secure a supply of free cotton goods, through the operations of factories on our side of the Atlantic. Recourse has therefore been had to the factories of Great Britain. This measure, of course, so far as American cotton is concerned, involves a double transportation across the intervening ocean, and consequently a loss of time and an increase of expense. The latter item, however, may perhaps be compensated by the cheapness of labor in England. It is however fully believed that if a sufficient amount of capital could be placed at the disposal of the dealers in free goods, to secure, by means of trust worthy agents, the purchase of free grown cotton, immediately from the planters, as soon as it was ready for the market; or to anticipate its growth by previous arrangement; in quantities equal to the demands of one or more factories, to the total exclusion of slave grown cotton; the market might, in a little time, be supplied with all the varieties which the habits of the community require, and upon terms as favorable as those of a promiscuous character.

Next to cotton, as a pillar of slavery, we rank the great staple of Louisiana and the West Indies, sugar. With regard to the means of supplying the demands of the public, with this article, G. W. Taylor remarks:

Free Labour Sugars, it is well known, are seldom brought to this market in the regular course of trade. I am therefore under the necessity of importing sugars from those places where they are known to be produced by the labour of free persons. Owing to the impossibility of procuring them at different times in the year, I am obliged to secure a year's supply of sugar and molasses during the season when only they can be had. When a lot of sugar is to be refined, in order to procure its being done in the best manner, by a refiner who will produce uniformly the best qualities, such refiners usually operating on a large scale, it is requisite to order a large quantity made at one operation.* These

* Being transiently in the Free Produce Store, a short time ago, we noticed an illustration of this in a fresh lot of Refined Sugar amounting to \$7000 (cash.) We concluded that if other items were in proportion,

indispensable conditions involve the necessity for a large capital and spacious rooms and cellars for storage. In addition to the increased expense from these causes, from the impossibility of foreseeing how long a given quantity will last, and the circumstance that suitable free labor sugars for refining are not always to be had in sufficient amount, it will sometimes happen that the stock of those refined sugars becomes exhausted, and an interval of several days or weeks will occur when customers cannot be supplied however pressing their wants. This calls for the exercise of patience on their part, and is a source of anxiety and mental suffering, as well as loss, to the provider."

Here we see, as in the case of cotton goods, the necessity and importance of extended concert of action, and a larger capital.

Though cotton is doubtless the most efficient supporter of American slavery, yet, if we extend our view to the east of the Atlantic, and to the regions south of the United States, we shall probably find sugar entitled to the first place in this bad pre-eminence. The market for sugar kept up till lately the Brazilian slave trade; and it still maintains that abominable traffic in the Island of Cuba. Whether sugar from cane is produced, in any considerable quantity, in the United States, by the labor of freemen, is a question which the managers are not prepared to answer. We have however the satisfaction to know that the British, French and Danish West Indies, so recently the strong holds of slavery, are cultivated exclusively by the hands of freemen. Yet even there, after all that has been done, and all that has been paid by the government at home, to break the fetters of the slave, the evils of slavery have been too deeply impressed on the character and habits of the people, to be suddenly obliterated. To that quarter we must look for a supply of sugar: and may we not hope that the abuses which a vicious system has introduced, will eventually prove, merely as the workings of a sea,

Before a calm, which rocks itself to rest.

After the copious remarks on the interesting objects of our association, which may be found in our former reports, the managers deem it unnecessary to enter into any elaborate arguments to prove either the evils of slavery, or the rectitude of the course which we feel compelled to adopt.

Among the early labors of Friends, within Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, on the subject of slavery, we find their principal efforts directed against the slave trade; and they pro-

the business must be more burthensome than profitable, as quick sales would be necessary to prevent actual loss. Surely all friends of Freedom ought to give their patronage to the Establishment, and to recommend it to others.—Ed.

bably acted wisely in endeavoring first to stop the traffic to which the existing slavery was owing; but the penetrating mind of John Woolman was not long in discerning that to support a consistent testimony against the system at large, he must abstain from indulging his palate with the sweets extracted from the labor of slaves. So sensitive was he on this subject, that he declined the use of silver vessels for the ordinary purposes of life; and when stretched upon his dying bed, he requested his attendants, in case his disease should cloud his understanding, to avoid administering any thing to him, which they knew he had a testimony against. Had the example of this devoted christian been followed by all those who have adopted his sentiments on the general subject, there can be no reasonable doubt that the testimony of Friends against slavery would, at this day, have been more advanced than it is. The advocates of slavery, must have perceived that there was one society that maintained a consistent testimony against what they pronounced an unrighteous system. They must have seen that Friends were ready to make all the sacrifices which consistency required. But can that be said of Friends in general of our day? Our discipline does not permit any member to hold or even to hire a slave to assist in his business, however mildly the authority may be used; and yet many among us, use without hesitation, and trade without scruple, in the products of servile toil, though that toil may be urged with a rigor never maintained by any slaveholding member of the Society of Friends. Could a planter of Louisiana or Mississippi be expected to listen with feelings of compunction to the expostulations of a Philadelphia Friend, upon the cruelty and injustice of slaveholding, if that Friend was in the practice of purchasing the sugar or cotton obtained by the planter from the drudgery of his slaves? Such a planter, if acquainted with the sermon on the mount, might very possibly repay the kindness of his admonisher, by a quotation from that remarkable discourse. Matt. vii. 5.

We have, however, the consolation to believe that the conviction is spreading, both among Friends and others, that the true and affectual mode of assailing the system of Slavery, is to turn the stream of commerce into channels through which Slavery does not flow. The apparently self-evident proposition that Slavery, like everything else, must live by that which feeds it, appears to be arresting the attention of many on both sides of the Atlantic. Hence we frequently hear accounts of plans suggested for supplying the market with tropical products, without depending on the labor

of slaves. The attention of Friends, in most of the yearly meetings on this continent appears, of latter time, to have been increasingly turned to this subject.

The Managers have the satisfaction to announce the revival, since our last annual report, of the NON-SLAVEHOLDER, in a reduced form, and at a diminished price. The cost in its present form is indeed so low that we may reasonably hope that it will obtain an extensive circulation; and thus be instrumental to an increase of interest in the momentous cause to which it is devoted. When we reflect on the efforts which are made, with an energy and perseverance worthy of a better cause, to enlarge the area, and to strengthen the influence of the Slaveholding interest, we must view with approbation, every endeavor, however humble, to diffuse correct information, and to promulgate sound principles of action, on this important subject.

In the earliest endeavors to clear the Society, on this continent, of the guilt and odium of Slavery, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia appears to have taken the lead. It was to that Yearly Meeting that the subject of buying and keeping negro slaves was presented by our German Friends in 1688, and that meeting, eight years afterwards, issued advice to its members "to be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes, and that such as had negroes, to be careful of them, bring them to meetings, have meetings with them in their families, &c. The subject was again moved in 1711 by the Quarterly Meeting of Chester; then the most Southern branch of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This was nearly five years before the subject was taken up by New England Yearly Meeting. Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, two of the most assiduous advocates of the colored race, of their day, were members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In Philadelphia, where Friends probably exercised more influence than in any other city on the American continent, the first law was enacted that no more slaves should be born within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. But may we not now seriously ask whether Friends of this Yearly Meeting are likely, much longer to retain the position which our fathers attained? The managers institute no invidious comparison, but they can neither deny nor disguise the fact, that the free labor movements have not among us obtained the countenance and encouragement, which, they assuredly believe, their importance demands. This circumstance, however, though greatly to be regretted, furnishes no reason why the members of this association should relax their efforts. On the contrary, it presents a motive

for more assiduous and persevering exertions to excite a livelier interest in the cause, both among our fellow members, and in the community at large.

The cause in which we have embarked is the cause of humanity and justice; the means proposed are wholly pacific in their character; and if they could be made general, would cause Slavery, with all its ramifications, to expire from exhaustion, and without a struggle.

Signed on behalf of the Board,

SAMUEL RHOADS,

Philada. 5 mo. 18th, 1853. Secretary.

REPORT OF THE MANAGERS

Of the Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting.

While the subject of abstinence from the products of the labor of Slaves seems to be eliciting fresh attention, and its advocates to be gaining strength and courage, not only abroad, but in distant sections of our own country; it is painful and humiliating to be obliged to chronicle among ourselves, an apparent decline of interest in this deeply interesting and important cause.

We would earnestly impress on the consideration of each one whom we address, the query, Why is this? Are we excusing our own individual efforts on account of the high ground which New York Yearly Meeting has taken, or have we altogether ceased to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them? The present is no time for supineness or indifference! The withering grasp of Slavery seems still stronger than ever in our country and her institutions. Even those who are released from its thrall, the free people of color, whose character and whose labor, it is one of our duties to elevate, are pursued by an unrelenting prejudice, and like a tribulated band of old, when persecuted in one State fleeing to another, too often finding no place of safety or of refuge, short of those blissful shores where all earth's weary pilgrims rest together, and the servant is free from his master.

The managers have continued to hold their regular meetings, but so feebly have their hands been upheld and so extremely inadequate have been the receipts into their treasury, to accomplish the ends in view, that with the exception of issuing a second edition of the Tract, entitled "Slavery and the Slave trade. Who is responsible?" they have been compelled to remain inactive during the past year. While, however, this has necessarily been the case, they have not failed to look upon the fields, and they believe they were never more white unto harvest than at the present time.

The Cotton Spinners of Manchester are turning their attention to every quarter of the globe for supplies, in order not to be dependent on the Slaves of America. On the Western Coast of Africa the Cotton plant is indigenous, and the few bales which are beginning to arrive from those parts, it is hoped may be but the precursor of more important supplies. A small quantity has recently been transmitted from La Plata, with advices that it was a sample of cotton growing wild on the banks of the Parana, where any quantity may be had for gathering. Efforts also continue to be made to increase the quantity, and improve the quality of the East India Cotton; but while these have yet led to no very promising results, brighter hope seems now to arise from another quarter. Over an extent of five hundred and fifty miles of the Australian coast, cotton of the best description perennially thrives. There is a river available for steam navigation every forty miles along this whole extent, and on the banks of these are millions of acres of the richest land in one of the finest climates in the world. And when the mania for mining shall have ceased, after peopling those immense tracts with hardy and industrious laborers, may we not hope that every ship which now reaches them freighted with the products of their father land, will return laden with cotton, the product of freemen. It is interesting also, to note that the Sea Island, the finest description of cotton, from which the most delicate goods are manufactured, which is grown in America along a very limited extent of coast in Georgia and South Carolina exclusively, and which we have never yet been able to obtain, the product of free labor, can be grown along the above extent of Australian coast, equally well with the shorter stapled variety.

Should these hopes be realized, and the little rills of free labor supplies of this important staple become swollen to a mighty torrent, the knell of Slavery will soon be sounded in our land. Let us arouse ourselves from our torpor and inactivity and do all we can in aiding a consummation so devoutly to be wished. It is an old saying that Slavery sits on a Cotton bale, and we believe it is the producers of this staple particularly, who should be made to realize the demand for the free labour article. The Managers have, from year to year, alluded to the thousands of bales of free labour cotton, now within our reach in various sections of the Southern States; and this quantity would, doubtless, steadily increase, were there a well regulated and practical demand for it. Our friends in England are urgent that it may be supplied to them, but naturally expect this to be brought about through our agency.

The arrangement, which, agreeably to our last report, was made with EZRA TOWNE, for keeping a supply of free labour goods, though very poorly remunerative to him, has worked to the satisfaction of the Managers, and if the supply of manufactured cotton goods has been poorer than could have been wished, it has been owing to causes beyond his control. He has recently removed to No. 207 Fulton street, where we trust all who feel interested in having a place for the supply of Free labour products maintained in this city, as well as for the advancement of the cause, will give him their liberal and substantial countenance. On account of the extremely limited demand for Free Cotton goods, great and increasing difficulties exist in the way of having them made in this country; in consequence of which the stores both in Philadelphia and this city have lately been mainly dependent on goods manufactured in England. There, however, the want of the cotton is greatly felt, and in furnishing it to manufacturers in that country, this Association would impart a valuable aid to the cause, as well as promote the surest means of more fully meeting the wants of our own stores and wardrobes.

The Managers may here inform the Association, that Merchants are not wanting, who, if guaranteed by us to a small extent against loss, would undertake the shipment of this cotton, with their own means, trusting to the possible profits as their only remuneration for the interest and use of their capital. It is believed that if two hundred and fifty to five hundred dollars could be raised for application in this manner, in connexion with similar amounts from other associations, the Board would, through this means, be able to report next year that a considerable quantity of Free Labour cotton has been placed in the Liverpool market, with at the same time quite a probability that the guarantee fund would remain untouched, and with its accumulation ready for a similar service the succeeding year.

The hopes that have been entertained, that Cotton prepared from Flax, by Clausson's method, would supersede the slave grown staple, do not now seem likely to be realized, yet the friends and consumers of the products of Free Labour exclusively, may be gratified to learn, that through improvements in converting the hemp and in machinery for manufacturing it, a much more abundant and cheaper supply of linen fabrics is now likely soon to be placed in our market.

The Managers during the past year have been so deeply discouraged and disheartened by the want of active co-operation and support from others, from whom it is indeed due, that

they have, at times, thought it would be best to ask to be released by the Association from any further effort at service; but they have been encouraged in remembering that the Children of Israel, for a long time, compassed a mountain in the wilderness, before they were permitted to journey towards the promised land; and seven times did they pass around the walls of Jericho before the results of their faithfulness were made manifest. Let us all, therefore, press onward in doing what we can, relying on the correctness of the principles we advocate; not being too much disheartened by the absence of apparent fruit, but leaving the result to Him who will not fail to order it after the counsel of His own will.

Signed, by direction and on behalf
of the Board of Managers,
ISAAC H. ALLEN, *Secretary*,
New-York, 5th month 10th, 1853.

THE OBERLIN EVANGELIST.—We notice with great satisfaction the firm stand taken by this Journal against the use of Slave labor products. We always rejoice when an honest testimony to the Truth is borne: and the more so when, as in this instance, it is borne before a large audience. We are not prepared to tell the number of readers of the Evangelist, but it is to be stated in thousands, hence we may truly rejoice in its right-mindedness. The following article is stated in the Evangelist to be "an original article, recently spoken as College Exercise, in the regular monthly exhibitions, common in our College." We knew the fair child referred to, and truly her brief mission upon Earth was one of extraordinary beauty and efficiency, her strong and earnest intellect being devoted to the promotion of "Glory to God in the highest, peace on Earth and good will to men."—Her life was beautiful, made so by faith and love, and good works, and her passage out of time so glorious, that she might well be said "rather to have been translated than to have died."—[Ed.]

SLAVE LABOR PRODUCE.

In the town of F—, Ohio, lived a very respectable Quaker family, liberal in their political and religious opinions, and exhibiting in the harmony and happiness of their household, an illustration of the bliss of heaven.

But their peace was interrupted by the illness of the mother, who one day as she was lying sick, called to her bedside, a little daughter, and requested her to bring her some sugar.

Rebecca hastened to obey, but while she was absent, a thought came into her mind, as it were by inspiration, and returning with a sad

countenance, she looked up to her mother and said:

"Mother, have not the poor little slaves labored to produce this sugar?"

"Slaves! my child!" said the mother; "it did come from the land of slavery; and perhaps the slaves have toiled and sweat over that very sugar."

The mother, whose heart flowed out in sympathy for the suffering bondman, felt that she could not consistently use the products of his unrequited toil, and thus support a system she so much abhorred. Rebecca, after a short life of much self-denial, died; but her mother recovered, and ever remembered the words of her little daughter. She had lived to sit at the tables not only of her surviving children, but of a large circle of friends, spread with the luxuries of free labor; and the ornament of that community, the rightly styled monument of Rebecca, is a flourishing free-labor store.

The course suggested by this simple story is one which we are aware, is regarded by many as impracticable, or if practiced, too inconvenient.

Others have not dared to investigate the subject, lest they should be convinced; but if, as we believe, it is a question of principle, it demands a serious investigation from every consistent Abolitionist, and every consistent Christian.

We speak and preach, pray and weep about slavery, and rightfully assert that every slaveholder who holds slaves in the blazing light of the nineteenth century, is in danger of hell-fire; and yet, do we not hold out inducements for him to continue his iniquitous practice; and are we not continuing to strengthen his hands, while he laughs at our professions?—Will he not tell us that the boasted anti-slavery men and fanatic Abolitionists of the North are his best consumers? That somebody must supply their constant demand for cotton, coffee, and other southern goods; and that he may do this and partake of the profit of slavery, as well as others the products of slavery! We do not tell the slaveholder to keep his slaves, that he may send us these articles as cheap as possible, but "actions speak louder than words," and if we would open our ears to hear, we might hear the response, or open our eyes to see, we might see it branded upon every barrel of southern sugar, "Support this our 'peculiar institution,' and we will send you these articles cheaper than you can obtain them in any other way."

Go to yonder store, and the products of oppression will stare you in the face. Look! and you will see the pro-slavery pictures there exhibited.

Here sits a Lorain Free Soiler, reading the *Free Democrat*, with his chair leaning back upon a hogshead of molasses—a very fit representation of the manner in which the slave power props up all minor parties that will accept its obligations. There sits the clerk reclining upon a huge pile of southern cotton, reading "Uncle Tom," and in comes a customer and asks for coffee. The clerk, who is a very good abolitionist, spreads out the article, which he says is very cheap, selling it nearly at cost; and then if the poor slave could speak though that coffee, he might say, "Yes, it is cheap, but it cost me many a wearisome day, and restless night; and I shall always carry the price of that hogshead of molasses on my back, and in my aching bones."

And how many slaves does it take to keep us? It takes no less than forty slaves at work all the time, for nothing but a scourging, to supply Oberlin with sugar, rice, and other southern luxuries.

It is said that a slaveholder is entitled to three votes for every five slaves. Yes, it takes five slaves to make three slaveholders, and about forty Abolitionists to make one slave.

And beware how you talk about abolition over a dish of hot buckwheat cakes, when the molasses mug is near. But how many of us do it, and roll these dainties like a "sweet morsel under our tongues," while the weary slave is toiling under the scorching sun of the South, to supply us with molasses to plaster the cakes of the next buckwheat harvest.

Some of our philanthropic and eloquent young men too, would exhaust their mental powers in pleading for the bondman; but every night they retire, and go to sleep in the very midst of the fruits of oppression, without even dreaming of inconsistency. And if these things be so, what shall we do! Is there no escape from such a dilemma! *There is.*

But we are met at the outset with the plea of necessity. "Total abstinence from slave products is an impossibility, unless we betake ourselves to the woods and live on roots and berries; free-labor goods too are so much dearer than slave-labor productions, that we could not keep up with the times and use the former."

But shall we forget that in just so much as slave-labor products are cheaper than free grown goods, just so much do we practically participate in the profits of slavery? And if it is necessary to use these articles, is not the necessity equally as great that there should be slaves to produce them? And if it takes so many slaves to supply the *Abolitionists* now; how much more slave territory, and how many more slaves shall we need to support all the

young Abolitionists, and their families who we flatter ourselves, will elect an Anti-Slavery President in 1856 or 1360! In anticipation, then, of such results, hear what the divine Revelator says:—"Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins; for her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities."

"But we cannot come out, we cannot get free-labor goods: and if we could, they would cost so much more than slave-labor goods, that we could not deny ourselves cheap southern luxuries."

With what degree of consistency, then, can we ask the slaveholder to let the bondman go free, while we, by refusing to make an insignificant sacrifice, are practically doing our utmost to rivet more firmly his chains—to stifle in his master's breast the promptings of humanity by paying him the wages of oppression! And how can we pray God to melt the hard heart of the slaveholder, that he may liberate his slaves and thus deny himself a fortune, while we are not willing to deny ourselves a few cents?

This plea of necessity is so large that it covers all slave-dom, and so small that almost every Abolitionist carries it in his pocket. But can free-labor produce be obtained to supply us? An agent was sent out in 1849, by the Philadelphia Free-Labor Association, and he among the southern planters, stated his business without fear of any one, and the slaveholders bade him God speed, and said that they had no confidence in the faith of the hoasted northern Abolitionists. "But," said he, "reduce your professions to practice; go on." And he went on, and found seventeen hundred bales of free cotton in one neighborhood; and after spying out the goodly land, he returned, bringing with him the rich fruits of the abused Paradise of America.

And now if a few Quakers can sustain a flourishing free-labor store, what ought, or what can two thousand Oberlin reformers do?

You who are known the world over as foremost in reforms, and to whom were be tears and sympathy of yesterday credited in heaven; but is there nothing against us on the debtor side of God's book of remembrance? A little fugitive fled to us for refuge and died among us, but we had nothing but a slaveholder's shroud in which to wrap the little deceased wanderer, in which yesterday it was borne to the silent tomb; and now it lies in yonder grave-yard, wrapt in the products of oppression, from the cultivation of which it had fled. And these products sold by Oberlin merchants! Then what ought or what can Oberlin reformers do?

They can support two free-labor stores, and thus carry out their principles and reduce them to practice.

The merchants of the earth have waxed rich through the abundance of the delicacies of slavery, and will our merchants plead that "the Oberlin students are poor, and therefore we must furnish them with goods as cheap as possible"? As well argue that Oberlin students have no principle, and are not able to sacrifice a few shillings in defence of what they have got. A libel! Bring on your honestly-acquired goods, and if we have not money to pay for them, we are not ashamed to chop some out of the forest. And you, my sisters, you, whose sympathies are ever alive to alleviate the sufferings of the downtrodden, will you hold out inducements to support oppression, and thus subject your black, sable, yet comely sisters of the south to be sent to Natchez, where a market is held as public, and disgraceful as was ever a fair at Constantinople?

"Shall we walk in glistening raiment,
Through untold oppression gained,
When by blood, and tears, and sorrow,
Every thread is stained?

Does the glorious gospel message
Nothing holier impart
With its works of love and mercy
Written on the heart?

With its heaven-descended motto
Ever present to our view,
What ye would receive from others
That to others do!"

We would have the Free Labor principle applied to every kind of traffic in which it is becoming for conscientious Christians to engage, but we would heap barriers as high as Olympus between slavery and its market, for

"We feel that wrong with wrong partakes,
That nothing stands alone;
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own."

And what would be the result of refusing goods, contaminated by slavery?

It would create an anti-slavery nucleus in the very heart of the South, and if as many argue, slavery must be abolished by degrees, this could not fail to be one of the most effectual and permanent agencies to rid our country of the most shameful sin. It would bring the non-slaveholders of the South into co-operation with us, and unless we can instill into them anti-slavery sentiments, our efforts to abolish slavery will be in vain. Then let the friends of freedom refuse all commercial intercourse with the workers of iniquity, until intercourse shall become congenial, and in less than half a century, slavery will be known, only as a frightful monstrosity in our past history; and the fertile South will become the seat of agricultural, manufacturing and mechanical industry, and the home of happy freemen.

R. CRUTTENDEN.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

We are sure many will hear with pleasure what we learned during a recent sit-down with our old friend and fellow-laborer, C. M. Clay, that the emancipation of his slaves, some eight years ago, has quite unexpectedly to him, proved a profitable operation. Having been an extensive stock-rearing farmer for many years previously, and being every way surrounded and hedged in by Slavery and Slave Labor, he naturally supposed that the liberation of his slaves would subject him to embarrassment and probably loss of his farming operations. But his experience has dissipated all apprehensions. He finds no difficulty in hiring White Labor according to his need and at reasonable rates; he hires a portion of his former slaves for wages mutually satisfactory; his farm is considerably improved and still improving in fertility and productiveness; he cuts more Hay, has better Pasturage, keeps more Cattle and keeps them in better order than formerly; and whereas his farm used to run him in debt, or at least yield him no profit he is now making money by it. So much for a single experiment in emancipation, made under the most discouraging and embarrassing auspices—with Slavery and anti-Abolition prejudice hemming it in on every side, and with the least possible diversification of Labor among the surrounding community.

Mr. Clay's farm is in Madison County, Ky. (Whitehall P. O.) and we earnestly entreat Southern gentlemen especially planters, who are willing to know the truth, to visit it, to see how it compares in appearance with the average of those round it, take the testimony of the neighbors, and draw their own conclusions. We know well that but a part of the benefits of Emancipation can be experienced while Slavery is still upheld by law and prevalent custom; and yet we feel sure that Slaveholding is so enormous and glaring a blunder, that Emancipation will demonstrate its own wisdom even *without* fair play—half a chance will answer. If the growing of Cotton, Tobacco, Rice and Sugar were not enormously profitable—twice as remunerating at present prices as business generally is—buying 'hands' at \$1,000 each for such growing would ruin most of those embarked in it. If the master mechanics of this City were obliged to buy their workmen at \$1,000 each and then support them, giving them slave labor out of them, those

masters could not live, and New-York would soon be as deficient in Manufacturing Industry as Charleston and New-Orleans. From the first hour that the successful working of the Steam Engine was undoubted, Slavery has been a mistake, a prejudice, an anachronism. If twenty capable planters would agree to liberate all their slaves and work their plantations instead with the most intelligent Free Labor that good wages would demand, using none but the best implements and machinery, we feel confident that most of them would succeed, while the truth that Slave Labor is more profitable than Slave Labor, even in Louisiana or Texas, would thereby be established.

A quiet old Quaker gentleman informed us that he saw the two systems fairly tried side by side, in the fertile grain-growing region of Western Maryland, (his life long residence,) and that there could be no mistake nor doubt as to the result. A plantation of 1,000 fertile acres was farmed with average science and care by a planter who owned one hundred and ten slaves, (old and young, male and female) who raised a large crop of Grain and made a large amount of Pork; but they (with the family) ate it all up and wore it out, so that the planter only brought the year round by selling off two or three negroes each year, while his farm rather deteriorated. A little distance from this fair specimen of a Maryland planter, lived a Northern farmer, working 250 acres of just such land, and employing on it six first-rate, intelligent white farmers, with the wives of two or three to do the housework—all paid good wages. This man realized a handsome profit from each year's operations, while his farm, under thorough culture and high manuring, grew steadily better and better. And thirty years hence will very probably see the slaveholder's plantation cut up into manageable farms, owned respectively by the sons of the Northern farmer, while the sons of the slaveholder, will be wandering and plotting in Venezuela or Guiana with a view to the re-annexation of said country in order to extend the power and blessings of Slavery.

Let all court and come to the light of investigation.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

FAITHFULNESS IN QUOTATIONS.

NOTICE in an American work, entitled "Historical Memoirs of the Society of Friends" (page 112,) that the dying words of James Naylor (breathing in so eminent a degree the heavenly spirit which they describe) are strangely abridged, without the insertion of stars or other marks to indicate the omissions. I noticed it with regret, because the original expressions appear to me to be quite free from

unprofitable redundancy; and the passage in its mutilated form might be committed to memory or transcribed by many readers who would fail to become acquainted with its full beauty and excellence. I therefore transcribe from Sewell's History the complete paragraph, *giving the rejected words in italics*, that those who possess the MEMOIRS may make the correction for themselves:—

"There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. *It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other: if it be betrayed it bears it; for its ground and spring are the mercies and forgiveness of God.* Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, *though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken.* I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places of the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal holy life."

Whilst I admit the right, and at times the propriety of abridgements, I have long been impressed with the importance of faithfulness in quotation, that nothing be attributed to any person which such individual did not actually write or say. And as the sense may be greatly changed, in some cases destroyed, by omitting a part, such omissions ought to be so marked as that the reader may be aware that the sentences do not follow each other exactly as written by the author. Nor when this rule is adhered to can the liberty be possessed to abridge in such a manner as to change the author's meaning. Those who have read the pamphlet called "CALUMNY REFUTED," will have seen a full exposition of the evils which may result from giving way to the habit of mutilation.

By this practice, wide-spread breaches have been made in the Church in America, separating even chief Friends. Controversial pamphlets have dealt unfairly with writings which they professed to quote or to review, and these pamphlets, read with unsuspecting confidence, have produced impressions not to be eradicated. Again, in some republications in that country

(222d. page 114)

of the writings of our Friends, injustice has been done, for want, possibly of a full appreciation of the extent of an Editor's right to alter. To alter, I say, for so I consider it, when paragraphs or names are left out, which an author has deemed essential to a just record of his own life, unless, as before hinted, there are sufficient indications of abridgement. In the lives of T. Shillitoe, D. Wheeler, J. Barclay, and some others, as copied in the "Friends' Library," I have noticed these deficiencies, and regret them, as they lessen the value of a complete set of that otherwise invaluable series.

On this subject John Barclay, in a letter to a friend in Philadelphia, says (London, 2nd edition, page 263,) "With regard to cutting down some of our journals, &c., I have always looked upon this as a delicate or difficult matter to do unobjectionably. We are too apt, unconsciously to ourselves, to choose that which in our present state and turn of mind we are impressed with, or that which the present tendencies and exigencies of the times seem to us to call for; and possibly (for often it has been so,) to the unequal upholding of divine truth, or a partial exhibition of the character and line of testimony which a Friend in his life time maintained."

I have no doubt that many who have seemed to me to err in this respect have done so merely from a want of full reflection upon the subject in all its bearings; and therefore I am willing to embrace this occasion to call a little attention to it. To me it appears to be an obligation of morality, to deal justly with the words (written or spoken) of another man. Milton says, "almost as soon kill a man as kill a good book;" and I would add, almost rather kill the book than mutilate it, and pass it off for the production of the author. The rule I would imperatively lay down for making extracts from the writings of others, is this. *Never* bring together, to be read in continuity, sentences or words which were not placed together by their author. It is true that many a compiler may think himself able to retain or to improve the sense by condensing; but let such remember that many have thought themselves wise when they were not; and let me also ask, what right they have even to improve another's writings. The morality of the attempt is very questionable. When an author has passed away from earth, let him still speak for himself. Wrong him not by changing his words, when he is not here to take his own part. Two persons, of very different qualifications, but equally satisfied with themselves, may undertake the task of amendment. The bungler will suppose himself to have succeeded in his task. The more skilful work-

man would probably condemn him. The writer of these remarks would justify neither.

London Friend.

From An Essay on the Habitual Exercise of LOVE to GOD as a Preparation for Heaven.—By J. J. GURNEY.

A high sense of honour, even in men of a worldly character, ought by no means to be undervalued; for it is right in itself, and greatly promotes the happiness of mankind. Yet how often do we find persons, who are by no means destitute of this quality, working abundance of ill to their neighbours! Under the influence of their respective passions, the duelist, the gamester, and the sensualist—although they may all *scorn* what they deem a breach of honour—have little hesitation in inflicting injuries on their fellow-creatures, which are utterly opposed to *immutable justice*. Hence we may perceive the true force of the apostle's doctrine, that all the laws which forbid our injuring other men, are briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." "Love," he adds, "worketh no ill to his neighbour;" therefore, "love is the fulfilling of the law." If this love had always prevailed among professing Christians, where would have been the sword of the crusader? WHERE THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE?

WHERE THE ODISIOUS SYSTEM WHICH PERMITS TO MAN A PROPERTY IN HIS FELLOW MEN, AND CONVERTS RATIONAL BEINGS INTO MARKETABLE CHATTELS?

Love, indeed, imparts both eyes and wings to justice. It is when our depraved affections are rectified, that we take an enlightened view of the relations of our fellow-men towards ourselves, and of the claims on our *justice*, which those relations involve. Again, it is love which makes us *swift* to shun the evil which justice forbids, and to do the good which she demands. At the same time, it cannot be denied, that under the *softening* touches of religion, charity and mercy are sometimes found to be easier to frail man than the *hardier virtue of strict integrity*. This is a point of danger which requires a peculiar guard, and which is too often neglected, to the great loss and injury of the cause of Christ. Let it ever be remembered, that the unbending maintenance of the *rule of right* towards our fellow-men, is the *first* and *most indispensable* result of that holy law: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

"A Southern Woman's" reply to the address of the Duchess of Sutherland and other English women.

This letter is published at length in the N. Y. Evening Post of the 18th ult., with a full editorial endorsement of the authoress as "one of the most respectable and influential ladies

of N. Orleans and widely known for unassuming religion and active benevolence."—We regret that we have room only for extracts.

I have been waiting and watching to see who would respond to this address, or whether it would not be communicated to us in a more formal manner, till, at length, my longing curiosity is satisfied by the appearance of the letter of Mrs. Julia Gardner Tyler.

This comes from the right quarter. She holds the highest position—the wife of an Ex-President—that our constitution will admit of, and may with perfect propriety take the lead in replying to the address of the women of England to the women of America on the subject of African Slavery. It is happily, however, one of the beautiful features of our republican form of government, that—without any conventional grant—we are individually sovereigns, in matters of opinion, and may with equal propriety claim the same privilege of expressing them, that she is entitled to, with no other fears than the loss of popularity with those from whom we may be so unfortunate as to dissent. Acting, then, upon these principles, I shall venture to advance sentiments that will conflict with some of my country-women's views. Nevertheless, I am urged on to do it by the sure knowledge that there are very many of them—I think I may truthfully say a majority—some southern women—noble specimens—who feel with me a decided and unconquerable aversion to the system of Slavery, as it exists in these Southern States, and who would wish so to be represented, and who are deeply grieved to see the favor it obtains, not only from those on whose hearts the spirit of Christianity has not operated, but from professed followers of Jesus Christ, a portion of whom sustain it, most lamentably so, because, they say, on Bible principles.

We, then, embracing such portions of my country-women as coincide with me in opinion on this subject of African Slavery, acknowledged to have received your address in the same spirit of goodness in which we believe it was dictated. We do not believe that the "fingers of statesmen" guided it, or that political subtlety was its object. We are unwilling to attribute such unworthy motives to your husbands, fathers, or brothers, as to suppose that they would make you their willing dupes. We do believe that it was the honest dictation of sympathy for the sufferings and moral degradation of our Slaves.

As a nation, ladies, you are justly entitled to a large share of this guilt—the largest share of it—because you have fastened it on us. We appreciate your acknowledgment of it. Deeds have spoken it, as well as words. We also appreciate your hint of the enlightened age of the 19th century; for we do not believe in the doctrine, that we would have done right if we had not been admonished of doing wrong. We believe if the disposition exists to do right, that no misguided zeal of sympathizers would be able so easily to turn us from our purposes, (admitting it to be such;) such doctrine has been most successfully applied to the much hated and condemned abolitionists, to whom the slave owes his ameliorated condition. His physical condition has been much improved for the last twenty years. His spiritual condition is receiving some considerable attention from some quarters—with a strict guard upon his intellectual condition. We, who profess to wish their emancipation, are teaching them, as far as we can, within limits of law—some few go beyond it—and we are aiming to treat them kindly. We look to Liberia as the best home for them; but we do not prohibit any other, to which they would wish to go or stay. We here propose to those who favor the Liberian scheme for abolishing Slavery, (of which we think most highly,) to let us see them put it in practice. Let them go immediately to work, and teach them, prepare them for Liberia, and send them away. Then we will believe in their sincerity. But, alas! while we can see

from one of our broadest streets, suspended from the tops of the houses, across the street, a pennon, bearing in large letters this inscription: TALBOT'S SLAVE DEPOT—with the lower floor filled with men and women for sale—specimens of them at the doors—and the very high prices which these victims now command—we fear that Virginia and the other exporting States will send down more Slaves for Talbot, than free men for Liberia.

After a suitable appeal to northern and southern Christians, politicians, and mothers, a reference to the reluctance with which the framers of our Constitution introduced the clause "Persons bound to labor," &c., to the emancipation of his Slaves by "our model man, our loved Washington" and to enormities well known as of common occurrence, she proceeds:

Such things are not the alleged fictions of Uncle Tom's Cabin. They are undeniable truths! and because they are truths, we ask you, Christians, politicians, mothers, to think of them. Ponder over them, and lend your aid to abolish so horrid a system, which we believe to be, from a personal knowledge with it, in almost all its phases, what Pitt said it was. "A mass, a system of enormities, which incontrovertibly bids defiance to any regulation which ingenuity can devise, or power effect, but a total extinction." While I write this, my thoughts reach to the many scenes that would rival those delineated in Uncle Tom's Cabin; the truth of which delineations I dare not disavow, though romantically told. The very many exceptions of kind treatment which Slaves receive from very many families—which I am too happy in acknowledging—is no excuse for Christians to sustain a system, that puts it in the power of so many others, that are not disposed to treat them kindly, and who do treat them cruelly. Their physical sufferings even then, are nothing compared to their moral degradation.

The retort, to look at home and take care of your own poor, with which animadversions on your address to us so copiously abound, might have been more courteously said, notwithstanding it deserves attention. I am quite willing to think that, individually, you do so; but for your government, ladies, I do not feel so charitably disposed: that is grasping, oppressive, conservative; guarding every avenue to wealth and power for one class, regardless of another; shrinking from giving any aid to struggling nations for freedom, though feelingly appealed to; supporting expensive armies out of the labor of the poor, with the bayonet ready to stop their mouths, should they complain too loudly; crippling the industrious classes by taxation, in whose keeping is the wealth of the kingdom, if they knew it—for labor is the capital of the kingdom; tacking on tariff after tariff, to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer; and last, though not least, is the church monopoly. But, amidst all this mass of parliamentary action for maintaining aristocratic power, there is one redeeming trait: you have made the individual free; for there is an individuality in the act of one man's making another man his property, and using him as such, to all intents and purposes, that marks it distinctly, and attaches to it the just opprobrium of meanness, selfishness, cruelty and injustice.

We are not yet ready to think that we are in as deplorable a condition of sin and wretchedness, as the Israelites were when Josiah said to them, "None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth." We will yet call for justice! and we will plead for truth!

And now, ladies, we will make an appeal to you. It is for your intercession that we, our husbands, fathers, and brothers may all be directed so to think on this great question of African Slavery, as God would have

us to think, and so act as God would have us to act—And in reference to your own country, where many things exist that we are unwilling to think that you approve of, we will most cordially unite with you in the same petition.

A SOUTHERN WOMAN.

The Southern Baptist Convention, recently held at Baltimore, appointed a committee to memorialize the government in favor of securing religious liberty to all Americans in foreign countries; declined co-operating, in the matter of domestic missions, with the Northern Baptists, because of the opposition of the latter to slaveholding in the church; rejected a memorial to encourage the education of slaves; and resolved to further the distribution of the word of God "in foreign lands." A Southern friend informs us that it is customary in the Baptist churches, in South Carolina, to solicit contributions from the slaves, in behalf of missions to the heathen. In the same State, it is, we believe, a penitentiary offence to teach a slave to read.—*Daily Register*.

MISSISSIPPI HUNTING.

Killing Property on Suspicion.—A Mississippi Paper, the Clinton Whig, gives with the simple dignified unconcern of mere narration, the following incident. We could wish that the Whig had so far relaxed its non-committal reserve as to intimate whether the transaction was to be considered a christian, a democratic or a humane one. The *Freeman* thinks that the picture will not be regarded as "abolition exaggeration." We are not so certain that the mere quotation of the paragraph by an abolitionist, will not by some be regarded as an "exaggeration."

[Ed.]

Two citizens of Port Hudson, learning that a negro was at work on a flat boat loading with sand just below that place, who was suspected as being a runaway, went down in a skiff for the purpose of arresting him. Having seized him and put him in the skiff, they started back, but had not proceeded far, when the negro, who was at the oars, seized a hatchet and assaulted one of them, wounding him very seriously. A scuffle ensued, in which both parties fell overboard. They were both rescued by the citizen pulling to them with the skiff. Finding him so unmanageable, the negro was put ashore, and the parties returned to Port Hudson for arms and a pack of negro dogs, and started again with the intention to capture him. They soon got on his trail, and when found again he was standing at bay upon the outer edge of a large raft of drift wood, armed with a club and pistol. In this position he bade defiance to men and dogs—knocking the latter into the water with his club, and resolutely threatening death to any man who approached him. Finding him obstinately determined not to surrender, one of his pursuers shot him. He fell at the third fire, and so determined was he not to be captured, that when an effort was made to rescue him from drowning he made battle with his club, and sunk waving his weapon in angry defiance at his pursuers. He refused to give the name of his owner.

Precedent and authority, not Divinity sanctioned, are the refuge of a weak understanding. One sound argument is worth a thousand precedents.—*Samuel Drew*.

In forty cities and towns in Scotland, every 149 of the population support a dram-shop, while it requires 981 to keep a baker, 1067 to support a butcher, and 2281 to sustain a book-seller.—*Edinburgh News*.

From the National Era.

THE MADIAT AND THE SLAVES.

In one of the Southern States, a few weeks ago, a small party sat down to supper, when one of the ladies related to the company the case of the Madiat, which now seems to be attracting the attention of Christendom.—About half the number of persons present were Anti-Slavery, and the other Pro-Slavery. All seemed to receive the account with deep feeling, and a part with high indignation, as the following colloquy (literally given) will show:

Pro-Slavery. Do you say those people were charged with no offence but reading the Bible, and, in consequence of that, leaving the Romish Church?

Anti-Slavery. I do.

Pro. Those people ought to be burnt.

Anti. Ought to be burnt?

Pro. Yes, those who imprison people for reading the Bible ought to be burnt.

Anti. But remember it is not the people, but the law, that imprisons them.

Pro. Then the law ought to be burnt; and if I was there I would burn it.

Anti. But recollect we have the same law here.

Pro. What do you say!

Anti. I say we have the same law here—a law that forbids a part of our population to read the Bible!

Not another word was spoken during the supper. After retiring from the table, another Pro-Slavery member of the company broke the very embarrassing silence, by saying, Well, that is a most abominable law; and the truth is, if I owned slaves, I would teach them to read the Bible in defiance of law.—*A North Carolina Woman*.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1, 1853.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Under this caption the Oberlin Evangelist, of 5th mo. 11th has a good editorial, which, according due honor to the Society "for the much good they have done," treats with kindness, yet with Christian *unreserve* their policy respecting the subject of Slavery, and quotes the following paragraph from Judge Jay's let-

ter to the Cor. Sec., in reply to an application for funds in aid of said Society.

"I know not that in the twenty-seven years of its existence this Society has published a line intended to touch the conscience of an American slave-breeder or trader. On the contrary, especial care has been taken to expunge from your reprints every expression that could even imply a censure on our stupendous national iniquity. The Society has no hesitation in condemning cruelty, oppression and injustice, but it shrinks with fright at the very idea of acknowledging that it is cruel, oppressive and unjust to reduce a black man to the condition of a beast of burden, to deny him legal marriage, and to sell him and his children to the highest bidder, in company with the beasts of the field. This extreme sensitiveness is shown in the alteration of a passage in your reprint of Gurney's essay on the habitual exercise of love to God. Gurney says: 'If this love had always prevailed among professing Christians, where would have been the sword of the crusader? Where the African slave trade? Where the odious system which permits to man a property in his fellow men, and converts rational beings into marketable chattels?' (Page 142.) This was meat too strong for the digestion of the Society, and hence it was carefully diluted, so that it might be swallowed without producing the slightest nausea, as follows: 'If this love had always prevailed among professing Christians, where would have been the sword of the crusader? Where the tortures of the Inquisition? Where every system of oppression and wrong by which he who has the power revels in luxury and ease at the expense of his fellow-men?' (Page 199.) It was an ingenious thought to turn upon the Inquisition Gurney's application of his subject to slave traders and holders, and to lose sight of property in man in indefinite generalities."

We cannot, without sincere regret, direct a stroke of our pen against a Society which we have been accustomed to regard, and which we still regard, with affection; and, in the spirit of kindness, invoking upon the labors of the Tract Society that fullness of divine blessing which may be expected to attend perfectly honest efforts to promote the spread and adoption of the whole truth, we commend to their consideration the testimonies which their compromising policy has elicited from various quarters.

But, apart from our desire that, on all proper occasions, by all moral agents, an honest testimony may be borne against Slavery, we take this occasion to urge, on the ground of morality, a solemn protest against the existence of the right to mutilate the writings of an author, and, without his knowledge, to publish them to the world as though they had proceeded in such form from his brain, and from his heart. And the wrong may, perhaps, be said to increase in proportion to the excellence of the writer whose sayings are thus perverted, and is still deepened, when the author has ceased from his mortal labors and cannot therefore defend himself from the injustice. Joseph John Gurney was not only a christian, but he was also an eminent Christian. From a prominent and elevated position he addressed his fellow beings, the Spirit of Christ impelling him, the love of Christ constraining him to

reason with them, and to exhort them concerning the things pertaining to their peace and salvation. Not only was he as a theologian "in doctrine uncorrupt," but he was complete in his moral code, and, in a world-embracing view of the prominent evidences of departure from "love to God," he could not have specified the Crusades and the Inquisition and omitted Slavery. To make him appear to do so, is weakening his testimony and lowering his standard: is wronging his memory, and is wronging the human race. But, if the liberty taken with his book consists not merely in an omission, but also in the insertion (as part of this admirable paragraph) of words which he did not write, it seems to us a sort of forgery, and recalls Major Downing's indignant outburst: "Any man who would put my name to his letters, I think would steal a sheep."

Nor is our objection, as at present urged, a mere abstraction. The injustice done is real, practical. The Society's stereotyped edition of "Love to God as a preparation for Heaven," has absorbed the American publication of the work to the exclusion of reliable editions, and we regret to confess that we have repeatedly purchased it for circulation, entertaining no doubts of its integrity. We can scarcely conceive of a greater wrong to an author, than to alter his writings. Admit the right to do so, and who can estimate the extent to which this cushioning of the clubs designed for the bruising of the Serpent's head, may be carried. How insidiously might Truth be weakened in what were else her most impregnable defences! The writer of the book in question has been assailed by pamphleteers, who have attempted to sustain false charges of heresy on certain points (which he understood as fully as his assailants,) by mutilated and garbled extracts from his writings. But his works could be referred to, and honest and logical minds could judge for themselves. But if perverted and altered editions of his works are put into circulation as genuine,—not only may the religious reputation of the writer be impaired or misappreciated, but the testimony of an exalted christian, after he has gone to his eternal reward, may be turned against the truth which he advocated, and, by implication, seem to be given in favor of sentiments which he abhorred.

We introduce, in another column, as further illustrating this subject, an Essay on "Faithfulness in quotations," taken from the London Friend.

DON'T WANT TO BE FREE.

It is noticeable that a particular class of persons, after travelling southward, return with

their testimony against Slavery mitigated. They have been entertained with flattering hospitality, and the darkest side of the picture has been kept as much as possible from their view:

"As Irish country squires, they say,
Whene'er the Vice-Roy passes nigh,
Compound with beggars by the way
To be shut up till he goes by,
And so send back his Lordship, marvelling
That Ireland should be deemed so starvling."

We can almost judge beforehand, by the character of his mind, what sort of report a Southward-bound traveller will bring back to us from the land of oppression. But our present object is to introduce a passage from a long and admirable letter communicated by A. BARNARD for *The Christian Press*.

"I can bear testimony to the truth of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' at least, in so far as to say, that the picture has not been overdrawn. Indeed, no language can describe the horrors and abominations of Slavery. It did not fall to my lot to see a George Shelby, but I have no doubt there are some like him in the South. Legree has many 'counterparts.'"

I went there as a workman, and, consequently, had a good opportunity to see Slavery as it is. The slaveholder is not careful to hide from workmen the atrocities of his "peculiar institution," inasmuch as he considers them little above the slaves themselves. But he spares no pains to hide them from "strange gentlemen," especially those from the North. Hence, many are so deceived and hoodwinked, that they return home with a good opinion of Slavery. It is done in the following way: The slaveholder is very hospitable—will often help a stranger for days and weeks, free of cost, showing him all the beauties of his system, taking care that he does not see the "other side of the picture." He finally tells him that he may find out to his satisfaction, by asking the slaves themselves what they think of Slavery, &c. So the stranger goes to the "hands" and interrogates them as follows: "Well, boys, how do you like your work? O, berry well, massa." "Dont you have to work hard?" "O no, massa, we no hab to work hard; we berry well off, old 'boss' berry kind man," &c. "Wouldn't you like to be free?" "O, no, no, massa, we no want to be free, we lub massa too much to leeb him," &c. &c. This is all done with so much gravity and appearance of honesty, by the slaves, that the "stranger" goes away, convinced "that Slavery is not so bad after all," and by the time he steps over "Masons and Dixon's line" he is become a good apologist for Slavery, and is ready to run the soles of his shoes off at the call of that infamous Bill, to catch and drag back into hope-

less bondage, those who 'don't want to be free!'

The secret of the matter is, the slaves are compelled to tell such falsehoods, in order to escape a terrible flogging. The master knows this, and therefore feels safe in sending a stranger to ask them. The slaves are afraid of all white men, and dare not tell any one how they look upon their wrongs. It was not until I had shown them, by many kind words, looks, and acts, that I was indeed their friend, that I gained their confidence enough to get the truth out of them on the subject. They then told me that they had been so many times betrayed by whites, that they dare not tell them their minds. I saw many hundreds of slaves and conversed with many, but no one who said he did not want to be free. I talked with those who had been brought from nearly every slave State in the Union, and of course had an opportunity to learn what they thought of Slavery, even in its mildest form. The result has been, no loss of shoe leather in chasing the poor fugitive back into remediless bondage, but contrariwise, in helping him on towards the 'land of freedom.'"

We make room for one further extract from A. B's letter, to show the conclusions at which he has arrived.

"Judging from the data I have, I am brought to the following syllogism. Whatever increases the market for the products of slave labor, tends to perpetuate Slavery. The use of the products of Slavery increases the market for the products of slave labor. Therefore, the use of the products of Slavery tends to perpetuate Slavery. Again, whatever tends to perpetuate Slavery is incompatible with abolitionism. The use of the products of Slavery tends to perpetuate Slavery: therefore, the use of the products of Slavery is incompatible with abolitionism."

FULL TESTIMONY FROM THE SOUTH.

A citizen of Alabama and native of Virginia writes over his proper signature the following letter to the Editors of the New York Evening Post. It is one of many testimonies by Slaveholders to the truthfulness of H. B. Stowe's picture. We are no apologists for novel writing, we think that there is truth enough in the world for all moral purposes, but we fully believe that the book referred to partakes much less of fiction than those who have not investigated its history suppose. Many of its narratives are absolute facts, with only a change of names; its pictures are drawn with fidelity, and at the same time in no accusing spirit, but with great liberality toward slaveholders; and let it be borne in mind that a great part of the

power of the work consists in passages of fine and irresistibly impressive moral and religious sentiment, which are in no sense and in no degree fictitious, and which, as lovers of pure and holy truth, we may very safely admit into our hearts. We have avoided any commendation of "Uncle Tom," because we do not wish to give an indirect sanction to religious novels, nor to any departure from most perfect truthfulness for the advancement of the Truth. At the same time we have perused with regret and disapproval some notices of "Life among the lowly," in which some correct general remarks upon the subject of fiction, have been connected with really unfair and unjust remarks respecting the book in question. We give the Alabama letter, not as endorsing every expression (we would not be understood as endorsing all that we quote,) but because we believe it to be a candid and important witness against Slavery, such as is entitled to a hearing and to full credence. In a recent conversation between two citizens of Virginia, (one of them our personal friend) one of them remarked rather cautiously, that there was "a good deal of Truth in Uncle Tom after all."—The other responded, "Don't you know that every word of it is true?—Don't you know that every word of it can be substantiated, without going off this plantation?"

—, ALABAMA, May, 8th, 1853.
To the Editors of the Evening Post:

I have just finished a perusal of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I read every word to my wife. I will not attempt to describe to you her feelings. We are slaveholders. The moment the steamer with George Harris and Eliza his wife touched the Canada shore, three shouts for liberty, to the tops of our voices, rent the air.

Every man, woman and child, white and black, in the southern states, can bear testimony to the truth of the portrait which Mrs. Stowe, God bless her! has drawn of slavery. One of not the least excellencies of the book is, that a Christian, of the highest style, standing side by side with Wilberforce and Miss Hannah More, leads the reader by the hand through the habitations of cruelty that lie before our eyes. He or she can then draw a contrast between the Christian and a mistress and mother, who was some years since a near neighbour of mine, who owned a little negro girl. *She would heat the tongs, and pull the flesh off her body with them.*

I durst affirm that if his Satanic majesty were put upon his *voir dire* he would confess that slavery is one of the works of the devil which Christ was manifested in the flesh to destroy.

In my opinion, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is

destined to have a greater influence for good than any one single book that has been published since the close of the canon of Scripture. * * * The reader at once penetrates the deep meaning of the parable of the servant that took his fellow-servant by the throat, who owed him a few pence; of the good Samaritan, and of Dives and Lazarus. Mrs. Stowe has ended her book just as she should have done. She has suggested no plan of emancipation further than the example of young George Shelby goes. She has left the duty and responsibility just where St. Paul, in his letter to Philémon, left it, on the slave owner.

Our warmest thanks and best wishes to Mrs. Stowe, whom generations unborn will rise up and call "blessed."

Very respectfully, &c.,

Our English Exchanges give evidence of much activity in the British Isles upon the subject of Temperance. In the islands of Portland, Jersey, and Guernsey, important demonstrations are making. In the latter island the Bristol Temperance Herald notices seven "impressive and effective" addresses by a "Mrs. Theobald" to crowded audiences. Throughout England Scotland and Ireland a commendable zeal appears to prevail. Our well beloved Neal Dow is held in deserved esteem, and the Royal sanction has been given to a legal enactment; "THE NEW BRUNSWICK ANTI-LIQUOR LAW,"—which is designed to emulate THE MAINE LAW, but which, *excepting malt-liquor and cider from its restrictions*, must be very partial in its benefit.

The King of Sweden has communicated with the State of Maine, requesting information relative to the operation of the Prohibitory Liquor Law upon crime, pauperism and the general interests of that noble State.

SPIRIT RAPPINGS.—The New Jersey Reformer gives, under this caption, a goodly string of cases of effectual rappings upon the heads of Spirit Casks in different parts of the Green Mountain State, followed by a significant outpouring of the Spirit.

A friend of JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO, after expressing kind sentiments of approval of the course pursued in the Non-Slaveholder, bestows very just encomiums upon the Memorial of S. Rhoads, E. Lewis and others, given on page 27.—We quite agree with our correspondent that the proposition therein contained is fraught with magnanimity, and ought to be so accepted by our Southern brethren. Admitting as it does our partnership in the great business of Slavery, and frankly offering to meet the

Slave States in their own time, and to share with them any losses to be sustained by Emancipation, proposing, moreover, a fair and unobjectionable mode of assessing damages, and of determining the sum to be paid out of the National Treasury,—the signers must be admitted to have extended the Olive branch so amiably, that no reasonable Slaveholder will be irritated or repelled. We think with H—that there is (to use the ancient orthography of a significant word) much of *right-wise-ness* in the proposal. We trust, too, that seminal truth has been thrown into soil in which, (though the husbandman may wait long) it will finally germinate.

And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament,—and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever.—DANIEL xii. 3.

There is an order of intelligence
More high, more pure than man has e'er conceived!
When the Eternal Author first resolved
To people the dread loneliness of space,
Then He created beings, glorious, bright,
Worthy companionship in bliss with Him.
These are the STARS OF MORNING, who for joy
Sang at the extension of their Father's glory,
When they beheld our new created world.
It may be some of these have fallen from light:—
("Satan I saw like light'ning fall from Heaven!")
And he, once bright among the stars of morning,
Found doubtless at Creation's dawn his birth.)
But those who, through the inconceivable lapse
Of ages, have continued, until now,
From the beginning perfect,—even as He
Who gave them life's benevolent boon is perfect,
Must be most glorious of created beings,
Of nearest kindred to the Fount of Glory.
These, having never sinned, have never sorrowed,
Nor known an hour's abatement of their bliss.
The will divine has not been hid from them,
And quick obedience followed its conception.
Thus, with alacrity and eager joy,
Without a thought of compromise or doubt,
But rather with anticipating zeal,
His will is done in Heaven! Speed, speed the day
In thine own time, oh Thou who canst not err,
And make our wills subservient to thine own!
To them obedience constitutes delight,
And brings its own reward, for it has given
To blest existence still a heightened bliss!
Partaking of Divine benevolence,
Their bliss has increase as His Kingdom spreads,
And beings capable of happiness
Enlarge Creation's catalogue. And thus
They sang together, shouting in their joy,
When they beheld a world, which had become
"Formless and void," created o'er again,
And Heaven's high Architect pronounced it good.
And, at the extacy of their glad songs,
All Paradise with added rapture thrills,
When an immortal leaves his sinfulness,

Sheds penitent tears, and, in humility,
Assumes Christ's easy yoke and learns of Him.
His goodness how adorable, who placed
Salvation's means within our reach, and gave
His angels, blest already, to rejoice
In man's acceptance of His terms of Grace!

Such are the high intelligences there!
And those on Earth who most resemble them
From kindred sources draw their chiefest joy.
They find it in performing Heaven's behest.
They find it, when the flood of gospel light
Spreads from the frozen North to South-Sea Isles,
From western Pagan lands to Moslem shrines.
They fain would urge that flood, and speed the day
When, as the waters spread o'er Ocean's floor,
So Righteousness shall overflow the Earth.

There have been holy men in every age
Whose chief employ in life has been to turn
Their fellow men to righteousness. The SEEKER
OF RAMA,—and the SHEPHERD PSALMIST KING,—
SAUL,—and the valiant APOSTOLIC BAND,—
ERASMUS,—and MELANCTHON,—FENELON,—
LUTHER,—A'KEMPIS,—WHITFIELD,—strong in faith,—
WESLEY,—and NEWTON and his brother Bard,—
FOX,—fraught with holy zeal and faith, and nerved
With strength from Heaven, anointed of the Lord
And girded for the combat,—who made war
With human pride, and held the standard up
Of the pure primitive gospel,—breaking down
Tradition's holds and Error's resting place,
And, noble in profound humility,
Leading, like teachable children, lofty men
To learn of Him the meek and lowly one;
And many, who, o'er mountain vale and plain,
Preach Christ's unsearchable riches, and proclaim
Glad tidings of great joy to all mankind.

When these shall put on immortality,
They shall be added to the firmament.
They shall be clustered with the stars which shone
From the beginning, and with them shall shine
Forever and forever. W. J. A.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Friends must have patience with us: some are too late, some are crowded out, and some favors are too long, and some have to be omitted from reasons quite unconnected with our estimate of their intrinsic merit.

C. L. INGRAHAM,

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Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 7.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

"The slave, the slave hath many wrongs—
Where might her pleader be?"—Lucy Hooper.

PART I.

MOTHER! pleading for the dumb,
Unto thee for aid we come;
For the captive and oppressed
We would break upon thy rest;
For thy suffering sex's sake,
In thy bosom we would wake
Sympathy so deep and strong
As should count thine own, their wrong.

Christian Lady, at thy gate,
Troubadour from far we wait;
Bend thine ear, and we will tell,
As we touch our light guitar,
Tidings woman loveth well,
All of Freedom's righteous war;
We will sing to thee and thine
Lays of Freedom's Palestine;
Pilgrim from the Holy Land
Where her brave crusaders stand
For the fettered lip and hand,
Messages to thee we bear
From the tried and faithful band
Who are doing battle there,
And through toil and weariness
To the Captive's rescue press.

Oh! their path is long and dreary,

And their feet are growing weary,—
Hearts of proof are almost failing,—
And their arms in dust are trailing,
As they still behold afar
Prison gates they would unbar.

Mother! they invoke thy aid!
Not to bear the battle blade,
Aim a spear, or break a lance,
For the slave's deliverance,
But to train thy little child,
'Ere the world shall have beguiled
From thy side the precious trust,
For the armies of the just.
If the Hebrew mother chanted
Israel's glory to her child,
Till the thirsting spirit panted
And the bounding heart grow wild
For the path her warriors trod,
Guided by the living God,—
If the Roman matron gave,
At her country's high behest,
To the camp or to the wave
All in life beloved best,—
Shall the Christian mother bind
Down to some low, narrow aim,
Warm young heart and dawning mind,
Till our country's deep'ning shame
To its children will be less
Than the gains of selfishness?

Leader of the household flock;
By thy God ordained to stand
As the shadow of a rock
To a young depending band,
Can thine eye, undimmed, behold
Woman's agony and fear,
When the wolf hath tracked her fold,
And no rescuer is near?
Brooding o'er the household nest,
Canst thou calmly sit at rest,
Heedless of that robbed one's groan,
Of the childless mother's moan,
When her empty arms to thee
Are outstretched imploringly?—
By the daily blessings shed
On thy house and on thy head,
By the joys that crown thy hearth
As a holy spot on earth,
Happy, virtuous, and free!
In thy gratitude to God,
Who hath kindly dealt with thee,

Lent the staff but spared the rod,—
Teach thy little ones to feel!
Early let thy touch unseal
All those springs of tenderness
Given by our Father's love,
Every living thing to bless
In their path ordained to move.

If thou hast a noble boy,
Stealing ever from his play,
Picture-book and childish toy,
To some chosen haunt away,
Where he finds on ancient page,
Chivalry's departed age,
Warms o'er tale of knightly deed,
Hears the tramp of battle steed,
Trumpet call to "holy war,"
Clash of sword and scimitar,—
Tell him of those valiant men,
Conq'rors by the lip and pen,
Warriors of the stone and sling,
Sent among mankind to bring
Down the Philistine of wrong;
In their lofty purpose strong,
Calm of mind and brave of heart,
Teach him how they deal the blow,
Teach him how they speed the dart,
Truth's defyer to lay low.
If it be thy lot to guide
Hand in hand and side by side
With that spirit high and bold
One of Nature's softer mould,
Whose heart's windows will uncloze
Only when the south wind blows,
When she seeks thy ready knee
In some pause of childhood's glee,
While the welcome form is pressed
To a momentary rest,
And the little fingers twine
Close and lovingly with thine,
In a gentle voice and mild
Tell her of the Captive's child,
Whose tiny form is uncaressed,
Whose lip in love is rarely pressed,
Who sits neglected day by day,
And wears its little life away,
With none to cherish, no one near,
To hush the wail or wipe the tear.

Oh! if thou hast ever known,
How a mother's faintest tone
Lives upon the inward ear
Like no other sound we hear,—
If memory doth ever stray
From things of now and yesterday
O'er thine own childhood's guarded way;
If thou hast ever looked within
The foldings of a worldly heart,
To find, beneath its stains of sin,
And coverings of time and art,

The lines thy mother's pencil traced,—
Let every picture uneffaced,
To its own spotless surface given,
By her who with the undefiled,
Now sitteth at the gate of Heaven
To watch the coming of her child;
Let every clear and vivid line,
Which all thy better nature stirs,
Incite thee to bequeath to thine,
Such memories as live for hers.

HYPOTHETICAL FIRE IN BOSTON.

FROM H. B. STOWE'S "KEY."

* * * * *

But will it be said, "The abolition enterprise was begun in a wrong spirit, by reckless, meddling, impudent fanatics"? Well, supposing that this were true, how came it to be so? If the church of Christ had begun it *right*, these so-called fanatics would not have begun it *wrong*. In a deadly pestilence, if the right physicians do not prescribe, everybody will prescribe,—because something must be done. If the Presbyterian Church, in 1818 had pursued the course the Quakers did, there never would have been any fanaticism. The Quakers did all by brotherly love. They melted the chains of Mammon only in the fires of a divine charity. When Christ came into Jerusalem, after all the mighty works that he had done, while all the so-called better classes were non-committal or opposed, the multitude cut down branches of palm-trees and cried Hosanna! There was a most indecorous tumult.—The very children caught the enthusiasm, and were crying Hosannas in the temple. This was contradictory to all ecclesiastical rules. It was a highly improper state of things. The Chief Priests and Scribes said unto Jesus, "Master, speak unto these that they hold their peace." That gentle eye flashed as he answered, "I TELL YOU, IF THESE SHOULD HOLD THEIR PEACE, THE VERY STONES WOULD CRY OUT."

Suppose a fire bursts out in the streets of Boston, while the regular conservators of the city, who have the keys of the fire-engines, and the regulation of fire-companies, are sitting together in some distant part of the city, consulting for the public good. The cry of fire reaches them, but they think it a false alarm. The fire is no less real, for all that. It burns, and rages, and roars, till everybody in the neighborhood sees that something must be done. A few stout leaders break open the doors of the engine-houses, drag out the engines, and begin, regularly or irregularly, playing on the fire. But the destroyer still advances. Messengers come in hot haste to the hall of these deliberators,

and, in the unselect language of fear and terror, revile them for not coming out.

"Bless me!" says a decorous leader of the body, "what horrible language these men use!"

"They show a very bad spirit," remarks another; "we can't possibly join them in such a state of things."

Here the more energetic members of the body rush out, to see if the thing be really so; and in a few minutes come back, if possible more earnest than the others.

"O! there is a fire!—a horrible, dreadful fire! The city is burning,—men, women, children, all burning, perishing! Come out, come out! As the Lord liveth, there is but a step between us and death!"

"I am not going out; everybody that goes gets crazy," says one.

"I've noticed," says another, "that as soon as anybody goes out to look, he gets just so excited,—I won't look."

But by this time the angry fire has burned into their very neighborhood. The red demon glares into their windows. And now, fairly aroused, they get up and begin to look out.

"Well, there is a fire, and no mistake!"—says one.

"Something ought to be done," says another.

"Yes," says a third; "if it was't for being mixed up with such a crowd and rabble of folks, I'd go out."

"Upon my word," says another, "there are women in the ranks, carrying pails of water!—There, one woman is going up a ladder to get those children out. What an indecorum! If they'd manage this matter properly, we would join them."

And now come lumbering over from Charlestown the engines and fire-companies.

"What impudence of Charlestown," say these men, "to be sending over here,—just as if we could not put our own fires out! They have fires over there, as much as we do."

And now the flames roar and burn, and shake hands across the streets. They leap over the steeples, and glare demoniacally out of the church-windows.

"For Heaven's sake, DO SOMETHING!" is the cry. "Pull down the house! Blow up those blocks of stores with gunpowder! Anything to stop it."

"See, now, what ultra, radical measures they are going at," says one of these spectators.

Brave men, who have rushed into the thickest of the fire, come out, and fall dead in the street.

"They are impracticable enthusiasts. They

have thrown their lives away in fool-hardiness," says another.

So, church of Christ, burns that awful fire! Evermore burning, burning, burning, over church and altar; burning over senate-house and forum; burning up liberty, burning up religion! No *Earthly* hands kindled that fire. From its sheeted flame and wreaths of sulphurous smoke glares out upon thee the eye of that ENEMY who was a murderer from the beginning. It is a fire that BURNS TO THE LOWEST HELL!

Church of Christ, there *was* an hour when this fire might have been extinguished by thee. Now, thou standest like a mighty man astonished—like a mighty man that cannot save. But the Hope of Israel is not dead. The Saviour thereof in time of trouble is yet alive.

If every church in our land were hung with mourning,—if every Christian should put on sack-cloth,—if "the priest should weep between the porch and the altar," and say, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach!"—that were not too great a mourning for such time as this.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

SLAVE PRODUCE AND STOLEN GOODS.

I am at a loss to conceive how a person "who is perfectly sound in the faith,"* can see so much difference between the "fruits of Slavery and those of privacy and theft."

Let us compare them. Suppose a trader should offer for sale two barrels of sugar: one of these, we will suppose to be the product of a sugar plantation in the South—the planter in from 6 to 10 years wears out one set of hands, and resorts to the coast of Africa or Virginia for a fresh supply. It would make little difference in the turpitude of the crime, whether such supply is the result of kidnapping in Africa or America, as we all agree that there can be no rightful property in man. Each laborer, (whatever his descent,) by the higher law of *Justice* is and will ever remain to be rightful owner of himself. The planter cannot possibly have any just right to him as property, whether he *legally* purchased him with money, or kidnapped him. It is only by the superior power of the planter and of his supporters, that he is enabled to force the laborers to plant the cane, and to make the sugar; and by so doing he robs them of themselves, and working them to death in from six to ten years he thus obtains the *one* barrel of sugar which he offers for sale.

The *other* barrel we will suppose to be made by paid labor in the West Indies, but to have

*See note, page 36.

been stolen amongst others from a wholesale warehouse in the city. If the distinction in crime represented by the different barrels of sugar can be so easily discerned, which would a consistent Christian regard as being obtained through the greatest crime? The former was obtained by robbing a man of himself and all he makes, and working him to death without regard to family ties or the demands of religion; the latter, by stealing perhaps from a wealthy merchant and leaving him abundance. The purchase of the one would encourage and support an extensive system of robbery and crime, while the purchaser of the other encourage an occasional nocturnal thief. Yet the former is advocated and practiced by *professing Christians*!! while the latter is condemned by all!!

It may be claimed that, in the former case, that the capital or land on which the sugar was made, properly belonged to the planter, and that hence he might have a probable right to part of the sugar. But let us enquire how the planter obtained this land. Was it not by the profits of his present or preceding laborers who were robbed of themselves and their earning? If so, when he shall have made reparation to humanity for all the wrong he has practiced, he will probably find that he has no just right to this land, but that it too is only the fruit of that vile system of iniquity which is directly supported by the purchase of its productions.

The above remarks are made without any unkind feeling, but merely with a desire to elicit the truth, if the views are incorrect, let them be corrected. Let truth prevail. H.

On receiving the above article from a respected Correspondent, we communicated it to the writer of the passage criticised therein and in the article on "Stolen Goods" on page 36 of this volume. The friend referred to is one at whose feet the wisest might sit for instruction in the Anti-Slavery faith, and who, from the age of 17, through 60 years of

"Faith, by daily striving
And performance shewn,"

has steadily kept in view the free produce idea. He promptly replied in the following observations, which may suitably close the discussion, respecting a passage which we understood as a simple laying down of tenable propositions. [Ed.]

"Little did I imagine when I wrote the passage in question, that it would elicit the notice, or awaken the criticisms it has. But in reviewing it, I see nothing to retract. That in the scale of oppression there are various grades, will probably not be denied. The man who labors to preserve a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward man, will be less concerned to estimate the relative turpitude of

crimes, than to steer clear of them all. Still a judicious advocate of justice and truth, will be careful not to confound cases which are easily distinguished. The pirate who plunders all who fall in his way, and murders those whom he plunders, on the presumption that dead men tell no tales, is universally regarded as an enemy of the human race. The thief, who pilfers the property without otherwise injuring the person of the sufferer, will hardly be placed on the same platform with the pirate. And perhaps if we were required to estimate the relative turpitude of crimes, we might find that all thieves ought not to be placed on the same platform.

With regard to Slavery, I hardly need, at this time of day, inform my friends, that I have long regarded it as founded altogether in violence and wrong; and believed it to be the duty of Christians who understand its character, to get clear of it with the least possible delay. But if we undertake to advocate the cause of the oppressed by denouncing slaveholding in all its grades, as on a level with piracy and theft, we expose ourselves, in the view of those who behold it only in its milder forms, to just criticism. The seizure of victims on the African coast, their incarceration in the floating charnel houses on the middle passage, the systematic working of slaves to death in five or seven years, are hardly less criminal, perhaps they are actually more criminal, than the usual actions of pirates. And if this species of lingering murder should be deemed more cruel than the sudden massacre by the dagger or by drowning, to which pirates usually resort, the actors ought not to be located on the same platform.

If stealing a man, or compelling him to labor, without compensation, for the emolument of another, is more unjust and oppressive than stealing his property without encroaching on his personal freedom, then the actors ought not to be set on the same platform.

But an objection to the confounding of Slavery in general with those highest grades of crime, is this. It is well known that among the possessors of slaves there are many who have fallen into the possession by inheritance, without any agency of their own; who are really conscientiously desirous to promote the comfort of the servile class, and who would make considerable sacrifices of interest, to render justice to their slaves; and yet at the same time find themselves encompassed with difficulties, from the laws of the land, the habits of their education, and the ignorance of these objects of their solicitude, which appear nearly insuperable. Now, when persons of this description find themselves denounced as equals

with pirates, they feel the injustice of the imputation, and reject even those parts of the arguments of their accusers, which are just and unanswerable."

THE METHODIST E. CONFERENCE.

Of New England, which recently closed its session at Ipswich, in this State, passed the following resolutions:

1. That as a Conference, we are as fully and deeply convinced as ever that all voluntary slaveholding, or the holding of slaves in bondage for the sake of gain, under any circumstances, is a flagrant sin against God and humanity.
2. That it is our deliberate and settled opinion, that no more persons guilty of the sin of slaveholding, should be admitted as members into our church.
3. That we are fully persuaded that if a proper discipline were duly administered, or if the spirit even of our present discipline were fully carried out, all voluntary slaveholders would soon be brought to repentance and reformation of life, or for the sin of slaveholding be expelled from the church.
4. That as there is a difference of opinion as to whether our discipline, as it now reads, would exclude such persons from our communion, it is the sense of this conference, that the discipline should be so altered and amended as to include a well-defined and clearly expressed rule, prohibiting their reception into the communion of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

For the Non Slaveholder.

"Are Friends careful to bear a testimony against Slavery?"

This plain and important query is answered annually in all the meetings, for discipline in Ohio Yearly meeting of Friends, and we suppose a similar one is answered in other Yearly meetings.

Let us enquire in what manner we bear this testimony: Whilst many of us go to the ballot-box and cast our votes for Slaveholders or proslavery persons to rule the nation, do we bear a testimony against Slavery? did not many of us vote for Congressmen who supported the fugitive Slave law, and for proslavery presidents and vice-presidents? In so doing, were we bearing a testimony against Slavery?

What is Slavery, and for what are the Slaves held in bondage? Slavery may be considered a cotton and sugar raising business, carried on to supply the people with cotton and sugar; and the Slave-trade is perpetuated to supply the planters with labourers to raise these commodities.

Suppose a vessel has returned from Africa with a cargo of Slaves, and they are purchased by planters in Carolina, who tell the kidnappers they will be glad to have another supply next Spring. Who will be held responsible for the kidnapping? The Slave-stealer, or the Slave-purchaser? Are they not both guilty? And is not the money which the planter will give for the Slaves the motive for kidnapping, and does not that place a very heavy portion of the crime with the purchaser of the Slaves? Again, suppose that the planter, by hard driving, produces cotton or sugar, brings them hither—offers them to us, and we purchase them, telling him we would like to have a large supply next Spring; does not the offer of our money induce him to purchase more Slaves, and drive them hard to raise cotton and sugar for us, and are we not, therefore, very deeply implicated in the sin of Slavery, and through that in the African Slave trade? Are we, then, careful to bear a testimony against Slavery? Will we not rather, in the day of awful judgment, be called upon to answer for our participation in the crimes of Slavery and the Slave trade? Will not plundered Africa rise in judgment against us, will not the cries and groans of those thousands who have died in the holds of Slave ships, of those who are plunged alive into the sea, or whipped to death on the plantations, of women robbed of their virtue, and of thousands annually murdered and abused in various ways, rise also in the judgment against us?

But let us, for the sake of such, who, from prejudice and force of habit, do not appreciate these arguments, bring the subject nearer home. Suppose that here, in our midst there were two townships of land given to Slavery, one to raise cotton the other sugar. Suppose that all the women-whipping, baby-stealing, the family-rending, the man-murdering, and all other crimes usually connected with Slavery, were here perpetrated, under our own eyes, and all this for the purpose of supplying our wardrobes with cotton, and our tables with sugar? Suppose that in our own persons, and with our own money, we went and purchased our supplies, and told the planters the quantity we would probably want another season. Would we, in no wise, be connected with the crime? Would we be careful to bear a testimony against Slavery? How long would it take such testimony to induce them to set their Slaves free? Do we not all see that we are the persons for whom the Slaves are toiling? And is it not equally so, whether the labour be performed here or in Carolina and Louisiana? Will our distance from the Slaves exonerate from the crime of participation in Sla-

very? Evidently it will not. Let us, then, candidly acknowledge our connection with the system, and hastily withdraw therefrom.

H—

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 6, 1853.

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN.—We design giving to our subscribers, in the course of the present volume of the Non-Slaveholder, the whole of this chaste and beautiful Poem: and, in doing so, we consider that we make them a valuable offering and furnish them a sufficient inducement for preserving this Journal in a permanent form. The Poem was written some years ago for the Liberty Fair in this city, and a number of copies, presented in manuscript, sold rapidly at \$2.00 each. To extend the benefit and to supply the demand, it was published in an elegant volume of 36 pages. It is addressed, in so many sections, to seven distinct classes of the more favored daughters of Eve. The first and longest section, to *Mothers*, which is given entire at this time, is full of tender pathos.

A political Journal, not chargeable with abolitionism, in a laudatory announcement of the volume, says: "It is speaking within modest limits to say that the volume before us is in every view thoroughly respectable; quite free from the fanaticism of Philanthropy, commending itself on the mere score of literary excellence, whilst it may well be styled a genial heart-gush from a fountain of pure and warm benevolence. We have seen effusions from the same pen before, and take to ourselves no credit for extraordinary sagacity, in having prognosticated that such merit, even though joined to shrinking delicacy, could not always be successful in keeping to the shaded walks of individual privacy. There is many a beauteous flowret which seeks to hide its brilliancy beneath foliage of a larger growth, but the fragrance which is its perpetual breathing, floats upon the gale, and is a tell-tale of the loveliness that desires concealment."

H. B. Stowe's "KEY TO UNCLE TOM'S CABIN," a collection of most important "facts and documents," is well worthy of the vast circulation which it is obtaining. The Freeman calls it "a magazine of Anti-Slavery truth:"—a speaker at the Boston "Hale dinner" called it, "the KEY that shall yet unlock the prison houses, and let the captive go free." We would gladly find room for copious extracts;—but surely the book itself will be perused by most of our readers. The force of its application

cannot be turned aside by any charge of fiction; and he who would controvert the book will find himself in the unenviable occupation of "biting a file."

PRESBYTERIAN (N. S.) GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—This body, in 1850, pronounced slaveholding, (with certain exceptions) a disciplinable offence. At its recent session a select committee on this subject reported resolutions re-affirming said action, and calling for a committee of one from each of the Synods of Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee, to investigate the number of slaveholding members and of slaves held by them; how far they are held by unavoidable necessity of law, by obligations of guardianship and humanity, &c; the extent of certain abuses, and sundry statistics; winding up with an exhortatory resolution. Several unusual subjects had been previously disposed of. The *Tribune* says: "The Assembly decided, with little or no dissent, that dancing by christians is wrong and sinful; that a man may not marry his neice; and that church members must not travel on Sunday except to and from Church, or on some errand of necessity. Each of these decisions doubtless, pinched some people's corns, but they hardly squirmed,—at least they never threatened secession. But the moment slavery was touched, a fearful 'agitation' was evinced, seriously threatening the integrity of 'the Union.'" Considerable discussion ensued, and a member offered as a substitute, a preamble and 13 resolutions, of a retaliatory air, some of which, referring to Bloomer costume, hen-pecked husbands, &c., indicate a low sense of the reverence due to the Head of the Church in all attempts to transact the affairs of the Church. Yet some of them are strongly suggestive of considerations worthy the attention of Northern professors. We give a portion of them.

"That, with an express disavowal not to be inquisitorial, &c. a committee of one from each of the northern Synods of ———, be appointed, who shall be requested to report to the next General Assembly:

1. The number of northern church members who traffic with slaveholders, and are seeking to make money by selling them negro clothing, hand-cuffs and cowhides.

2. How many northern church members are concerned, directly or indirectly, in building and fitting out ships for the African slave trade, and the slave trade between the states.

3. How many northern church members have sent orders to New Orleans and other southern cities, to have slaves sold to pay debts coming to them from the South. [See Uncle Tom's Cabin.]

4. How many northern church members buy the cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, oranges, pine-apples, figs, ginger, cocoa, melons, and a thousand other things, raised by slave labor.

5. How many northern church members have intermarried with slaveholders, and have thus become slave owners themselves, or enjoy the wealth made by the blood of the slave—especially if there be any northern ministers of the Gospel in such a predicament.

7. What is the aggregate and individual wealth of church members thus descended, and what action is best to compel them to disgorge this blood-stained wealth, or to make them give dollar for dollar, in equalizing the loss of the South by emancipation."

The subsequent discussions and successive dispositions of the subject, are foreign to our present purpose. An esteemed correspondent, whose letter was received after the above was in type, writes as follows, respecting the resolutions just recited:—

"ECCLESIASTICAL AGITATIONS.—The subject of Slavery is of so intrusive a nature, that it not only insinuates itself into halls of political action, but also into the very Sanctuary, if I may be allowed by this term, without disrespect to it or to them, to express the various religious societies in this community, who stand in any degree affiliated with slaveholding. In some of these societies door-keepers have almost been literally appointed to keep out the agitating subject from disturbing their 'happy Union;' yet is Principle so ethereal that neither walls, nor vigilance can exclude it. *There it stands in their midst*, though their doors be closed for fear of the Jews, pointing to the hand-writing on their consciences, 'I will overturn, overturn, overturn, and it shall be no more, until he comes, whose right it is, and I will give it Him.'" It often happens that the very men who most deprecate agitation are among the veriest disturbers of the quiet, and when not aggressively so, are yet utterers of wholesome truths, under the teachings of some of which Slavery ought to receive, and I hope may yet receive its death blow. These truths usually relate to the practical insincerity of those, unhappily by far the greatest part of the Anti-Slavery religious community, who profess to hold in abhorrence the chattelizing of human beings, and yet are unwilling to relinquish any of its unhallowed conveniences to themselves."

F. Douglass publishes a call for a National Convention of free colored persons, to be held in Rochester, N. Y. on the 6th inst. All societies, religious, literary, &c., of coloured persons, are entitled to be represented each by three delegates. One of the objects is stated to be, the establishment of a permanent NATIONAL COUNCIL. "In a word," says the call, "the whole field of our interests will be opened to enquiry, investigation and determination." Delegates are desired to prepare themselves

with statistics respecting the condition of their people in the neighborhoods which they represent.

THE SURE, SAD FRUITS.

A prophet, who may have been regarded by his cotemporaries as a fanatic and as an abolitionist, about 700 or 800 years before the advent of Him who left his glory in the Heavens to undo the heavy burden, to let the oppressed go free, to break every yoke, and to bear in his own body the chastisement of all our sins, declared of those who had "sown the wind," that they shall "REAP THE WHIRLWIND." Just as our paper is going to press, a sad rumour reaches us of an attempted insurrection of the Slaves at New Orleans. We may hope that, through the sparing mercy of the long suffering Father of all, this desperate movement may be suppressed. But have we any reason to hope that the white men will show mercy to those whom their oppression maketh mad? Alas! Alas! We blame the negroes who have failed to keep the everlasting patience, and to wait upon Him, who has said, "Vengeance is mine—I will repay." We blame them,—just as we would blame revolutionists in Poland or Hungary or elsewhere, for deeds of bloodshed. And we pity our Southern brethren and sisters, for the difficulties of their position, for their guilt in this matter of Slaveholding, and for the baits, the temptations, the bounty money constantly extended to them by us of the North. We "give the motive" which induces them to "sow the wind," notwithstanding the certainty that, (as Adam Clarke finely expresses himself) "the ventral seed shall be multiplied into a tempest; so they who sow the seed of unrighteousness, shall reap a harvest of judgment."

But some will be ready to charge this lamentable outbreak upon the Abolitionists.—People of the South, fool not yourselves with so delusive an idea. Rather bless the Abolitionists for their human sympathies and their prayers for you and for your bondmen, and know assuredly, that the poor Slave's desperate hand is often checked by the consoling thought that many thousands sympathize with him: and he cherishes the hope that this sympathy may become contagious, and at last infect his oppressors. Were he bereft of all hope, were the Abolitionists to take you at your word and become indifferent,—then utter desperation would light the torch, and nerve the arm, and guide the sword. *We are not incendiaries:—yet we would call,—not upon the Slaves but upon you for a signal uprising.*

"Up, now for FREEDOM! not in strife
Like that your sterner fathers saw:
The awful waste of human life,—

The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain,—the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty by the living God!"

And ye, the Friends of Freedom and of the Slave, clear your own selves. Wear not the livery of the beast Slavery! Tamper not with his meat offerings and drink offerings! Be separate! Be in very verity, NON-SLAVEHOLDERS.

MARY JANE EDMUNDSON.—We learn from the *Oberlin Evangelist* that this lovely and interesting person died on the 18th of 5th mo. at Oberlin College, where she was receiving her education at the cost of H. B. Stowe, whose history of the Edmundson family in her *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, (part 3, chap. 6) we recommend to the attentive perusal of every one. Mary Jane died in christian faith and hope, having, it is reverently trusted, experienced the sufficiency of a Saviour's atoning blood, to wash away all spirit stains,—and in "Yielding unto God her spirit,
And her "dust to dust,"

there was no cause to apprehend that the African tinge in her earth-vesture would bar her admission among the ransomed multitude, gathered from "every kindred, tongue and people," before the "great white throne," and beside the pure river of water of life,
"Where, a white stone in her forehead,
And a new song on her lip,
Her cup in the sea of crystal
Evermore may dip."

A valued friend in the West says—

"We are much pleased with the paper. We think it well conducted; but I regretted one word in that very excellent article in relation to the attempt to kidnap Neal and carry him off in the cars. That article was very well written;—was well worth the price of the paper for one year;—but I think that "small blot" in the Governor's character should have been "large." And I think, at the conclusion of the article, while the feelings of the readers were highly wrought, thou shouldst have told them that this and other cases of kidnapping were done to raise cotton and sugar for them; and that thus the consumers are directly the cause of all these outrages."

These observations are just. If our friend will refer to page 22, he will see that we merely lay down a proposition. "A small blot, however dark, is not so much noticed upon a greater one of the same hue." This proposition was laid down in connection with the remark that the infamous pro-slavery message of Governor Bigler "has left a blot upon his name, which must be washed out before this one will be very conspicuous." Blots, as well as other things, are large or small by comparison. Gulliver was looked up to through a telescope in Lilliputia, but he became microscopic when he landed in Brobdinag. The official under consideration, blots and all, does not appear to us to be a very great character.

Whittier would probably assign "a half-peck measure" as affording ample room for "half a dozen such to dance in." We would commend to William Bigler some verses of Churchill—
"Thy greatest praise had been to live unknown.
Yet let not vanity like thine despair—
Fortune makes Folly her peculiar care."

THE HIGHWAY OF THE UPRIGHT.

Proverbs xvi. 17.

I pant, I pant for the heavenward path,
Which never the vulture's eye hath seen,
Where the forest king in his cruel wrath
Hath never been.
It leadeth away from the snares of vice,
From the haunts of corroding Avarice;—
From vanity's shows which the soul entice,—
From Malice, and Falsehood, and Lust, and all
That subdueth the Spirit to Sin's dark thrall,
It leads to the city whose streets of gold
Even the militant Saints behold,
In the midst whereof, with healing rife
For the deadly wound of Zion's daughter,
Stands in its beauty the tree of life,
Mirrored within the balsamic water
Proceeding from under the throne of God,
The true and the only baptismal flood,
Whose streams, that in chrystalline clearness roll,
With healing are fraught for the sin sick soul.
Oh, I long in that city of light to dwell,
Where never a transient sunbeam fell,
Nor glimmering ray from moon or star;—
Unspeakably brighter, more glorious far
That holy city's undazzling ray!
For He is its glory who lighted the Sun!
And they who the heavenward race would run
Must enter by Him the Way.

There is a path upon Earth which no bird knoweth,
Where the holy zephyr of Eden bloweth,
And the tree of healing and water of life
Refresh the spirit redeemed from strife.
The Pilgrims who throng that unseen way
Are guided by no deceptive ray:
They have made the Unerring Guide their choice,
And they cannot follow the Stranger's voice.
To be joined to Christ, and in him to live,
They would share his baptism, drink his cup,
Renouncing the pleasures which sin can give,
To walk in the way by Him cast up.
And joined unto Him, as they walk by faith,
They see, at the end of their pilgrim path,
The realm of inconceivable bliss,
Where the weary have rest from the toils of this.
And they hear at times, in prophetic tone,
The welcome greeting, "Well done—well done!"
And they catch some notes from the rapturous song
Which is learned by none but the ransomed throng.
And thus attuned, while they walk through Time,
To the harmony caught from that heavenly chime,
They make in their hearts, unto Him they love,
Melody, heard with approval above. W. J. A.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

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WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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WORSER THAN LEGREE.—By the Ledger of to-day we learn that in Carrollton, La., a few days ago, a negro, aged nearly 90 years, "universally venerated for soberness, honesty, great age, and revolutionary reminiscences," was, for a petty offence, "whipped, stamped and kicked to death," by his master, Chas. Hines. At the Coroner's inquest, "the sight was sickening. His back cut and bruised into a jelly," (says the Carrollton Star,) "and the lower part of his body nearly kicked to pieces." Hines is in jail.

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART II.

DAUGHTER! happy cherished one,
Ever since thy life begun,
Hedged about by watchful care
From the peril and the snare
Hath our fallen race beguiled,—
Hoary age and little child—
Tenderly and safely led
Where the stillest waters flow,
Ever bountifully fed
Where the greenest pastures grow,
When thy heart with love shall swell,
As the heart of woman will,
In its quiet gladness,
Unto him who came as well
Thy life's cup with joy to fill,
As with grief and sadness,—
Let it bring the captive near!
In her agonizing fear—
In her peril and distress—
In her helpless sinfulness.

For a father's tender care,
For a mother's every prayer,
For a brother's strength of arm
Ever between thee and harm,
For the precious gift to thee

Of a sister's sympathy,—
Daughter, for so blest a lot,
Be the Captive unforgot!

Succored in thy every need,
When thy full heart doth rejoice
In its many blessings, heed,
Oh, then heed Compassion's voice,
Wait not till thy youth be sped,
Till thy bloom of life be past,
Till thy summer hopes are dead,
Scattered by the autumn blast;
Wait not till thy loves depart,
Until thou hast nought to bring
But a disappointed heart,
Late and thankless offering!
But while all thy Heaven is bright,
Grateful to the Holiest, yield
Fruit which is the sower's right
From the vineyard and the field.
Even as the forest trees,
In their early putting forth,
Grateful to the sun and breeze
For each tender leaf-child's birth,
Ever its first fragrance give
To the air by which they live.

From the Bond of Brotherhood.

TWENTY REASONS

For Total Abstinence from Slave Labour
Produce.—By ELIHU BURRITT.

1. Because all the products of the labour of the slave are the fruits of an aggravated robbery perpetrated upon him daily, and are therefore stained with all the crime and guilt that can attach to stolen goods.
2. The voluntary consumption of the produce of the slave's labour is a participation in the sin of the system that holds him in bondage.
3. It is one of the first and most important duties enjoined upon the Christian to make his practice square with his profession. Whilst, therefore, he sanctions and supports by his daily practice a system which he condemns as exceedingly sinful by his professions, his own conscience, as well as the world, testifies to his inconsistency, and his advocacy of the right is weakened if not wholly silenced by the discrepancy.
4. The slaveholders themselves declare that

total abstinence from slave-labour produce would as surely abolish slavery as the day follows night; and they taunt the abolitionists with insincerity in not adopting a course which would put an end to the evil they so loudly condemn.

5. Abstinence from slave-labour produce, so far from being a substitute for any other anti-slavery efforts, would increase their number and variety, and give them all a point and a power which they now lack. It would create the occasion for more numerous anti-slavery meetings, and give a force and emphasis to resolutions, addresses, and remonstrances against slavery, which the slave-holder could not resist.

6. It is a mode of anti-slavery action in which every man, woman, and child may take a part every day, at every meal, in every article of dress they wear and enjoy. And this silent, daily testimony would tend to keep their anti-slavery sentiments active, out-spoken, and ever working in their spheres of influence.

7. It is a measure that does not trench upon any principle of free trade. It asks the interference of no legislation against the introduction or use of slave-labour produce. It requires no petitions to parliaments, diets, national assemblies, cortes, or congresses. It involves nothing but the free, voluntary legislation of the individual conscience upon articles of household or personal consumption. It is no more opposed to the fullest development of free trade than is the exercise of individual taste or fancy in supplying the table or wardrobe.

8. It is a measure which should commend itself especially to the abolitionists of the United Kingdom; because probably full three-fourths of all the human sinews bought and sold on the earth are worked under the lash to supply the British market; while there are free soil and free labour enough within the British dominions to produce all the cotton, sugar, coffee, and rice the whole world would consume. The whole value of the exports of the domestic produce of the U. States to foreign countries, during the year 1849, amounted to £26,500,000. Of this amount, the value of the exports to Great Britain and its dependencies was £17,700,000. The exports from the Slave States amounted to £16,000,000; of which cotton supplied £13,280,000; tobacco, £1,160,000; and rice, £514,000.—Great Britain and its dependencies took £9,560,000 worth, or nearly *three-fourths* of this cotton, and probably a larger proportion of the rice and tobacco.

9. A large number of slaves in Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri, are employed in producing corn, pork, bacon, &c., for the

slaves on the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations of the more southern slave States. It is probably, therefore, this side of the truth to say, that full three-fourths of all the slaves in the United States are employed, directly or indirectly, in supplying the British market alone. The money-value of every slave in America is determined by the price in England. The hammer of the Liverpool cotton-broker, and that which knocks off *Uncle Tom* at the slave-auction in New Orleans, descend by the same law of commercial gravitation. A penny a pound advance on cotton in Liverpool adds £40 to *Uncle Tom's* market value on the auction-block; and *vice versa*. At this moment, the cotton trade in Lancashire is very brisk and prosperous. A great many new mills are being erected, and, in consequence, the value of slaves in the United States has risen from £150 to £200.

10. The free States, and those slave States in which cotton, rice, and sugar cannot be grown, not only supply the American market with all the corn, potatoes, pork, bacon, and other provisions which it demands, but also export a vast quantity of these articles to foreign countries. Even if the climate and soil of the cotton-growing States were suited to the production of these articles, there would be no market for them at home or abroad. They must continue to grow cotton, rice, and sugar, whether by slave or free labour, or their plantations must remain untilld. This is the only alternative possible.

11. If the British market were closed against American cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco for three years, three-fourths of the land occupied with their production would be reduced virtually to a wilderness; *three-fourths* of all the slaves in the United States would be without employment—a burden upon the planters which would bankrupt them, unless set at liberty.

12. If there were a movement set on foot in Great Britain which would, in the view of the slaveholders, close the British market against their productions at the end of ten years, if they persisted in adhering to their system up to that time, they would doubtless emancipate their slaves immediately, and adopt the system of free labour. For they would not risk the loss of the British market for any consideration which the existence of slavery could supply. The same would be true of the slaveholders of Brazil and Cuba.

13. A movement of this kind must have a strong moral as well as commercial principle for its motive-power. For if it were organised on mere commercial grounds, the slaveholders would be emboldened to run the hazard of a

competition with the cotton, sugar, and coffee growers of the British dominions. But if the enlightened conscience of a Christian community could be associated with commerce in this enterprise—if the movement could be backed, ensouled, and propelled by deep moral convictions, the slaveholders would be obliged to give over the struggle as hopeless.

14. A great movement, based upon the commercial motive, is now being organized to supply the British market with cotton, &c., grown in India and other British possessions. The wealthy and influential manufacturers of Lancashire have set their hands to this enterprise with energetic determination. The Government appreciates its importance, and is willing to promote its success. Roads, railways, improvement of river navigation, are to be the order of the day in India, with the view of extending the cultivation and facilitating the transportation of cotton grown by free labour. It is not that the manufacturers of Lancashire are influenced by any moral objection to slave labour, as such, but that they fear it will not be able to supply, without interruption, their mills with the quantity they demand. Besides, they deem it hazardous to depend upon one country for this important article, which would be cut off in case of a war between the two nations. Total abstinence from slave-labour produce, because it is stained with the crime of theft and oppression, would give to this commercial movement a new element, aspect, and power, and make it irresistible to the overthrow of slavery throughout the world.

15. A movement thus embodying both the moral and commercial principle would not only stimulate the production of cotton, sugar, rice, &c., by free labour in the British dominions, but also in the United States, Brazil and Cuba. And it is of the utmost importance that the free-labour system of production should be brought immediately under the eyes of the slaveholder, upon the same soil as his own plantation, that the example may tell upon him with undiminished effect.

16. There never was a more favorable juncture for extending the cultivation of cotton by free labour in the American slave States, than at the present moment. For more than thirty years a considerable amount has been grown by small farmers, scattered among the large plantations. These men till from 50 to 100 acres of land with their own hands, chiefly because they are too poor to own a slave. They produce annually four or five bales, which they sell, of course, at the current price; thus competing with the wealthy planter with all his slaves, capital, and machinery. The Free-Labour-Produce Association of Philadelphia

has sent forth agents to find out these small farmers, and to purchase their cotton. It is impossible to conjecture how many of them are scattered through the States, but probably there are many thousands. A discussion has already commenced, in some of the southern reviews, in reference to the comparative economy of free and slave labour. The slaves, it is stated, "are running away by battalions," from the more northern slave States. Many planters have recently emancipated their slaves, and are cultivating their lands by free labour. Cassius M. Clay, one of the most influential of their number, has published his success to the world. He says that he finds no difficulty in hiring white labour according to his need, and at reasonable rates. He hires, also, a portion of his former slaves for wages, mutually satisfactory; and whereas his farm used to run him in debt, or at least yield him no profit, he is now making money by it. Every such experiment of free labour in the slave States is exerting a powerful influence in favour of the system. A planter recently went all the way from Georgia to New York to engage men to work on his plantation; "because," as he said, "white labor can be employed more economically than that of hired slaves."

17. A demand for free-labour productions, created and steadily increased by the pressure of Christian convictions as well as commercial motives, would draw them into the British market, in ever-widening streams, from all the countries in which they are grown. And in no country would it probably take a more immediate and decided effect upon slavery than in the United States.

18. During the great struggle against the slave-trade, Clarkson estimated that 300,000 persons in Great Britain abstained from sugar *entirely*, rather than support the inhuman traffic by its use. The friends of the slave are not now called upon to test their sincerity by such a privation. More than one half of the sugars in the British market are free-grown, and may be procured, with a little care, in every considerable town in the kingdom. An earnest demand for them will ensure a supply. A large wholesale depot has just been established in London, for supplying provincial grocers with free-labour sugars of all kinds, rice, coffee, &c. of as good quality and on as cheap terms as the slave-grown articles in the market. Not an article stained with the guilt of slavery will find an access to this establishment, and it will furnish a satisfactory guarantee to the purity of all it supplies to the grocers in the provinces.*

*This is equally true as applied to the Philadelphia Free Produce Store.—Ed.

19. There is already a sufficient supply of free-labour cotton, to meet the demand of those who are thoroughly convinced that the voluntary consumption of the products of the slave, is a participation in the crime of the system that holds him in bondage. This supply will constantly increase with the demand. A house in Manchester, worthy of unwavering confidence, has undertaken to collect the free-labour cotton as it comes in from different countries, and to supply the public with all the various goods into which it can be manufactured. Small depots of these goods are being established in different towns, and in quality and price they compare favourably with articles of the same kind made of slave-grown cotton. A depot has just been opened in London, chiefly for promoting the establishment of similar ones in all the provincial towns, by enabling them to obtain easily an adequate supply. The movement has commenced under favourable auspices, with encouraging prospects in every direction. The commercial interests and the Christian conviction of the community are fast uniting to give this movement irresistible power. God and humanity "expect that every man will do his duty" to the slave, at this important moment, when that duty is so clearly revealed by the manifestations of the Divine mind and will.

20. The present moment is a most auspicious juncture for organising that deep, earnest, wide-spread sympathy which has been excited in behalf of the slave, by the powerful delineations of his condition of "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*." This book seems to bear the impress of a Divine mission. It has been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe, and it has been read by millions and millions throughout Christendom. The distinguished writer has commended abstinence from slave-labour produce in the first circles of English society, as a measure which would be most effective for the speedy overthrow of the inhuman system which she has depicted with such irresistible truthfulness and power. Persons in all ranks of life are beginning to consider this Anti-Slavery movement with serious attention, and there is every reason to believe that it will soon obtain their convictions and co-operation.

SLAVE PRODUCE.

BY E. M. CHANDLER.

Eat! they are eates for a lady's lip,
Rich as the sweets that the wild bees sip;
Mingled viands that nature hath pour'd,
From the plenteous stores of her flowing board,
Bearing no trace of man's cruelty—save
The red life-drops of his human slave.

List thee, lady! and turn aside,
With a loathing heart, from the feasts of pride;
For, mix'd with the pleasant sweets it bears,
Is the hidden curse of scalding tears,
Wrung out from woman's bloodshot eye,
By the depth of her deadly agony.

Look! they are robes from a foreign loom,
Delicate, light, as the rose leaf's bloom;
Stainless and pure in their snowy tint,
As the drift unmarked by a footstep's print.
Surely such garment should fitting be,
For woman's softness and purity.

Yet fling them off from thy shrinking limb,
For sighs have render'd their brightness dim;
And many a mother's shriek and groan,
And many a daughter's burning moan,
And many a sob of wild despair,
From woman's heart, is lingering there.

Strictures on the Memorial of S. Rhoads, E. Lewis and others, with a reply.

For the Non Slaveholder.

Our attention was recently called to a document in the Non-Slaveholder, which the Editor, in its caption, styles a "Magnanimous Memorial."—[p. 27.]

Permit us to say that on its examination we were much struck with its character, and can but believe that those who signed it, for whom we entertain a high regard as men of refined moral sentiments, and profound judgment, did not sufficiently weigh the matter before them.

We have no hesitation in acknowledging that the citizens of the free States have participated in the profits of Slave labor, if its products are, or have been thrown into market at a lower rate than the products of free labor; but if such has been the case, who is the sufferer? Is it the slave holder, or the bondman? Surely not the former, for he has no right to those products, unless he has a right to the person of the slave, which, of course, our friends will not admit.

The memorialists claim, that by participating in the profits of slave labor, the citizens of the free states have "become partners in the great business of slavery." Now, taking this to be true, what is our duty, and the duty of slaveholders; bearing in mind at the same time the axiom, that no man has a right to the labor of his fellow man? Surely not, that because we have been engaged in an unholy alliance with the oppressor in robbing our brother, the slave, we should pay over to him the estimated value of his slaves labor during life, but rather cut loose from such alliance—cease to be "partners in this great business." What! should the slaveholder, who has been living so long on that of which he robbed his fellow man, be

rewarded for ceasing this robbery, and thus receive the practical commiseration of the non-slaveholders for so doing, while the poor slave, the victim of their joint oppression, who has been plundered his life long, till perhaps he is old, is not thought of! Are we to have no pity for him, whom we have injured most grievously by our criminal alliance with his master, but call on Congress to grant a bonus to his oppressor, who has long profitted by our commercial intercourse with him, as a reward for turning his victims loose in a cold and heartless community, destitute of any thing to subsist upon?

We apprehend, upon *due reflection*, it must be clear to all, entertaining the known views of the petitioners, that if there should be any money distributed amongst any class connected with the system of slavery, that class is the slaves. These, we have injured pecuniarily, by our connection with, and connivance at slave holding, and not the master.

We would suggest, that the memorial should have called on Congress for the passage of a law providing that when any State should liberate its slaves, Commissioners should be appointed by the functionaries referred to, whose duty it should be, to assess the value of each male slave's time, that he had served since he was 21 years old, and that of each female since she was 18; and for that amount to be drawn out of the national treasury, and distributed among the enfranchised as an out-fit in life, and as something of a compensation for the wrongs they have endured. *This*, we would style 'magnanimous,' or an act of simple justice, at least.

WALTER EDGERTON,
6mo. 28, 1853. WILLIAM BEARD.

[We have cheerfully given place to the above, altho' our extremely small limits will not afford much space for controversial essays without excluding matter which we are anxious to place before our readers. Considering the objections of our esteemed friends to be more benevolent than practical, we thought it proper to let the Memorialists have the opportunity to answer for themselves. We therefore handed the communication to one of them who promptly returned it with the following explanation of the position of himself and his colleagues.—Ed.]

It appears to me that the writer of the article to which my attention has been called, has taken unnecessary pains in his efforts to prove what will not be denied, that the slaves are the greatest sufferers by the system of slavery which has been established in this country, and which is still maintained in half the states of the Union. That the intentions of this writer were pure and philanthropic is not questioned; but when he raises an objection to the plan suggested for the extinction of slavery, he will probably permit me to say that he does not

appear to have "sufficiently weighed the matter before him."

The expedient which he undertakes to criticise is based upon the admission of certain facts which will hardly be denied:

1. The states in which slavery is tolerated or maintained by law, possess the exclusive authority to abolish the system. Of course any effectual mode of relieving those states from the evils of slavery, or discharging the slaves from the custody of their oppressors, must depend upon the voluntary acts of the people or the legislatures of those states.

2. The holders of slaves have a pecuniary interest in the possession; and when we plead for the emancipation of their slaves, however just our plea, we are practically asking the masters to make what they at least consider to be a large pecuniary sacrifice; and what would be, under existing circumstances, to many of them an actual sacrifice of nearly all they possess.

3. The free states, by their commercial relations with the slaveholding states; by the traffic in, and consumption of, the products of slave labor, and by their political connection with the South, have identified themselves, to a great extent, with the system of slavery.

4. From what has yet been done in the U. States towards the extinction of slavery, we may reasonably suppose that if any state, which tolerates slavery, should embrace the plan suggested, and thus become entitled to the proposed compensation, it will be one or more of those bordering on the free states, from which a number of slaves are now annually sold to the states further south.

5. Whatever may justly be due to the slave for the services which they have rendered to their masters, it is obvious that they must be set free by some means before either the general government, or the people of the free states, can possibly contribute anything by way of compensation for those services.

To what, then, does the plan, which this writer thus criticises, amount? Simply to this: That the people of the non-slaveholding states should hold out to such of their slave-burthened brethren as may be disposed to engage in the work of emancipation, an inducement so to do, by an offer to share in the pecuniary sacrifice. It suggests an expedient by which a state may place its slaves in the full possession of their freedom without either making such pecuniary sacrifices as a sudden emancipation without remuneration would involve, and which we can hardly expect will be voluntarily made, or passing through the tedious process of gradualism, by which Pennsylvania, the leader in

the work, was transformed from a slave into a free state.*

If Congress could be prevailed upon to adopt the proposal in question, and one or two states should embrace the opportunity of getting clear of slavery, there can be no reasonable doubt that the benefit arising from the change would be so obvious, that the example would be followed, as a measure of policy, and that the compensation, at a very reduced valuation, would be found amply sufficient.

If slavery could be abolished in one or more of the present slave states, the way would open then for adopting an expedient, if any practicable one can be found, for compensating those thus set free, for the service which they have heretofore performed. When Friends in Pennsylvania engaged in the work of emancipating their slaves, the first object was to restore them to freedom; and then followed the plan of remuneration for services performed beyond the legal age.

E. L.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

I have very little doubt that at the great audit, the influences, if excusatory, which underlie any act of wrong, will have their fullest weight in mitigating the judgment which shall be passed upon the actor, by Him who seeth the heart and trieth the reins, and who knoweth what is in man, and how frail a being he is. I have no doubt that many a pirate—many a slaveholder—many an offender, will escape—wonderfully to himself—at that merciful tribunal, whilst it may possibly be, that the “uttermost farthing” shall be required of him who made them a pirate—a slaveholder—an offender. But I do not perceive that, in establishing a code of morality, we are allowed to apologize in advance for any crime on the presumed ignorance of its perpetrator, any more than we are allowed to undervalue any mathematical truth, because of its non-reception by the unintelligent. Rather should we shew the crime and the more fully illustrate it. I have the charity to think there are many human pirates encompassed by many difficulties, who would yet be conscientiously restrained from the commission of murder;—but would that make them the less thieves?—It is in this relation that pirates are put in comparison with slaveholders. Do either class take to their own use with a better right the property of the victims of their aggression?—The answer must decisively settle a subject left in some suspense

* The law, for the gradual abolition of slavery, the first enacted by any State, was dated March 1, 1780, and yet the census of 1850 was the first which represented Pennsylvania entirely clear of slaves.

in the last number of the Non-Slaveholder.

DELTA.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 3, 1853.

RENDITION CASES.—We sometimes feel as though it were idle to write respecting slavery. We feel, we reflect, we read, we accumulate facts and illustrations; and then it seems to us that no one can possibly be ignorant of the existence of slavery—of its great sinfulness,—of the claim upon our human sympathies,—of the absolute duty to avoid participation in the guilt, and to use any means which appear to be within our reach to abate the evil—the sin—the curse. At this moment we are surrounded with piles of pamphlets and periodicals, with hundreds of paragraphs which would be appropriate to our little journal, and we are sickened when we reflect that the hearts of those whom we would induce to listen to the bondman's wail, are impenetrably cased and unapproachable.

“Every day's report

Of wrong and outrage, with which earth is filled,” seems only to familiarize with cruelty, and to harden the hearts which ought to sympathize.

“Vainly to the child of Fashion,

Giving to ideal woe

Graceful luxury of compassion,

Shall the stricken mourner go;

Hateful seems the earnest sorrow, beautiful the hollow show!”

The continual occurrence of rendition cases, instead of inducing abhorrence of the wicked and accursed fugitive slave law, is by tens of thousands regarded as calmly as is the regular course of equity and civil law. Strange to us it seems, but not less true, that well bred men of decent exterior, are to be found, men who are admitted into the selectest circles of refinement, men whom Beauty smiles upon, whom Respectability grasps by the hand, whom Theology entrusts with Church affairs, and who unblushingly thank God that they are not as other men are, yet who justify and approve this law which has re-baptized this nation in damning guilt, and which is augmenting the Judgment-cloud now glooming above us, and only held in suspense by long-suffering Mercy; but which must at length break in terrible retribution, unless we in time remember the mercy we ourselves shall need. The voluminous details of the case of George Smith alias Bill Fisher are before the public. As usual, in these cases, the authorities leaned away from mercy. The firm of ALBERTI & INGRAHAM have done another stroke of business. Ashmead has, we presume, received another fee—

and Marshall Wynkoop could have had little heart to say “get thee behind me Satan,” unless he had been able to add,—“for thou art an offence unto me.” We could wish that all those who are ready and willing to execute this cruel and unconstitutional law, might be colonized in some island more secluded than any part of Australia, where they could not contaminate others of the human family. We clip a good paragraph respecting the Marshall from the Daily Register. To our readers we would earnestly say: Let all these outrages, which fairly illustrate the evil we long to abolish, deepen our resolve that we will withdraw our support from slavery, our custom from the Slave Market. Let us tell to our generation and teach to our children,

“That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own.”

“MARSHAL WYNKOOP.—The Bulletin is particularly severe in its comments on the conduct of this officer in the recent case. The Sun also. We can only add our opinion that he acted more like the partizan than officer. He seems to have espoused the cause of Howard, the claimant, with unbecoming zeal. Why should he have despatched a cab to prevent Fisher from being deposited in the county prison, and, consequently, to prevent the service of the writ of habeas corpus on Mr. Freed? Why, too, should he have displayed so much ingenuity and activity in baffling the law of the State?

The claimant in this case revived a claim of six years date. And against whom? Against a humble and friendless man, a husband, and a father. Howard's mission among us was to widow an innocent wife, to orphan four helpless children, and bear away into hopeless slavery a man who had long enjoyed the blessings of freedom. And all this, to add only a few hundred dollars to his large fortune. It was an infamous mission. What matters it to a man of honor that it was legal? Your sympathy with it was ill becoming you, Marshal Wynkoop! Your alacrity to spirit away the trembling wretch who was in your custody,—under a law which no American names in a foreign land, and which he cannot think of here without the hot flush of shame on his brow,—will be the regret of your old age. Hide, if you can, the handcuffs under your military laurels; and do not forget the four children and lonely wife who are now weeping over the desolate hearthstone. In the sight of God, their grief is a testimony against you.”

It is evidently becoming a prominent object with many philanthropists to supply the English market with free grown cotton, independent of the United States. Should the effort be successful, and the monetary interests of America suffer in consequence, we shall have ourselves only to blame. England would still have been content to purchase of us her chief supply of cotton, had not considerations of humanity induced the investment of capital in efforts to procure it from other sources. We have never desired the alienation from our own country of any honest trade. Nor is it essential to the procuring of free cotton if American enterprise be rightly turned to this object. A

highly valued correspondent suggests the importance of trying the experiment in South Carolina or Georgia. “Would it not,” says he, “be a capital thing if half a dozen active, energetic men, would go into one of these States, and raise Cotton by free labor, right under the eyes of the Slave-holders, setting them an example, and demonstrating the capacity of free labor to compete with the slave in this way? Could not a small plantation be bought and cut up into a dozen farms of 150 acres each, to be tilled by a dozen earnest men, applying to the cultivation of Cotton, all the genius, skill and science of free sinews?” A moderate supply of *Sea Island Cotton*, free grown, is a desideratum. This might be obtained in the manner suggested, and persons so engaged might, probably, buy in from small non-slaveholding producers around them, sufficient to enable us to introduce the finer fabrics which cannot be made from ordinary cotton.

MAINE LAW,—SINS OF OMISSION,—MATERIAL AID.—The present time calls for unremitting watchfulness, and well directed persevering action, on the part of all advocates of a prohibitory Liquor Law. In every State, in every locality, Maine Law men should organize, and should determine to act with efficiency. There is, in many vicinities, a sort of spasmodic zeal,

“Moving like a sick man in his sleep,
Three paces, and then faltering,—

which only serves to awaken the alertness of the Rum Power, and which spends itself in an occasional testimony. It is melancholy to observe the resoluteness of the individuals and the masses who advocate the wrong, and the apathy of a large proportion of those who enlist as laborers for the true and right. We want the Maine Law! We want it NOW! Our desires, our prayers, and our endeavors should be always with a humble reference to the sovereignty of God, whose own good time may not be our time. But if, in any Commonwealth, the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory law should be delayed one year by the tame remissness of its friends and advocates, what fearful consequences may they charge upon themselves. Through their sins of omission inebriates will have failed to reform, and a long train of dismal results will have befallen their afflicted families. Through their unfaithfulness, the appetite of moderate drinkers will have become confirmed, and the number of drunkards augmented. Young men will have fallen into the snares which Prohibitory law would have removed, and will have entered, with a rapid pace, upon the

broad way leading to the chambers of death.

Friends of Prohibition,—if, through your fault, the reign of Rum be prolonged one year, you can never recal past opportunities. The evils resulting from your non-action will be felt through eternity. Awake, then,—arise—organize, throughout the length and breadth of the land. And it will add greatly to your energy and efficiency, if liberal collections of money be made, commensurate with the importance of the object: so that there shall be no flagging in the work from recollection of an empty treasury, and from fear of being unable to defray the necessary expenses of the campaign. Let all men, and all women, *calculate the value of Maine Law*, and give liberally to the Temperance treasury, as the Lord hath prospered them.

THE RUMORED INSURRECTION in New Orleans, alluded to in our last, proved to be a false alarm. An intoxicated negro uttered, as men under such hallucination will do, swaggering words. And "on this hint" the community went into horrors, and stood on its defences. The mail was too slow of speech to be entrusted with the news, nothing short of the speed of lightning would suffice, the Eclectic Telegraph was charged with messages in every direction, and by the time that Cuffee was "himself again," he had given to millions of people a topic for excited conversation.

But is there no lesson to be derived from this *false alarm*? Would to Heaven that the lesson might be read by all concerned, whilst as yet the well-grounded fears of those who dwell on the slumbering volcano are not realized. The people of the South would have no need to fear an uprising of the African race, if they would "break off their sins by righteousness,"—if they would "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God." We wonder not that those who live in slave districts are readily alarmed. It is with no feeling of unkindness that we apply the adage, "the wicked flee when no man pursueth,"—and it is with sober sadness that we reflect, that the proslavery feeling and action at the North perpetuate Slavery, and must bear a full share of responsibility whenever that contest shall really come which Thomas Jefferson predicted, and in which, as he declared, "the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us."

We have several anonymous *metrical* favors which arrived after the quantum of verse designed for this number was in type. In these essays the sentiments are valuable, and are in part clothed in harmonious numbers. Yet there are lines and stanzas which are sufficient-

ly out of tune to give pain to the practised ear, and thus we cannot find use for them as articles of luxury. Dr. Johnson says; "as there is no necessity for our having poetry at all, it being merely a luxury, an instrument of pleasure, it can have no value unless when exquisite of its kind." Were we to place our standard so high as that of the erudite lexicographer, we should withhold our own pen forever from versification. Yet we certainly would not recommend the use of rhyme for unimaginative essays upon unpoetical themes, when the same talent, with less effort, if employed in prose writing, would act more strongly upon both the judgment and the heart of the reader. For instance:

"Rather than Slaves should toil for me
I'd go without my cigar,
And have my coffee and my tea
And pies made without sugar."

The sentiment is laudable, but, did we need conversion on this point, we should have been more impressed by the remark in humble prose, that the essayist *would rather forego the dainties which pamper appetite, than have his fellow beings compelled to furnish them by unrequited toil amidst agony and oppression.* To this correspondent we volunteer our advice to "taste not the pierrian spring." The same counsel might have been extended to a Bard (?) of a generation ago, who scintillated the following brilliancy:

"From house to house we took our departure,
And went into the garden to view sweet Nature."

Another effusion (which might perhaps have been marked for insertion in our next, is under consideration. But our declining to publish is no evidence that we do not appreciate. We have always more material than we can use, and hence our labor is greater than if our sheet were double its present dimensions. The favors, in prose, of sundry esteemed contributors, are of necessity postponed. Several Essays are on hand of about equal value, and somewhat similar in character, and in quantum more than sufficient to fill our sheet. One makes inquiries to which we would cheerfully respond by letter, were we favored with the writer's address.

We often long to clip from our valuable exchanges, and our fingers tingle with *cacoethes scribendi* in reference to sundry new publications, which ought to be noticed.

ERRATUM.—We have a Printer who approaches to infallibility as nearly as his brethren, yet the following errors crept into our last number. Page 69, third line of article on "Slave Produce,"—for *privacy* read *Piracy*. In the poem on page 64, lines 18 and 19 should read thus,

"Whose streams in crystalline clearness roll,
With healing fraught for the sin-sick soul."

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 9.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART III.

THOU OF THE GIFTED MIND!

Born to a sceptre and a realm unknown,
With thy keen vision bent upon mankind,
Where are thy glances thrown?

Where have thy lines been cast,
Fisher of treasures in Time's rolling sea,
What of the watch? what hath the hoary Past
In trust revealed to thee?

Where hast thou sown the seed,
Gathered beside the lamp with patient toil,
From Learning's fields, dim record, and old creed?
Where hast thou hid thy spoil?

Who hath the wiser grown,
That thou art learned, in herb and rock, and tree,
That Nature's secrets hath herself made known,
Her voice instructed thee?

Why dost thou dwell apart?—
Ah, it may be, that thou hast borne away
Into thy solitude a wounded heart,
Too sore to "watch and pray."

It is the lot of all
Who feel, to suffer—and no cup is free,
However seeming sweet, from drops of gall;
Our doom we cannot flee!

Thou of the gifted mind!
For all thy wealth thou hast a debt to pay;
To aid the poor, to guide the weak and blind,
That travel on thy way.

And who a friend so needs,
As she that draws her very breath in fear?

Outraged and scourged—who questions as she
bleeds,

'Can the Great God be near?

'Can the All-just behold?'

Can the All-merciful look down and see
My tortured form—my soul to darkness sold,
Nor stoop to succor me?

'Am I of that blest race,

He shed His blood on Calvary to save?

No! from my wretchedness He hides His face—
No Father hath the slave!

Oh! let it break thy dream—

Shut it not out, that sad despairing cry—

It may upon thy heart let in a gleam

Of light to labor by.

With thine eye fix'd on Heaven,

And thy light footstep free upon the earth,

Put on thy strength—for generous action given,

And to her rescue, forth!

ALWAYS REJOICING.

[The following extract from a letter from the late A. W. H., shows instructively how an aged negro saint could rejoice continually in the Lord, when all ordinary sources of enjoyment were excluded.—Ed.]

A clergyman in England was visiting a mine, and, when far beneath the surface, beyond the reach of solar light, his attention was arrested by the sound of music, floating through those gloomy caverns in clear silvery cadences, and deep rich heart notes of melody.

He followed the sound through chill horrid channels, black with perpetual darkness, where the flickering torch only threw a passing glare upon unfathomed dangers. At length the music swelled upon his delighted ear, in clearer, fuller tones, and on turning an angle he found the sole performer, an aged NEGRO, totally blind, and bending beneath a load of physical infirmities. The clergyman asked him to repeat those words of such wondrous melody, and he found them to be simply these: "In the morning I shall be in Heaven." This was all he knew of poesy, and doubtless was his own. The melody was that of the soul: an afflicted and tried soul, but one that had learned to lean upon the Savior as the alone Refuge and Comforter.

There was this poor creature in the midst of

utter penury, continually stationed at one spot, employed for years in the monotonous labor of opening and shutting a door, deprived of social and domestic enjoyments, shut out from light and sound, and even fresh air; yet so filled with the love of God as to be ever rejoicing in his goodness, and looking forward, not with *fretful yearning*, but with cheerful resignation and delighted hope, to the dawning of that eternal day that should beam, in cloudless beauty, upon the sanctified and redeemed.

No eye shall then be sightless, nor shall the tears of sorrow dim the vision: but they shall behold the King in His beauty, and their voices shall join one rapturous hosanna to his praise.

Hereafter, when the clouds of sorrow shall so darken about me as to obscure the sweet light of hope, when the storms of contention shall have dimmed all my horizon, and the dust clouds of petty cares shall be almost overpowering, I will remember the poor miner, and tremblingly enquire: Have I a well grounded hope that when all these mutations are passed, I shall know an everlasting morning, which I shall spend in Heaven?

For the Non-Slaveholder.

Yea a man may say, Thou hast faith and I have works: show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works.—James 2, 18.

PRACTICE versus PROFESSION.

Profession.—The more I reflect upon Slavery and its manifold enormities, the more irreconcilable it appears to me with the commonest notions of honesty, as entertained by mankind the world over.

Practice.—Yes I agree with thy remark, having long ago been forced to adopt the sentiment. Hence, feeling strongly impressed with a sense of its injustice, it became my duty to assist by moral means in its overthrow.

Prof.—It is a system which should everywhere be spoken against.

Prac.—And not only spoken against, but our influence and example should be steadily opposed to it. In order to do this consistently, we must withdraw our support of it, and cease to countenance it in any shape.

Prof.—Certainly, we must not be slaveholders. Indeed we are in no danger of committing this wrong whilst we reside in those states where it is prohibited by law. I would have all who are not slave holders protest against it.

Prac.—But I would first have all thoroughly examine whether or not they are slaveholders!

Prof.—What dost thou mean by slaveholder? My understanding of the word, is, I believe, according to its common acceptance: one who

owns or claims to own a human being as his property; holding him as bound to serve him, and him only, except as it is his will to transfer his claim to others. This pretension, I believe to be unjust, and I protest against it.

Prac.—I go further. I esteem every man a slaveholder, who *assists in causing a person to be held as a slave*. He who owns a plantation in Louisiana or Alabama, and consents to its cultivation by slaves, though he may reside in Philadelphia, and never see the slaves or the land, is, to all intents and purposes, a SLAVEHOLDER, although he may not receive a cent of the profits. So, if he does not own the land, but employs the slaveholder who does own it, to raise for him sugar or cotton by slave-labor, he is still in effect a slaveholder: the slaves are held in his service. Though he does not claim to own them, to drive them, to clothe or to feed them, they are held, driven, &c., by the aid of his means—he is the prompting cause of their being held and the immediate holder is his agent.

Prof.—That is tracing responsibility further than I had apprehended it to go.

Prac.—Allow me to proceed. Still further, I maintain that he who voluntarily buys or consumes the sugar or cotton, offered in the market, which he has sufficient reasons for believing to have been raised by the labor of slaves, is a participant after the fact, in the crime of holding the slaves, by whose labor the said product was prepared, and aids, by his countenance and support, in prompting to the continuance of slaveholding, and is therefore, because of his connection with the system, virtually a slaveholder. GREGORY.

To be continued.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE SNARE OF GRADUALISM.

There is, in the proposition for a gradual abolition of Slavery, that it may prove a blessing to master and slave, something plausible and inviting, and it readily obtains assent, not because of its justice, but rather because it accords with inclination, and affords a quiet resting place from all action upon the subject. This view has quieted the consciences of many, who, otherwise, actuated by the plain principles of justice and christianity, would have accomplished much, in giving their influence towards the liberation of the suffering bondman. It has so paralyzed religious sects, that they have not failed to proclaim the slave's wrongs, the master's iniquity and loss,—and to bear an uncompromising testimony against the abhorrent evil.

This delusive idea of gradual emancipation, has destroyed the agency for good of not a few, of all classes. At the important crisis moment, when the idea of giving perpetuity to human slavery would not have been tolerated, an assumed expediency, and the policy of worldly wisdom, dictated

that Slavery in this country, should be left undisturbed for the present, and that it was so repugnant to a republican government, that it would, of necessity, become gradually extinguished, as the proper circumstances favored. This idea was evidently both entertained and acted upon by the slave's friends, who assisted in framing the U. S. Constitution, and consented to sign the anomalous instrument. Here we see wise men under the influence of the gradualism idea, giving security, and countenance, in the otherwise excellent Constitution, to a system of barbarity and injustice, and of aggression upon human liberty, that has doomed its millions to degradation and suffering. So abhorrent was Slavery then, in its infancy, that the framers of the Constitution, were ashamed to legislate for its protection, so they effected their object by construction, in a round of words—which in a good cause they would have reached, by a frank, manly expression, the word slave being studiously avoided. Blinded by the attractive plan of gradually ceasing from gross injustice, they were too insensible of the inevitably calamitous results of denying to the African race the inestimable blessing of liberty, which they proudly declared to be the birth-right of all men.

The gradualism idea is fraught with much injury to the slave's cause. Those who adopt it, acknowledge the present rightfulness of Slavery, in the logical inference that where it is wrong to emancipate, it must be right to enslave. They are thus unprepared to exert their influence for its extinction, resting in the delusive hope that at some future period circumstances will better favor the measure. But alas! giving perpetuity to the system only increases the obstructions to its removal. The injunction "cease to do evil," is immediate in its bearing, it is never too soon to fulfil the command to "deal justly and love mercy," nor can the mandate be violated with impunity.

Now if emancipation at the adoption of the Constitution was unwarranted—if the master's claim to his slave was just and right under circumstances then existing, there could have been no iniquity in legalizing it. If at later periods, and even at the present, the slave's right to himself has become invalid, and spurious from circumstances beyond his control, circumstances, that have out-balanced his claim to liberty, so that morality and christianity forbid the removal of his bondage yoke—then is the Statesman right in throwing guarantees around the system of Slavery—the christian professor in disregarding the cries of the oppressed—the Editor in giving his influence in behalf of the system, and the dealers in, and consumers of slave labor products, are entirely consistent in patronizing slavery by the purchase of such products of the master. But these assumptions we unhesitatingly deny, and ought therefore not to practice upon them.

Americans admit the right to liberty, to be inalienable. Then all the abuse, and deprivation heaped upon the African, has had no tendency to diminish the validity of his right. This renders the master's claim, at all times and forever spurious. These are self-evident truths, too plain for denial, and had they been adopted (instead of the gradualism idea), at the beginning of our Country's Independence, by the leading part of the community, then, instead of an increase of Slavery, the word slave, would long since have ceased to stain the statute books, to disturb the peace of civil and reli-

gious society, and to disgrace and curse the country. And the same happy results, would yet be produced in a short period, did people generally investigate the subject upon its own merits; they would abandon, as erroneous and unjust, all gradualism, which has long fostered the system of Slavery, and still continues to give it support to an alarming extent. Like so many tributary streams to the great Ocean of pro-slavery sentiment, almost all classes of men give their influence to sustain the accursed system. The statesman, the politician, the editor, the christian professor, the artisan, the merchant, the agriculturist, and consumer, it is these contributors that keep the system alive with all its attendant evils. Shall it cease, or shall it continue? this query let each one answer for himself. Let man, woman and child answer, *no, not by my aid!* This resolution made practical, would secure a speedy triumph over a barbarous system of cruelty and oppression, that would be far more honorable and glorious, than any heretofore achieved by this country. D. I.

QUAKER-HILL, 23d of 6th mo., 1853.

EGYPT NOT ALL DARKNESS.

The southern portion of the State of Illinois is settled generally by people from the South, and, whether from the ignorance of the settlers or from some other cause, it is known as Egypt. The name is patent to this portion of the State, and it is supposed by many that it was to conciliate the prejudices of the Egyptians that the Black laws of the last Illinois Legislature was passed. During the recent session of the Universalist State Convention, at St. Charles, Ill., two resolutions were introduced by the business Committee—one strongly favoring the adoption of the Maine Law, and calling upon all Christians to support it; the other equally pointed in opposition to the "Black Law." The Maine Law resolution passed without objection; but when they came to that against the "Black Law," a report of the proceedings says:

"A worthy divine—a Mr. Mc somebody, of McHenry county—seeing that a large number of the Convention were from the Southern part of the State, rose in his seat, and said he was sorry the resolution was presented; he was opposed to mixing up politics with religion; there were members from the Southern part of the State, who could not support it; it was extremely wrong to throw in a firebrand to disturb the peace and harmony of the Convention. He thought that the Law was a judicious one, right in itself, and hoped that the resolution might not be pressed upon the Convention."

This was too much for the Convention to stand, and,

"Upon taking his seat, a long, straight, six-foot-three Kentuckian, rose deliberately, and after letting his eye wander over the assembly, finally fixed it upon the gentleman from Mc Henry, and said, 'I am extremely glad that I have attended this Convention. Owing to the

distance from my home to this place, it was some time before I determined to come. But once here, and after the remarks of the brother who has preceded me, I feel amply repaid for travelling three hundred miles. I have travelled, almost continually during the last six months, mostly in the southern part of this State, have mixed freely with all classes of people, and I have come to this Convention to hear a man from one of the most northern counties of the State stand up and defend a law so infamous that it cannot find a single apologist in all Egypt! I would not have failed to attend this Convention for five hundred dollars, since I should have missed the spectacle of a man—a minister of the religion of Christ, who brought peace and good-will among men—defending such a monstrous piece of iniquity as the Black Law of the Illinois Legislature of 1853. The old Kentuckian then turned to the Convention, and spoke upon the resolution for the space of half an hour, in a very impressive and eloquent manner; and when the question was put upon the passage of the resolution, not a dissenting voice was heard. The gentlemen from McHenry was 'as a sheep before his shearer, dumb—so he opened not his mouth.'

So may all doughfaces be rebuked, when they palter to prejudice, and display their own servility.—*Nat. Era.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 7, 1853.

EGYPT NOT ALL DARKNESS.—We have sometimes thought that the personage who is declared to be "not so black as he's painted," can have no very high respect for his volunteer tools and over obsequious minions, particularly when they "steal the livery of Heaven" to serve him in. The "worthy divine" who figures in the article with the above caption, is a fair sample of a large class of northern men, who continually forfeit their own self-respect, by advocating the wrong to please the south. They don the collar and the harness, sillily inflict upon themselves "the soul's emasculation," and "Thus transfigured, thus condemned to Flattery's trebles, They toll thro' all, still trembling to be wrong: For fear some noble tho'ts like heavenly rebels, Should rise up in high treason to their brain, They sing, as the Athenian spoke, with pebbles, In mouth, lest Truth should stammer through their strain."

And what thanks have they? what is their reward? Certainly not that peace which passeth understanding, which is independent of outward prosperity, and which will sweeten the most adverse circumstance. Not the consciousness of their Heavenly Father's approval. Not

the approbation of any honorable intellect. Not the respect of even any rogue.

"Traitors cannot discern, till, with Arnold, they learn That their payment is scorn from the party who buys them, They are bought with a price, they accept it in vice, And they find in a trice that their buyers despise them."

Men of the North—you are happily exempt from peculiar trials to which our Southern brethren are subjected. As you stand then upon the soil of freedom, plant your feet firmly there in God's strength, and extend to your brother the unblenching glance of honest love, the voice of truth, the helping hand of firm consistency. Compromise is no kindness:—if his own faith fail, he needs the strength of your assurance in the right, and if you will be honest, honorable, consistent, uncompromising, and maintain the Christian spirit, American slavery will cease. We know of nothing more ignoble, more adverse to the dignity and true well-being of man than *Northern proslavery*. Nor do we know of a more inoffensive or more emphatic rebuke thereto, than a steady non-use of the fruit of oppression.

NON-PARTICIPANT'S PLEDGE.—In the "Bond of Brotherhood" is submitted the following PLEDGE.

"Believing that the voluntary consumption of the products of the Slave, is a participation in the crime of the system which holds him in bondage, I do hereby pledge myself to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of any article which has been produced by his unrequited toil."

E. Burritt argues, that in moral obligation this would present as strong a claim as the Temperance Pledge, and, in moral responsibility, involve less hazard. In this case he says,

"We do not declare war against a habit which has set all the appetites of our system on fire, as the drunkard does, when he signs the tee-total pledge." * * "It is utterly impossible ever to acquire a thirst or appetite for Carolina rice or cotton, to be compared with the thirst for Gin and Brandy."

A PROFESSING RUMSELLER.—A few days ago, on board one of our river Steamers, a fellow passenger introduced to us his companion, as "a Presbyterian Rumseller." "A strange compound!" was our response—"the two professions don't agree—Rumselling is essentially inconsistent with Presbyterianism, or any other phase of Christianity." Being pressed for time and compelled to make our words few, we wished to render them *savory* also. The following conversation ensued, an audience quickly gathering round.

Non-Slaveholder.—I hold thy business in abhorrence as a great sin against God and man. However it may have been winked at in times of ignorance, yet those times have passed, and it is, as I conceive, out of the question for a Christian to sell intoxicating liquors indiscriminately as a beverage.

Rumseller.—We have the sanction of Law. We are licensed.

N. Slaveholder.—By joining the Presbyterian Church thou hast consented to a *higher law*; and no human enactment can render this business innocent. I abhor it with all my heart. I have no unkindness towards Rumsellers—I desire the conversion and the salvation of them all;—but their business I hate with perfect hatred. I would rather license a volcano in the midst of our most populous streets, than a Rum Shop; and should think it the lesser evil.

Rumseller.—You use very strong language.

N. Slaveholder.—It is not the hasty language of excitement, but the result of calm reflection. I would rather license, in the midst of a crowded city, any number of volcanoes, than so many Rum Shops.

Rumseller.—The people want public houses and they must have them.

N. Slaveholder.—The Public ought to change their habits about the use of Public Houses. A temperance man should pay for the accommodation he receives at a Hotel. The owner should be paid for the use of his fire, of his carpet, and for all the accommodations he provides. It is a shame for the Temperance men to enjoy all these at the expense of the poor drunkard, who spends his earnings at the bar, while his family are suffering from want.

Rumseller.—That's very true, sir. I agree with you *there*. I always thought it *mean* for the temperance men to come to our houses and then abuse us.

N. Slaveholder.—But the Rumseller has no business to complain. The temperance man ought to pay his own way for the testimony's sake, but it takes the community some time to get out of established usages. But, as I said, the Rumseller has no right to complain. He has purchased permission to curse the community to an indefinite extent, in purse, in body, and in soul; to be the very worst of all bad citizens; to ensnare and to ruin all whom he can, for time and for eternity. For this privilege he pays a two-fold price:—a paltry license fee,—and an agreement to give certain accommodations to the public. He is not aggrieved: (on the contrary he merits the penitentiary)—and the temperance man has a legal right in common with others to the accommodation so dearly purchased;—but he ought not to give his sanction to the contract.

Rumseller.—Well—you can't show any thing in the Bible against Rumselling!

N. Slaveholder.—Why the whole tenor of the Book is against it. Didst thou ever read the tenth Psalm?—

A Bible lay on the cabin table, we opened it

and read the Psalm with emphasis. The whole of it made an evident impression, especially verses 8 and 9,—

"He sitteth in the lurking places of the villages: In the secret places doth he murder the innocent: His eyes are privily set against the poor, He lieth in wait secretly as a lion in his den: He lieth in wait to catch the poor: He DOTH catch the poor when he draweth him into his net."

Rumseller.—Do you think that refers to Rumsellers?

N. Slaveholder.—I know that it applies to Rumsellers,—and if I were one I would take it to myself.

A Passenger.—If you were a Rumseller you would not read it.

Another Passenger.—The worst Rumseller, I know, has not been to a place of worship these thirty years.

N. Slaveholder.—I would have thee to notice that in the sacred writings, especially in the New Testament, great truths and principles are laid down, and it is our duty to conform our lives to them, without expecting to see every particular deviation from them separately specified and condemned. We are to apply the principles of Christianity, according to the best light we have.

Here the dialogue closed. The liquor-seller seemed confused and conscious, and his friend informed us that he made no unkind remarks upon what had passed, but seemed "much galled by the Psalm."

A TESTAMENT FOR SLAVE-LAND CIRCULATION.—Punch, who, together with his abundant nonsense, not unfrequently gives utterance to a well-timed satire, thus bestows a sly poke upon the Slaveocracy.

THE SLAVE-OWNER'S TESTAMENT.—It would be a gainful speculation for an enterprising publisher to get up, for circulation among serious slave-owners, a Family New Testament, with the objectionable passages expurgated; the passages to be expunged as objectionable being those whereby the practices of buying, selling, flogging, and otherwise treating black men and women like beasts, or worse than beasts, is forbidden in the injunction to act towards others as we would have them act towards ourselves.—*Punch.*

The hint is far from meaningless. The "Southern Chivalry" understand, far better than some abolitionists appear to do, that the Sacred Volume is an Anti-Slavery Book. Hence their aversion to its being read to or by their colored population. Hence the practice which prevails, on some plantations, of reading to the assembled Slaves certain favorite passages in which pro-slavery sagacity has given the finishing touch to the words of inspiration: as—"Slaves, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, for the disobedient Slave shall be beaten till his sides are sore," (Ephes. vi. 5.)—Hence professed ministers and ambassadors of Him, who left the throne of his glory and took on him the form of a servant, for the sake of the humblest African as surely as for his proudest oppressor, and who declared it a part of his mission "to

break every yoke,"—messengers of His glad tidings are to be found, who will

Torture the pages of the hallowed Bible,
To sanction crime and robbery and blood,
And in Oppression's hateful service, libel
Both man and God!"

Some of them will feel this *punch* in a sore place, for, notwithstanding their professed indifference to transatlantic sentiment, their

"feelings are as soft and sensible
As are the tender horns of cockled snails."

LITERARY NOTICES.

NARRATIVE OF A RECENT VISIT TO BRAZIL,
by John Candler and Wilson Burgess: to present an address on the *Slave Trade and Slavery*, issued by the religious Society of Friends.—91 pages.

We have been obliged to delay our notice of this valuable pamphlet, which is, as might be expected, characterized by candor, by simple perspicuity, and by earnest sincerity. The object of their mission, as set forth in the title of the book, is pretty well understood by our readers; and we need hardly, at this date, explain, that the Address to the Sovereigns and Rulers of Christian Nations, adopted by London Yearly Meeting, had already been favorably presented throughout Europe. The movements of the valued Friends composing the several deputations, have illustrated the truth that "Wisdom is profitable to direct." The arrival of a deputation to our own General and State Governments, is now expected on our shores, and having full confidence in the genuineness of the *origin* of this religious concern, and in the christian discretion of the beloved Friends who have been deputed, we do not doubt that they will be courteously received, we do not doubt that they will steadily seek for divine assistance to pursue this service, for Christ's sake, in a meek and Christian Spirit, and we trust that they will have the sympathy and the prayers, of those who, whilst dwelling in their ceiled houses, would willingly consider themselves as the constituents of these Christian Ambassadors. One of these dear friends writes, in a private letter, "our deputations have been well received in all the countries thus far visited; will the United States do otherwise than receive us kindly?"—We believe not: but to the pamphlet before us.

Our friends landed on the 2d of 10th Mo., 1852, at Pernambuco, "a large town of about 100,000 inhabitants, chiefly slaves." * * "The Slaves go without shoes to distinguish them from the colored free people."

During the voyage, several copies of Uncle Tom's Cabin having been brought out by the passengers,

"And observing one of them intent on reading it day after day, we ventured to ask him what he thought of

the work. It is all true, he replied; I know it to be true. I am, unhappily, a slave-holder myself. Slavery is as much a curse to the master as to the slave. Much, and with great reason, as we may object to works prepared in this manner, to suit the public taste, it is quite certain that the reading of this extraordinary book has done much good: it has led many persons to see, what they never saw or thought of before, that slavery is a great moral evil, whether in America or any other land,—a hideous institution, which no professing Christian can with consistency tolerate for a single hour. England has abolished slavery: France has abolished it: so have Sweden and Denmark. The United States of America must shortly follow the example thus placed before them, or cease to hold a high rank among Christian nations. Never before were the two continents of the Old and New World agitated on this question as they now are; there is, doubtless, an overruling Providence in it: the words of a modern poet, himself an American, are beginning to be realised:—

"Tis the waking up of nations

From slavery's fatal sleep;

The murmur of a universe:

Deep calling unto deep."

May the movement, so long and so much needed, hasten on from murmurs to lawful action, until freedom is everywhere secured to the slave!"

In two days they reached Bahia.

"The slaves and free blacks of Bahia have been chiefly brought from the coast of Benin, near the province of Minna, and are a remarkably fine race of people. The slaves are decently dressed on their lower limbs: the men go naked to the waist, and the women wear only a loose wrapper of cotton cloth; they thus display their fine limbs and noble proportions, and exhibit forms that a statuary would be emulous to copy. They perform an immense amount of labour, such as ought to be performed by horses, mules or oxen, and are evidently treated as if belonging to a lower grade in the animal creation. In bearing great loads up the steep ascents of the city, their nostrils expand with hard breathing, and they sing somewhat dolefully to relieve the chest. Sometimes, when the work is not hard, they sing cheerfully. About fifty of these fine men came on board to assist in coaling the ship, and as they lifted up the huge and heavy sacks of coal by a long rope, they marched in time on the deck, and sang an African song, which some of us thought had as much of melody in it, as the performances of our Italian opera-singer, who was going on a professional visit to Rio de Janeiro."

On the 9th, their arrival at Rio de Janeiro completed their voyage of 5240 miles. A chief officer of the customs "cleared their luggage with kindness and dispatch," and on reading their letter of introduction, said,

"I am glad of your mission: I have been striving with others these 20 years to put down the Slave trade; we cannot go as far as you do in regard to Slavery; our circumstances forbid it; but I will do what I can to help you."

The pages before us are rich in intelligent descriptions which we must omit.

"As we were walking in the 'Rua direita,' a Brazilian gentleman accosted us in imperfect English, informing us that he had been in England and knew that we were Quakers. 'They ask me,' he continued, 'who you are; I tell them Quakers, Friends—very good people. I knew a Quaker in London (William Allen) a very good man indeed.' Finding him disposed to be familiar, we told him that we were seeking the way to the National Library. 'I will go with you,' he said. Taking us by the arm he conducted us to a narrow paved court-way which we had just avoided. A Roman

Catholic church, in which high mass was performing, opened by its principal entrance into the court, and a number of persons stood bare-headed before the doors. We requested him not to take us that way, as we could not take off our hats in honour of the service, and we desired not to give offence. 'Never mind,' was his rejoinder, 'leave that to me.' On coming to the people, he took off his own hat, and as we passed through them, he said 'These are my friends, you must give dispensation; and we were suffered to go on without molestation. Such dispensation is not permitted in Portugal. The truth is that in Brazil, though a strictly Roman Catholic country, in which no natives are protestants, there is a large amount of religious as well as of civil liberty. English and American protestants are allowed to build places of public worship so long as the exterior is simple, without a steeple and without bells, and to worship in their own manner; nor the Roman Catholics forbidden, if they please, to attend a protestant service. Free permission is given by law to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures: an agent of the American Bible Society sells them at a moderate price at a store in the city, and a Roman Catholic bookseller, advertises for sale the Bibles of the British and Foreign Bible Society. We found, on inquiry, that the demand was small, and that the Bibles were objected to, as wanting the Apocrypha. So little aid is afforded by the State to a persecuting spirit on the part of the Romish bishops and clergy, that a travelling agent for the selling of Bibles might pass through the country unmolested. The fault of the Brazilians in regard to religion is not intolerance, but indifference: the common people, as in all Popish countries, are deeply superstitious; the upper or educated class, who rule the nation, are spoken of by those who observe them, as influenced greatly by the literature of France, and strongly disposed to infidelity. In such a nation, under the combined influences of Popery, infidelity, and slavery, it would be vain to expect a commendable state of morals."

An interview with the Emperor was arranged for the presentation of their Address, which, we are well informed, includes an uncompromising condemnation of Slavery, which it denounces as unchristian.

"A servant in attendance directed us to an ante-room. After waiting half an hour, a gentleman of the household desired us to follow him to the hall of audience, where he said we should find the Emperor. This was our only introduction. A fine tall man, dressed in plain clothes, but with a diamond star on his breast, seeing us enter, kindly walked a few paces to meet us. We knew him to be the Emperor. The gentleman who attend him on occasions of audience, stood at a distant part of the room. Holding the parchment in our hands, we addressed him in the following manner. 'May it please the Emperor to permit us briefly to explain the cause of our coming to Brazil? We are Members of the Society of Friends, in England. That Society has long felt a deep deep sympathy for the wrongs of Africa in the existence of the slave-trade in different countries, and deplors also the continuance of slavery. Influenced by this feeling, it has believed it to be a religious duty to prepare an Address to the Sovereigns and Rulers of Christian nations on the subject. This address has been presented to many of the Courts of Europe; and we are deputed to present it to the Emperor of Brazil. Will the Emperor condescend to receive it at our hands?' The Emperor, taking the parchment, said, 'I will receive it with pleasure, and read it.' 'May we be allowed to congratulate the Emperor, and to express our thankfulness that the slave-trade is extinguished, or nearly so, in Brazil?' 'The Emperor,—I wish to see it abolished all over the world.' 'May we also express our desire that He who rules in the heavens, by whom Kings rule and decree justice, may be pleased to bless the Emperor and Empress, and their children, and give prosperity and peace to Brazil?' The

Emperor—"I thank you very much." Here the interview ended, and we retired.

"On returning from the palace, we called on Euzebio, the late Minister of Justice to the Empire, an earnest opposer of the African slave-trade, who expressed his gratification at receiving such a visit; and intimated his determination, though no longer in office, to continue his efforts to suppress a practice so disgraceful to the Brazilian name."

The Editors of the daily papers in Rio Janeiro promised to insert their address.

"It was found, however, too stringent and uncompromising to suit the public taste; one part of it, relating to the slave-trade, and that part only, made its appearance in the 'Correio Mercantil,' no part of it was printed in the other Government paper, the 'Journal do Commercio,' during our stay in Brazil. We resolved therefore, without delay, to send copies of it by post to persons of influence throughout the empire, and took advantage of an undisturbed residence of a few days in the mountain-district of Tejucca to carry out the design."

The Slave trade in Brazil is to a great extent honestly suppressed. Many of the large land-owners are benefited by the change.

"Some of them who prefer the comfort of being out of debt to the pride of power, begin to feel, with the community at large, that the slave-traffic is bad for themselves and the country. There is little or no outcry against its suppression from the planters, nor, generally speaking, from the native Brazilians. The chief opponents of this new measure of the Government are the Portuguese traders, who have grown rich by these iniquitous transactions, and who have become, from this cause, a powerful class, but whose race, it is to be hoped, is now nearly run. Between the native Brazilians and the resident Portuguese, there has long been a rivalry of feeling, and the profits of the slave-trade, monopolized by the latter, had served to exasperate it. The same rivalry, combined with other causes, may tend to prevent its revival."

Although, viewing Christianity as a Religion of Peace, we cannot but deplore all resort to arms to further any cause, however righteous, we must state our conviction that the late conduct of Great Britain in chasing the African slavers into the harbors of Brazil, and making seizures of them under its very forts, has contributed mainly to stimulate the Government of Brazil to put down the African slave-trade to that country. It deeply wounded the pride of the nation to see its past insincerity and bad faith thus exposed to the whole world; the Emperor therefore resolved to take the matter at once into his own hands, and, by bold measures, to crush the traffic."

Our friends journeyed through the land, leaving copies of their manifesto against Slavery with the owners of estates, one of which they describe as 12 miles square, containing 240,000 coffee trees: 100 acres are appropriated to sugar culture.

"While riding out one morning during our stay in Tejucca, we witnessed a sight that caused us to shudder; it was a black man being tied up by another black, probably for the purpose of flogging, and his owner or overseer standing by with apparent unconcern. We were admiring the lovely scenery by which we were surrounded, but on seeing this, it immediately cast such a gloom over the whole that admiration gave way to a feeling of sadness."

They visited the JOHN DEL REY GOLD MINES, the power of which to yield gold, is described as only limited by the want of labor—

ers. They are chiefly worked by Slaves, "and the mortality of the mines is very great."

"The present superintendent of the mines has a high character for humanity and kindness. Still, we have the startling fact before us, that Englishmen are slaveholders, and work their slaves in unhealthy mines for the paltry love of gold; they obtain 10 per cent. per annum and often much more for the capital they employ; but the sinews of their servants are in the mean time shrinking, their bodily powers decay, and a fearful rate of mortality goes on! Had the slaves whom the Company now hold been purchased by it since the passing of Lord Brougham's Act, in 1843, instead of before that period, every individual share-holder, we presume, might be looked upon by law as a felon, and be liable to a prosecution in our criminal courts. But every shareholder is a slaveholder now; and if slaveholding be a crime, where is the difference, *in foro conscientia*, between having slaves purchased before a given date or after it? The subject is a national reproach: and all who possess a share in the capital of the Company, may adopt the language of Scripture,—"We are verily guilty concerning our brother."

Our friends in various instances evinced their fidelity and efficiency. Having heard in England of some English boys reduced in Brazil to a state of semi-slavery, they investigated the matter. "The minister for Foreign Affairs, at Rio, as soon as the complaint was made, issued a commission of inquiry, and on the proofs adduced of harsh treatment to these poor boys, ordered instant repatriation."

The favorable reception of our friends by those whose interests were arrayed against the mission, and by the various functionaries is a good token of their fitness for this labor of love. On leaving Rio for Bahia they had the satisfaction that their passports of leaving, which were liable to a fee of \$60, were sent to them free of charge.

At Bahia, an opportunity presented of witnessing the superstition of the negroes.

"In walking the street on one of the Saints' days, we saw rockets in the air and heard the sound of loud crackers. We asked what the rejoicing meant: 'The host is lifted up in the church, and the people outside send up the rockets to let the Saint know, and to beg his prayers.' A short time since, after a long period of dry weather, the people began to be uneasy, and asked the priests what they could do to obtain rain. After serious consultation, it was agreed that there should be an exchange of Saints: the images of two of the churches should be removed and take each other's places; and there should be music, and rockets, and a long procession. The day came: men and women of every class, in holiday attire, attended by priests in their paraphernalia, with long black gowns, and broad black hats, moved slowly along from one church to the other, to assist in the ceremonies. The work was accomplished: rain fell, and priests and people proclaimed a miracle of Grace! 'And do you really think,' said our friend Baines, to an intelligent priest, 'that the changing of these images has brought these showers?' 'Indeed I do,' was his reply; as soon as the work was done, it began to rain: what else could it be? With a religion of this sort, and with occasional holidays of mirth, the poor slaves are taught to believe that they may become happy here and hereafter. The fetters, however, that bind the limbs of some of them are felt to be galling, even in the cities. The newspapers abound in advertisements of runaway servants, with offers of large rewards for their apprehension. They

are sold by public auction, with other chattels, and are separated from their families, and sent under slave-drivers to be sold to the plantations. The lot of the slaves in Bahia is alleviated by their concentration and immense number, and the bold front they exhibit of strong forms and physical power, which silently says to their masters, 'It is better to treat us well;' but still, slavery is, and must be, a bitter draught, even in that city; and though many are made to drink of it, it is not the less bitter on that account."

We propose to finish our notice of this narrative in our next number.

Notice to the Friends of Free Labor.

THE Proprietor of the Free Labor Warehouse in this city deems it proper to inform the friends of the free labor movement in this country, that he continues his efforts to provide a variety of articles of DRY GOODS and GROCERIES, which may be relied on as strictly free from the stain of Slavery.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties constantly to be encountered, he has been able to present every year, to the acceptance of his customers an increased variety, with the quality of many articles considerably improved.

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Fancy Silk Stripe Crossover,
Plain, Plaid and Striped Glaces Silks,
India Mull Muslin,
Plaid Muslins, Paper Muslins,
Coloured Cambrics, Ticking,
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An assortment of Satinets,
Suspenders, Gloves,
Silk Shirts and Drawers,
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do. Hosiery, Cotton Hosiery,
Silk do. Knitting Cotton,
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N. W. Cor. 5th and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 10.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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Exchange papers and communications for insertion should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N. J." (the residence of the Editor.)

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 34.)

It has been some time since we have afforded space for this department.

A beloved correspondent, in a letter not intended for publication, after speaking of a recent journey, writes as follows:

9 month 19th, 1853.
It took something from the buoyancy of our pleasurable feelings on reaching home, to learn that dear friends, and you of the number, had been to visit us during our absence. "Iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." Engaged in a common moral conflict, with much (even from very friends) to deter us in our up-hill reformatory work, we need this brightening to make the path of duty joyous. As we journeyed onward we sat down to splendidly furnished tables, where, with the sacrifices made to luxury, were doubtless mingled, in the eye of true philosophy, the blood of our fellow men. Enough remained to us, not so commixed, for health and enjoyment. When, my friend, shall the time be, that, rightly regulating "our daily bread," we shall see a blow struck at Slavery greater than all declamation, however eloquent, can wield? It would be painful to believe that, in the increase of the government of the Prince of Peace, that time shall not arrive, when the products of all violence done to God's image shall by pure christendom be held to be forbidden fruits: and it would be difficult to suppose that, in that happier era, their use, when such violence has the infliction of death as its frequent concomitant, will be regarded as much short of the crime of the Fejee Islander.

We had one morning among our stage companions, a politician of the "Silver Gray Stripe," who without being called to it by any remark of others, volunteered a defence of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the social and personal duty of enforcing it. This led to an hour's debate, in which our politician averred that he would himself drive back to his master "the panting fugitive" at the point of the bayonet, should occa-

sion require. I remarked that I would pay him the compliment to disbelieve his assertion. Rather did I suppose he would imitate "Senator Burr," or, failing to secure the escape of the fugitive, would say, "come, neighbors, let us raise a purse, and save this our brother from the wretched doom which awaits him." But he had to be informed who "Senator Burr" was, and had yet to read the admirable story of Uncle Tom's Cabin! Driven by the argument into a close corner, where a cute down-Easter helped to put him, he made his escape from the obligations which the higher law of Heaven imposed, by affirming that all religion was priestcraft. A sick Clergyman, till then a silent listener, raised himself from his reclining position, and feebly yet earnestly remarked: "Did you ever see, Sir, a vindicator of Slavery, whose views at bottom were not tinged by infidelity?"

Not to inflict our diary on thee,—in returning homeward we fell in with a gentleman whose fine personal appearance at once prepossessed us in his favor ere a word had been exchanged with him. ***

He announced himself as — the rescuer from a twelve year's Slavery of Solomon Northup, a free and intelligent colored man, seduced at Saratoga Springs into the temporary employ of two men going to Washington City, and where, being drugged, he was put whilst insensible, into a Slave pen, in that representative city of our nation's glory, and thence transferred as a slave to the Bayou Boeuf, Louisiana.

Referring me to the published account of Solomon's capture, bondage and escape—the accuracy of which he held to be unquestionable, and the interest in reading which he thought would in my view be next absorbing to "Mrs. Stowe's work," he gave me an affecting statement of a visit to a slave pen in Washington City, and other incidents of Slavery which had come under his own observation since commencing the work of effecting Solomon's liberation, confirmatory of all that is spoken of as evil in the vile system, and involving in their terrible influences women as fair and beautiful, and having minds probably as feeling, as any lady in the saloon of the steam boat then carrying us. The favorable impression which the narrator had made on my mind, lost none of its force in his telling me of a recent visit to the man of Peterboro, and enthusiastically describing him as one of God's noblemen. On my arrival at Philadelphia, I had to make, ere proceeding further homeward, a detour from my direct course, to get the book spoken of. Having promptly read it, and with no abatement of the expected interest, I must say to every friend of the Slave, to every one who for any cause feels an interest in knowing what Slavery is;—Go, and buy, and read, without delay, the "Narrative of Solomon Northup, a citizen of New York, kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and rescued in 1853 from a cotton plantation near the Red river in Louisiana."

Another correspondent says:

I have read with exquisite delight the poem now publishing in successive parts in thy journal: ("An appeal for the bondswoman") and I feel impelled to invite to it the especial attention of all lovers of fine poetry. There are some of the finest chords in the soul's lyre which are not to be moved by argument, but will vibrate to such touches as those of E. L. Jr. And notwithstanding the sentiment of Dr. Johnson, which thou hast half endorsed, (page 72) that "there

is no necessity for our having poetry at all, it being merely a luxury, an instrument of pleasure," and his deduction that "it can have no value unless when exquisite of its kind;" I conceive that to some minds it is an absolute necessity; a sentiment which has a strong sanction, since so large a portion of the Divinely inspired Scriptures were written in poetry.

It is, perhaps, chiefly in ante-meridian life that such minds are peculiarly accessible through poetic influences, which cannot be spared from the economy of philanthropy. WHITTIER has made many thousands of abolitionists, whose sympathies for the Slave had else remained as dormant and as inaccessible as "the figure in the stone" which a classic writer declares that "the Sculptor only finds."

I have perused,—or rather I have inhaled, with growing interest and zest, the appeals of the authoress to the successive classes of her own sex, till I begin to wish that thou wouldst insert the whole of it at once, and not tantalize us with small portions. Permit me to express my anxiety on one point. It was mentioned in the editorial accompanying Part first, that "it is addressed, in so many sections, to seven distinct classes." Now upon the plan which thou hast so far pursued, of giving one part only in each number, it will overrun the present volume, which I should regret. I am one, I hope, of a large number who intend to bind the N. Slaveholder at the close of the year, as a book for my library, and were there less inducement otherwise, it would be sufficient that the volume contained a complete copy of E. Lloyd's 'APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN TO HER OWN SEX.'

OBERLIN, Sept. 7th, 1853.

I send you nine subscribers for the N. Slaveholder. Prof. G. N. Allen, E. H. Fairchild, Hiram A. Pease, W. Jones, Prof. T. B. Hudson, Hamilton Hill, Uriah Thompson, A. Beacher, Prof. John Morgan. I have not time now to state to you the interest that is felt here on this important movement, but hope to be able ere long. Suffice it to say that the people of Oberlin will not be behind in any reform or movement calculated to remove oppression and to promote the good of our fellow men: and when they see their duty on this subject, I believe they will be willing to do something towards furthering the cause. I hope soon to be able to communicate to you some cheering intelligence in respect to it, together with some more subscriptions.

Yours truly,
R. CRITTENDEN.

So be it. We love Oberlin.

LYNN, MASS. (with eight new subscriptions) "The ball begins to roll."

That's right. There are no flaws in the ball. It is a true sphere and will roll well.

CLINTON Co. OHIO. (with thirteen subscriptions.) The friends in our little meeting very cordially give encouragement to the work you are engaged in, and some of them have subscribed for the Non-Slaveholder.

WESTMORELAND, N. Y., (with subscriptions.) "I have lent the papers—No. 5, was particularly interesting. A person to whom it was lent read the piece entitled 'Stolen Goods,' to a man who professed to be an abolitionist and who thought that he did nothing to uphold Slavery: but on hearing this he said that it was a perfectly new idea. This man thinks that if people were only informed upon this subject, we should soon be able to support a factory."

VASSALBORO, MAINE. "I enclose \$2 00 (postage stamps) for eight copies of N. S."

[Acknowledgements are due for several communications from this place.]

JEFFERSON Co., OHIO.

A valued correspondent writes:

I fully intended sending an occasional article for your valuable paper, but prior engagements have absorbed every moment of my time. I have not how-

ever been an uninterested spectator of your labors, but have during the past year maintained a very extensive correspondence, either on behalf of our Board of Managers on my own account, with the friends of the cause, in reference to the establishment and support of the N. Slaveholder. I have no doubt that its publication is doing good, and I desire your encouragement, hoping the time is not far distant when it may be increased in size, &c., &c.

A friend in Ohio writes.

"There is an increased interest felt in many places, not only among Friends but others respecting the inconsistency of the friends of humanity making use of the products of the slave's unrequited toil. Many elder persons still oppose the Free Labor movement, but among the younger class with us you rarely meet with any one who is not ready to admit the propriety of it, and the obligation to refrain, however inconsistent his practice. * * * We desire to act with great prudence, and due deference to the prejudice of those who are determined not to see, but, at the same time, to clear our own consciences, by keeping the subject, on all proper occasions, distinctly before their view. Have we all done our whole duty in this respect? Have we remembered those in bonds as bound with them? Could we change situations with the poor slave, we could answer all these queries in the negative."

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

(Continued from Page 73.)

PART IV.

WORSHIPPER AT FASHION'S SHRINE!

To that idol-god of thine,
Giving time, and soul, and sense,
What hath been thy recompense?

Lady—in the minstrel guise
I have looked with searching eyes
On thy seeming paradise.
Thou art dropping secret tears,
Sorrowing o'er wasted years,
Harassed by unnoted cares,
Stealing from thee unawares
All thy best of life away,
'Till weary is thy day—
And thy silent hours confess
All is loss and emptiness!

Thou art haunted in the crowd,
Thou art followed in the dance,
At the revel late and loud,
By a sad accusing glance.
In the brilliant festal hall,
Where thou glidest to and fro,
With a winning word for all,
But a pining heart below,
Music's elevating power—
All that can enthral the sense,
Fills the place and rules the hour.

Vainly—thou art beckoned hence.
Read the mandate to depart
In thy sick unquiet heart,
Chafing now at empty word,
Hollow smile and mean desire,
Like some poor imprisoned bird

Shut within its gilded wire,
Fashion's cold benumbing creed
Cannot answer to its need;
Africa's Palm would sooner grow
On the soil that feeds the pine,
O'er a wall of Alpine snow
Sooner creep the Southern vine,
Than in Fashion's drifting sand,
Could thy loving heart take root,
In her chilling clime expand,
Or put forth an upward shoot.

Lady! for thy conscience' sake,
Through a weary thralldom break—
For the Slave's sake be thou strong!
She hath watched and waited long,
In the failing hope to see
From its thrall thy spirit free.
Well she knows, that helpless one,
That her freedom is begun
Only when thy shackles fall—
Well she knows it were in vain
On a pinioned arm to call
For the loosing of her chain.
Under God, her trust must be
In the mind whose strength is free;
In the lip will fearless speak
For the trodden down and weak;
To the heart awake to feel,
Must be made her sad appeal;
And her cause must still abide
With the pen that Truth shall guide.

V.

MOUENER! on a lonely pathway,
Where the lights have ceased to shine,
From a true and warm heart parted,
Linked in love with thine,—
Living only for the future,
As thou seekest day by day
Commune with the white-robed spirit
God hath called away,—
Hath not Consolation met thee,
Even at Affliction's door,
Softened eyes, and words of healing,
Never known before?

Messengers of Peace surround thee—
Friendship's grasp is long and kind—
And His hand thy heart hath broken
Is outstretched to bind.

Ah, there are—whose tears and partings,
Touch no cord in Pity's breast;
Day but brings them toil and anguish,
Night a fearful rest.

Thy dark seasons come and vanish,
Christian Faith and Hope between,—
For the Slave, no bow of promise
In life's cloud is seen.

Beautiful thy dead lay sleeping,
Yet with an immortal's trust,

Thou could'st yield to God the spirit
And the "dust, to dust!"
Ah, thy wretched sister bendeth
O'er her dead, a ghastly form,
With that dread thought of the hopeless,
Darkness and the worm!

On her dull ear, no glad tidings
Of a world beyond the grave,
Where the gates of pearl are open
Even to the Slave.

No hope on her vigil breaketh,
That the form so weary here
May in white and shining raiment
With the Just appear.

Where, a white stone in her forehead,
And a new song on her lip,
Her cup in the sea of crystal
Evermore may dip.

Sorrow's mission is to draw thee
Tow'rd Earth's suffering children near,
And thy spiritual vision
To enlarge and clear.

In thy heart her hand is sowing
Seed unknown to outward sight,
Destined to bear fruit in actions,
Children of the light.

For the Non-Slaveholder

Friend William J. Allinson—Permit me to make a few remarks by way of rejoinder to the reply of E. L., contained in the 8th number of thy excellent little sheet.

The writer of the strictures on the memorial in question, may not have "sufficiently weighed the matter before him;" as intimated; but after all the explanation which has been given, the plan suggested by the memorial, is not, in my view, relieved of any of its objections. The question is not, whether the abolition of slavery might not be facilitated by the passage of such a law; but is it morally right to do so. If the offer of the common price would not induce slaveholders to liberate their slaves, doubtless some two or three times that amount would: at any rate, the offer might be such as to insure this result. But would our friend admit, that because slavery might be abolished, say by paying ten thousand dollars each for the slaves, that therefore, such payment would be justifiable—would be right? Surely not. Why? Is it because that is too much money to pay for freedom? That is beyond all price. Is it because slaveholders have no right to so much? Have they any better right to ten dollars for each slave, than ten thousand? The question then, is not whether this plan would extinguish slavery, but is it a righteous one.

We can have no doubt, that with a corres-

pendent training of the public mind, slavery might be abolished by a resort to violence—to war; but our friend would not advocate *this* plan, because it is practical.

Again, the writer of the reply will surely not claim, that there is any more propriety in paying slaveholders to cease their robbery, than there is in paying the highwayman, the counterfeiter, and the common swindler, to cease their depredations on community, and give up their ill gotten gains; (unless it could be shown that the free states, by their political and commercial intercourse with slaveholders, have injured them pecuniarily; which our friend will not assume, because it is well known that the contrary is the true state of the case, in different instances, to the amount of millions.)

Now, in asking them to do so, “however just our plea, we are practically asking them to make what they at least consider to be a large pecuniary sacrifice; and what would be, under existing circumstances, to many of them an actual sacrifice of nearly all they possess.” Should we then, to save them from being reduced to poverty by their crimes, be so “magnanimous” as to ask a law to remunerate them for all they would lose by becoming honest men? This is just what our friend asks for those who have long practiced the very worst kind of robbery!

Another point. Our friend must know that were he in possession of slaves, it would be his duty to liberate them without remuneration—that he could not do right in any other way. Why then does he advocate that, which in *itself* he is aware is wrong? Evidently, because he “can hardly expect” slaveholders to emancipate without compensation—can hardly expect them to do right. Here is one of the strongest points of objection to the course of our friend. He is well aware that justice and right do not demand compensation to slaveholders: but because they will not do as they should, he advocates that which is in itself unjust, and that because such a plan suits *them* better than an honest one; and because he thinks this is the best that can be done under the circumstances! Wrong in the abstract, but right in the concrete!

Let those whose moral acumen enables them to see no better than to recognize property in man, do it in this way, and abolish slavery if they can; but surely it is the duty of all who have correct principles, to advocate them, and not another set, and that because such principles may be more popular or more palatable. Gradual emancipation has been the plan, by which slavery has as yet been abolished in the United States, and it is probable, is the only one that will succeed; but it is our duty ne-

vertheless, to advocate an *immediate* abandonment of the sin. Whatever others may do, we should maintain the *right*, in word and deed, inflexibly and without compromise or wavering, regardless of any principle of *expediency*, or policy, except that of immutable justice; and let half-way men, adopt half-way means if they will.

W. E.

Spiceland, 8th Mo. 4th, 1853.

For the Non Slaveholder.

PRACTICE versus PROFESSION.

(Continued from page 74.)

Prof. Dost thou mean to say, that the people of the northern states, are slaveholders, notwithstanding they may be opposed to the system and in the constant habit of denouncing it?

Prac. I do; unless they carry their opposition to it further than talking and writing against it. If, with the knowledge that the cotton they wear, and the sugar and rice they eat, are produced by the labor of slaves, and are the main support of slavery, they continue to use those articles so produced, I have no hesitation in classing them as slaveholders, morally considered. Their living outside of the jurisdiction of slavery, does not exonerate them from the responsibility of slavery, if they are maintaining it directly or indirectly. In fact, there is less excuse for the support of it by persons living in free states, when they are not dependent upon slave labor for most of the necessities of life, than for those in the midst of it, who are willing to do what they can to discourage it.

Prof. Thy doctrine is rather severe. I have some objections to make to thy positions. In the first place, thy refusal to buy the products of slavery, looks to me very much like compulsion. I do not think we are required to compel other people to do right.

Prac. As to severity, the truth is always severe against falsehood, and righteousness against unrighteousness. Rumsellers and distillers might make the same complaint against tee-totalers.—*Compulsion*, indeed! What vice is there by which the wicked make merchandise, that the same cry of compulsion might not be raised against those who do not choose to support it?

Prof. But if the products of slave labor could not be sold, not only the masters, but the slaves must starve.

Prac. Not much danger of that, while so many continue to buy the fruit of the slave's toil. The progress of abstinence seems likely to be sufficiently gradual to warn all against the catastrophe, in time for them to change their system of labor. If however, it were possible at once to stop the sale of slave labor pro-

duce, a remedy could immediately be found against starvation. The masters could proclaim liberty to the captive. This would at once open the door for the sale of the otherwise tainted commodities; when both master and slave, in their new relation of employer and employed, could be fed and clothed, and abundantly provided for.

Prof. I look upon the scheme of abstinence from the products of slave labor, as impracticable. How can we do without cotton and sugar? They are both so completely interwoven with our every day wants, and needs, that they may be considered indispensable to our comfort.

Prac. It is always practicable to do right. And I can readily show thee that there is no danger of our being obliged to deny ourselves the use of either cotton or sugar. It is a law of trade, that demand will bring supply. In this case, we are not left in the dark.

GREGORY.

[To be continued.]

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 5, 1853.

OHIO FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.—This spirited Society held its annual meeting on the 5th ult. The Report of the Board of Managers, a valuable document, came to hand after this number was made up. It will appear in our next.

OUR BELOVED FRIENDS WILLIAM AND JOSIAH FOSTER, JOHN CANDLER AND WILLIAM HOLMES, arrived by the Steamer Niagara, at Boston, on the 15th ult., where they were met with a cordial welcome by a number of Friends, committees having been appointed by the Meetings for sufferings of New York and New England Yearly Meetings to render them any desired assistance. On reaching Philadelphia, the correspondents of that Yearly Meeting had an interview with them, entering with sympathy into their pious objects.

In prosecuting the christian embassy to which reference was made in our last No. (under the head of literary notices) it will be done purely as a religious concern, without any connection with politics, or any attempt to agitate or to step aside from their direct mission to those in authority. Their errand is one of dignity and great moral beauty, perfectly unimpeachable both in its object and its mode, and we cannot doubt that the officials with whom they communicate, will sustain their national and individual character by receiving them as christian gentlemen.

THE WORLD'S TEMPERANCE CONVENTION.

The various detailed reports of this Convention, have been, so far as we have seen them, singularly inaccurate. One conclusion, however, to which they all point, is a correct one,—that some of the leading men evinced their unfitness for the moral platform. How far it was in taste for Antoinette Brown to claim her rights as a delegate, after a secession Convention had been held because of the understanding that women were to be excluded from this; or how far the case was altered by the assurances of welcome given to her and to her friends, and by the reception of her credentials, without objection, by the chairman of the committee; are questions respecting which wise men may differ, and are thrown into the shade, as considerations unimportant in the contrast, by the shameful conduct of men of education, genius, and high celebrity,—and who, to drive her and her friends from the platform and from the convention, disgraced themselves by rowdiness, vulgarity, and violations of the rights of others, and of the decencies of debate, which might have subjected them to the care of the police in attendance.

We have no room for even a condensed synopsis of the proceedings, but we wish that the Convention had not been held. We left it, with grief of heart that old and valued champions of temperance had almost forfeited their right to rebuke the disorder of the bar-room. We had, however, one high comfort, in knowing that the large majority of the Convention were true, not only to temperance, but to fairness, manliness, honor, and virtuous propriety. We rejoiced to see the decisions of the noble President, our well beloved NEAL DOW, (who, in most trying and painful emergencies, acted sublimely) sustained by a large majority of the Delegates. It will be difficult for those who were not present, to conceive *how well* he acted;—which is cause for thankfulness, since he is so identified with the holy cause of Temperance in its most darling phase, that we could not afford to see him stoop from his sublime position, to the level of Pro-Slavery Rowdiness.

Yes, reader, it was pro-slavery intolerance that invaded the Temperance Convention, and a large portion (if not the whole) of those who there took leave of decency, who joined by fifties and by hundreds, in outcries and hisses, to prevent fairness of discussion, who insulted their presiding officer, (to whom the world owes so large a debt of gratitude) and carried their points by dishonorable tricks,—were pro-slavery men. We speak advisedly, for we were in the midst of the commotion. We heard the whisperings and the pass-words, which revealed the motives of action, and as we mark-

ed these raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame, we were deepened in our conviction that the spirit of Slavery is the very antipodes of Republicanism, of honor, and of all that is lovely and of good report.

But let us not be discouraged from using all diligence in working for the passage of the Prohibitory Liquor Law in our several states. The evils of intemperance are far beyond the power of language to describe—the License System is an outrage upon humanity, and upon common sense. It is time for THE PEOPLE to make known their determination that the sale of rum as beverage shall not be restricted but PROHIBITED.

It is impracticable for us, consistent with the design of our publication, to present our readers with a summary of anti-slavery news, or even to give a statement of all the startling occurrences. Several atrocious rendition cases have occurred since our last issue, for which we are unable to make room. Owing to a mistake of our compositor, a considerable amount of editorial matter is crowded out, and with some disappointment we find the present number quite different from what we intended.

A DISCLAIMER.—In our last No. page 76, in an article copied from the Nat. Era, occurs the following passage.

"The gentleman from McHenry was as a sheep before his shearer—dumb—so he opened not his mouth."

Had we particularly noticed this sentence, we should have omitted it, and we now allude to it for the purpose of saying that we would not willingly sanction a flippant jesting use of Scripture quotations, particularly when they properly refer to HIM, who for our sakes became "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

LITERARY NOTICES.

NARRATIVE OF A RECENT VISIT TO BRAZIL, by John Candler and Wilson Burgess: to present an address on the Slave Trade and Slavery, issued by the religious Society of Friends.

We are gratified with the interest which has been manifested in the notice and extracts from this work which we commenced in our last No., and which we now resume, without fearing that our readers will object to the occupancy of so large a proportion of our small sheet.

To appreciate the movements of our travellers, and their sphere of labor, it may be well to state that Brazil, (or *The Brazils*) comprises many large provinces, separate in jurisdiction, each having its local legislature and a Governor, styled President, appointed by the Crown. It is a constitutional monarchy, work-

ing to the general content of the free inhabitants, contrasting, in peace and tranquility, with "all the republics of North and South America which have separated from Spain." It occupies nearly half of South America, the extreme length and greatest breadth being each about 2200 miles. Were its population of about six millions equally spread over the land, "it would be difficult," says the pamphlet before us, "to trace the inhabitants: the habitation of every single family would be distant about three miles every way from its nearest neighbor: the land would be a solitude."

We give their account of their reception by the Archbishop of Bahia—

We had visited the Archbishop in the hope of inducing him still more intently to dwell on the wrongs of this unchristian system, and still more boldly to denounce them: and, in pursuance of our mission, we ventured also to call on other persons of influence. Attended by our friend, the American Consul, from whom we received many kind attentions, we paid a visit to one of the Judges of the province, and his son, who resides with him, and who is a representative to the Provincial Chamber of Deputies. Whilst we were conversing with the father—a man of intelligence, and an ardent friend of public liberty,—the son, who sat near the window, was attentively reading our Address, a copy of which we had put into his hands. When he had finished it, he came up to us and said, in a serious manner, and with apparent emotion, "These are the true principles;" and before we left he said to the Consul, "I will make this mission known in the Journals." The reading of this Address had made a deep impression on his mind, of which we soon had a full proof, as, in a day or two after, a paragraph from his own pen appeared in one of the daily newspapers of the city, which we here copy. We place it on record, not because it speaks flatteringly of ourselves, for we deserve no encomium, but because it does homage to a principle, and shows to a slavery-loving community, that if they mean to be Christian, they must be just. The newspaper has for its motto, "Order, Liberty, Constitutional Rights, Material and Moral Progress."

"There are now in this city two members of the Society of Friends, of Great Britain, who are come from Rio de Janeiro, and who, during their brief stay in the capital, have been collecting information on all the questions which bear on Brazilian slavery. Messrs. John Candler and Wilson Burgess have paid their compliments to His Imperial Majesty, and have presented to him, in the name of the Society which they represent, a Memorial, in which are unfolded the bitter fruits of slavery, and principles of the purest religion and the most eternal truth. These gentlemen, who have left their country, their families and the comforts of their home, thus to peregrinate, have lifted up a sublime and disinterested banner, and certainly deserve the thanks and benedictions of the whole community. Most earnestly do we pray that the seed they scatter in their travels on the ground we tread upon, may spring up in a day to come, and that, visited by the benign breezes of the Gospel, it may grow up into flourishing and fruit-bearing trees."

Not only was our visit thus kindly announced and spoken of, but we had the gratification to find that through the solicitation of our Consul at Bahia, the whole Address was published in the daily official journal, which has a wide circulation in the city and province. We were the more anxious to procure the insertion of this Christian Address in the newspapers of Bahia, inasmuch as that city was the chief seat and emporium of the African slave-trade, which had lately flourished here in all its vigour. Every possible influ-

ence had been used to extend it. Young boys and clerks in the warehouses were induced to invest all the moneys they could save or procure, in these infamous speculations, and were thus all interested more or less in the success of the slave-merchant; they looked out with anxiety for the arrival of each successive slaver on the coast, and watched, with intense interest, the lighting up of the distant bonfires on the islands and along the coast, that signalized to them the important fact that the slaves were landed and sold.

Keeping steadily in view their Christian mission, they appeared to have been "fervent in spirit,—not slothful in business." They obtained a free interview with the President of the province (Bahia) who was very courteous. Permission was granted them to visit the prisons and other public buildings, but their time only admitted of a visit to the State Prison of Bahia.

On our presenting to the chief jailor the order to admit us, he called out a file of musqueteers, with fixed bayonets, to attend us. At first, we wondered at this strange precaution; but our surprise ceased when the doors of the prison were unlocked—heavy massive doors, that required strong arms to open them—and we were introduced into one long vaulted chamber, with iron gratings for air and light, and found ourselves in the midst of a band of murderers! The inmates in this part of the prison were forty in number, most of whom had committed murder, and were incarcerated for life, or for a limited term of years. Here, confined in a long narrow dungeon, with nothing to do, they frequently quarrel, and sometimes fight. The laws of Brazil, or rather, perhaps, the feelings of the people, are opposed to capital punishment, even for the worst of crimes, so that executions seldom take place. What there is of good in this, and we cannot but commend the feeling that leads to it, should now be directed to some humane secondary punishment, which, whilst from its severity it may deter others from guilt, may conduce at the same time to the reformation of the guilty. It was a sad spectacle that we witnessed; the poor wretched men fell back and ranged themselves in a long row; we saw their ferocious-looking faces, and would gladly have addressed them, but their tongue was an unknown one to us, and we could only give them a sorrowing look, and our silent sympathy. The other parts of the prison were less revolting.

We had just left the great gate, when we were called back to converse with a prisoner at the lodge. He was a genteel good-looking man, and addressed us in excellent French. He supposed we were the gentlemen who had come to present an Address to the authorities in Brazil on the subject of slavery. We told him we were, and asked him if he had seen it. Yes, he said, and had read it and approved it; we had taken right ground; slavery was an unchristian institution; but if we thought, by good words, to put it down in Brazil, we should find ourselves greatly mistaken. Our principles were pure, but the moneyed interests of the nation offered too much resistance; the shock, on collision, would be too great; we could never make way in a contest so unequal. This individual was an Italian by birth, imprisoned for insolvency and fraud. We had higher faith in the ultimate prevalence of Christian principle in the world than he seemed to think any man ought to have.

They visited many towns upon the coast, and to an extent inland of near 100 miles they had some opportunity both of seeing the country and of leaving copies of their document with institutions, and with distinguished intelligent and influential persons. An inland tour among the sugar plantations is narrated with

much interesting description. But the beauty of scenery and the frank hospitality extended to them, were shaded by continual evidences of the glaring wrong of slavery, and the gloom upon the faces of the prædial slaves, even where most humanely treated. At one princely estate,

The good lady of the household told us that when she came out from Europe, as a young wife, to take charge of the family and female slaves, her heart sank within her at the sickening sights she saw and the tales she heard; but that custom, and the seeming impossibility of working out a change, had in a degree reconciled her to the evils of the sad system.

In the Sugar and Tobacco producing country they were assured that there was no natural increase, but an annual diminution of the number of slaves, and the reason given them was,—"because the slave mothers feel no interest in rearing their children to slavery: they neglect them in infancy, and the mortality is great."

Some extracts are given from the correspondence of Henry A. Cooper, Consul at Pernambuco, who mentions being "eye witness to an unfortunate slave cutting his throat at a dinner table at which I was present; and that invitations were issued in this province, by a proprietor, to witness the boiling alive of a slave in the cauldron of his estate!" He asserts that rural slaves "have only four hours of actual sleep." In an official despatch he writes:

"I defy anyone who has visited a Brazilian *engenho*, to deny the miserable, overworked, enfeebled, idiotic, I had almost said, inhuman, appearance of the slaves." "I have visited forty or fifty of these *engenhos*, and I never saw a slave laugh: but I have seen them sleep over their work; they are ill fed, and are generally treated without feeling or consideration." In addition to this lamentable description, he observed to us, that he had never seen a slave on a sugar plantation laugh!

The sugar statistics given are interesting and important, shewing that a very small increase in the price of Brazilian sugar, gives a fearful stimulus to the horrible traffic in slaves: that the opening of the British ports to slave grown sugar immediately gave them a better market in England, and a small increase in price everywhere; and also opened a reasonable prospect of annually increasing trade. This induced Brazilian and Cuban planters to use all their energies in bringing fresh land into cultivation, and gave, of course, new vigor to the slave trade. As the British planters could not resort to the latter means, they were placed at disadvantage, and the cause of human liberty received a blow. In 1846 a bill was passed in England, removing the distinction which had existed between free and slave grown sugars, and admitting them at all reduced rates of duty. The fatal consequences were foreseen, and faithfully pointed out, by English Friends, and by many other philanthropists. Had Great Britain, acting upon the fine idea which

forms the motto of the Non-Slaveholder, continued to place upon slave-grown sugars an exclusive duty, Brazil had ere this, in all probability, abolished slavery. Our friends Chandler and Burgess, alluding to this bill, say:

Greatly was the traffic augmented. The number of Africans landed in Brazil, so far as can be ascertained, amounted in the four years from 1842 to 1845, both inclusive, to 78,530. In the four years from 1846 to 1849, it rose to the awful number of 220,496. Here was an increase in this very short period, of 141,966 captives landed alive on the Brazilian shore; and if we take into calculation, according to Sir T. F. Buxton's estimate, the number of persons slain in Africa to procure these victims, and of those who die on the middle passage, we multiply them threefold, and find the dreadful amount of more than 400,000 human beings, living and dead, sacrificed in four years to Mammon! Friends as we are to the principles of free trade, we think we have a right to ask, how that commerce can be called free which leads, as a consequence, to such enormities as these, and conduces to the continuance of them?

A prolonged and satisfactory interview with the President of the Province of Pernambuco, in which (whilst he strove to keep slavery out of view, and to confine attention to the trade in slaves) they were most politely treated, resulted in the following letter to the Consul:

"Most illustrious Senhor, Henry Cowper.

"I request your Lordship to make known for me to Messrs. John Chandler and Wilson Burgess, members of the religious Society of Great Britain and Ireland, called Friends, how pleasing to me was the visit which I received from them in your Lordship's company on the 11th instant, and how much I appreciate it; thanking them for their attention, and at the same time for the two copies, in English and Portuguese, of the Address made in the name of the Society on the subject of the illicit traffic from the African coast, and its consequences, offered to the Governments of all Christian nations. And moreover, that I was highly gratified at being told by your Lordship, that they came on a mission from the Society, to congratulate his Majesty the Emperor upon the measures adopted by his Government for the extinction of the traffic, and especially for the desire and determined resolution which he himself feels upon so important a subject. May they return and arrive in peace, to their own country and Society! In the mean time, while they remain here, they may calculate upon all the aid which this Government can afford.

"I renew to your Lordship the assurance of my particular esteem and consideration.

"I am your Lordship's

"Most obedient Servant,

"FRANCISCO ANTONIO RIBERIA."

They witnessed, early one morning, the entrance into Pernambuco of 6000 horses carrying bags of sugar and bales of cotton on their backs, and so thronging the streets that it was difficult for passengers to force their way. This gives some idea of the traffic with the interior. At Madeira, on their homeward voyage, they had to perform a quarantine, and the government officer sending a launch to convey the whole company to the health station, an officer in the American Navy gave occasion for a smile at the expense of republican character.

"He put on his uniform, girded on his sword, came on deck, and declared that nothing should

induce him to go ashore in the same boat with dirty coal-heavers: unless he could have a boat to himself, he would go on to Lisbon, or even to England: his bluster prevailed, and a private boat was despatched to convey him: he vindicated, he thought, the honor of a great nation, and descended and took his seat with much self-complacency. Americans can justify equality at home, but love distinctions abroad."

Our beloved friends appear to have performed their important mission most faithfully; and in a feeling of thankfulness for their preservation, amid many dangers encountered for the purpose of sowing good seed, we feel that we may safely leave the result to Him who giveth increase, well assured that labors, thus undertaken and honestly pursued in the Divine fear and counsel, "are not in vain in the Lord."

We finish this notice with their own concluding paragraph.

If in preparing the Narrative we have not spoken so strongly, as some may think we should have done, on the evils of slavery, it must be remembered that our object has been to record what we saw and observed, rather than what we had heard, or read. A stranger passing hastily through a foreign country is seldom able, from his own personal observation, to lay bare the state of society and exhibit it with correctness to others. This applies with peculiar emphasis to slavery, as an institution, whose hideous and revolting workings are often in secret, and carefully concealed from the eye of those who are known to be engaged in searching them out with a view to public exposure. Were we disposed to lengthen this Narrative, we could fill many pages with the horrors of Brazilian slavery, as exhibited in the reports, from year to year, of our Ambassadors and Consuls residing in that country, and from other accredited and recent sources, but we forbear. It is enough to know and to say that slavery is bad in Brazil, and in every country where it is tolerated, and that it is our duty, as professing Christians to join hand and heart in every Christian endeavor to sweep it from the world.

AMERICAN COTTAGE LIFE.—A series of Poems illustrative of American Scenery, &c. &c. By Thomas C. Upham. Third edition. Upham is a name already dear to those who love goodness. We give as a sample the following Sonnet.

CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE.

By Thomas C. Upham.

Luke x. 36, 37.

Who is my BROTHER? 'tis not merely he,
Who hung upon the same loved mother's breast;
But every one, whoever he may be,
On whom the image of a man's impress,
True Christian sympathy was ne'er designed
To be shut up within a narrow bound;
But sweeps abroad, and in its search to find
Objects of mercy, goes the whole world around.
'Tis like the sun, rejoicing east and west,
Or beautiful rainbow, bright from south to north;
It has an angel's pinion, mounting forth
O'er rocks, and hills, and seas, to make men blest.
No matter what their color, name, or place,
It blesses all alike,—the universal race.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 11.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N.
J." (the residence of the Editor.)

OHIO FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.

At the annual meeting of the Free Produce
Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meet-
ing, held at Short Creek meeting-house, on 2d
day afternoon, the 5th of 9th mo. 1853.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, to-
gether with those of the Board of Managers,
and the Annual Report, were read and appro-
ved; and the Board of Managers were directed
to forward the report, and a notice of such
parts of the proceedings of the meeting as they
deemed proper, to the Non-Slaveholder and
Friends' Review, for publication.

The committees of correspondence appointed
last year, within the limits of the different
Quarterly meetings, were continued, and they
were encouraged to open free subscriptions in
their respective neighborhoods, for the pur-
pose of carrying on the free-labor movement,
and were specially requested to endeavor to
extend the circulation of the Non-Slaveholder,
as a means of awakening a greater interest in
the concern.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Board of Managers of the Free Pro-
duce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly
Meeting, in presenting their Fourth Annual
Report, acknowledge that the success of our
efforts, and the advancement of the cause in
which we are engaged, depend upon the good-
ness of God, to whom we should earnestly
look for wisdom and guidance in all our efforts.

From the reading of our minutes, it will be

seen that we have met monthly. We have endeavored to keep the importance of the Free Labor subject prominently in view, in the way that seemed best calculated to promote the advancement of our testimony against slavery, which is incomplete without an abstinence from the use of its products.

It will also be seen, that we have in accordance with your recommendation of last year, labored much, in connection with others, for the establishment and support of a Periodical, devoted specially to the advocacy of the Free Labor question; and we are pleased to inform the Association of the resuscitation of the Non-Slaveholder, under the charge of our friends William J. Allinson, as Editor, and George W. Taylor, as publisher.

This paper has already obtained a very respectable circulation, and we fully believe is contributing much towards the advancement of a faithful and consistent testimony against slavery; yet we would here particularly recommend to the members of the Association individually, and to the friends of the cause generally, the necessity of using their influence and exertions to give it a still wider circulation.

As the only periodical in our country, established expressly for the purpose of diffusing light upon the Free Produce question, and advocating the consistency and necessity of an abstinence from the use of the products of slavery, the friends of the cause should see that it does not languish for want of support and encouragement.

Upon the other side of the Atlantic, the little periodical sheet entitled, "The Slave, his wrongs and their remedy," is still, we believe, effecting a very salutary influence in favor of the cause it so earnestly advocates.

We are much encouraged by the appearance during the past year, in the "Friends' Review," of several excellent articles on the subject, and also by the appearance, occasionally, of articles on the free-labor movement, in several papers within our own state, among which we would mention the "Herald of Freedom," published at Wilmington, Clinton county; "The Columbian," of Columbus;* and the "Oberlin Evangelist," at Oberlin Institute, Lorain county. As an exponent of the views

*We would add "The Christian Press"—Cincinnati.—Ed.

of the Professors and other officers of the extensive institution of learning at that place, we are gratified with the position lately assumed by the last mentioned periodical, on the Free Labor movement. From communications recently received from thence, we are happy to believe that the obligation to abstain from the encouragement of slave-labor, has taken a deep and abiding hold of the minds of many of the students and citizens, and is recognized by nearly all as of binding force. The increasing interest in the subject, is expected to result in the establishment among them, of one or more Free Labor stores, the business of which will be confined exclusively to the sale of goods uncontaminated by slavery.

We believe that persons in this country generally, except where too directly connected with the system of slavery by commerce, are more and more appreciating the consistency and justice of non-participation in slavery by the disuse of its products.

This we are happy to see manifesting itself in the action of almost every religious or ecclesiastical assemblage of whatever denomination, in which any pretensions to feeling on the subject finds admittance. But a short time since, and even those who were admitted as the devoted friends of the oppressed, appeared unable to see the necessity of refraining from the use of the products of slavery, or the bearing it would have upon the great question of the abolition of slavery; but such, we are most happy to state, is no longer the case. Instead of a total silence with regard to the use of slave-goods, resolutions are constantly being adopted, in conventions and associations, of the character above referred to, declaratory, not only of the incompleteness of the testimony against slavery without this necessary accompaniment, but the moral obligation to refrain from slave-grown products, and its direct tendency to destroy the system.

Even slave-holders themselves are found, both publicly and privately acknowledging the consistency, and direct bearing of this testimony, on the overthrow of slavery, and are charging home upon us the utter inconsistency and contradiction of professing or preaching opposition to the system, whilst we indulge in the unrestrained use of the products.

Indeed, it appears almost impossible that any one who can see any connection between making and vending, and using spirituous liquors, and drunkenness, should not also be able to see the connection between using the proceeds of slavery, and slavery itself. It is too plain to be longer called in question, that slaves are held in servitude, and compelled to severe and whip-extorted toil, for the

sake of the money to be obtained by the sale of the products of their unrequited labor, and hence, that the atrocities of the system, are justly chargeable, in part at least, on the vendors and users of those products, as well as upon the slave owners.

In our own society, and particularly in the western country, we believe there is a decided progress in this testimony; and Friends are feeling more confidence in the probable good results of the labors in this particular branch of the anti-slavery enterprise. Many are glad to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the establishment of Free-labor stores, to supply their wants, without support to a system we all *abhor*. The fact that all necessary wants can be supplied, by the successful efforts in different places, to establish and sustain these stores, is cause of satisfaction and rejoicing to those who have a wish to separate themselves from all traffic in the toil of slaves. Let those who are not accommodated with a varied and general supply of Free Labor goods, be encouraged to submit to some privations, in order that they may maintain a decided opposition, in practice as well as word, to the robbery and wrong which the oppressor perpetrates.

We should let the memory of the sufferings endured by the victims of oppression, be so interwoven with the lines of our lives that we shall be disposed to embrace every suitable opportunity to speak and act for their good. Let us not allow that we are doing enough in giving up the use of the luxuries, and are supplying ourselves with what we deem necessities from the products of the slaves toil; or too readily pardon ourselves for the committal of a wrong against our brothers and sisters, which is no less a wrong to them because inducements to perpetrate it appear to be on excusable ground.

Shall all the sad array of weary wasting human forms, and wronged and stricken hearts, still fail to find relief? Must years of toil yet mark the lives of Africa's sons, and all the evils that are "nourished up into rank, vigorous growth in the soil of slavery," remain undisturbed, whilst the powers, the entrusted powers of freemen are either unemployed, or exercised upon subjects unworthy of regard, when compared with the cause of human rights and human liberty? When a feeling averse to self-denial is indulged, with a knowledge that this same indulgence to ourselves places others in conditions of suffering and degradation, it is presented in a form of selfishness and inconsiderateness altogether unbecomely in the remembrance of our own unworthiness of the least of the favors we enjoy, and under the

influence of wide benevolence of feeling, there must be not only a willingness, but a decided inclination to submit to whatever restraints or efforts may have a tendency to the benefit of any class of sufferers.

Since, in a world like this, it is a first principle of christianity to forget ourselves and our own happiness, in order that we may do good to others, let us lay aside considerations of individual comforts and pleasures, when they interfere with our duty to our less favored brethren and sisters, of whatever color or name.

GEO. K. JENKINS, *Secretary*.

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART VI.

CUNNING PLAYER ON THE LYRE!
Priestess to the sacred fire
Through all time alive and holy,—
Be thou of the great, or lowly,
By the freedom thy soul loveth
When through Fancy's realms it rovet,
Flinging off the curb and rein
Put upon its speed in vain,—
By thy power of turning in,
When the world is waste and cold,
Weary of its dust and din,
Unto treasures more than gold,—
By the blessed joy of knowing
Thou hast strength within thee hidden,
Spiritual fountains flowing,
None may check or chill unbidden,—
Grateful for a precious trust,
Use it for the trembling Slave—
Woman, trampled in the dust,
Wake thy noblest strain to save!
By thy lofty hope of dwelling
Where the faithful only go,
On thy ear the pean swelling
Mortal never heard below,—
By thy Poet's trust of bearing
Branch of palm and harp of gold,
Sing for her—for day is wearing,
And thy hours will soon be told.

That helpless one hath earnest need
Of many lips her cause to plead.
Oh! not upon his head alone,
Who claims our Father's as his own,
Belongs the misery and sin
Her living soul is buried in:
By all the chains that mar and bind
The freedom of our common mind,
We make for her a starless sky—
We dim with tears her falling eye—
We lengthen out her day of toil,
And leave her for a prey and spoil.
Our bonds must one by one be broken—
And a language each will know,

Must to many hearts be spoken,
'Ere we let the Captive go.

There are soldiers for the field,
Girded with Truth's sword and shield,
Aiming still at Justice' foe
Bloodless thrust and stunning blow:
But to thee, thou child of song,
Other tasks than these belong;
Not of them should'st thou be found—
For the work thou hast to do,
Seek not on the battle-ground,
But, to thine own calling true,
Plead with such as coldly stay
From the conflict far away.

As the Harper sought of old
Isolated castle-hold,
Poor man's hearth, and chieftan's hall,
Welcome by his gifts to all;
In the palace, in the cot,
Beating time to every lot,
So would'st thou an entrance find
Into castellated mind;
Lowly heart would let thee in,
And the proud unconquer'd soul
No rude touch could melt or win,
Might bow down to thy control.

If he moved the stern and cold
By some old "heroic strain,"
Daring youth and manhood bold—
Will thy harp be touched in vain?
Tell the Bondwoman's sad story—
And the spirits he could wake
To a love of strife and glory,
As they listen, down shall take
From the touched heart's castle wall,
Garnished by the God of all
Weapons for the Captive's sake!
(Concluded in next No.)

PRACTICE vs. PROFESSION.

Continued from Page 85.

Prof. How can we know the articles that are free from the taint of Slave-labor, if we must so brand them? Sugar for instance. What is there about the appearance of free labor sugar by which we may recognize it?

Prac. Though we may not be able to distinguish the free-labor sugar by any peculiar characteristic of the article, we need not be so ignorant in this day of the general diffusion of intelligence, as not to know that, through the blessing of Providence on the efforts of philanthropists, there are some tropical regions where the demon of slavery cannot set his foot any longer. Abundant supplies of sugar, molasses, rice, and various other tropical products can be obtained, and are obtained from those islands and countries.

Prof. But we cannot all be importing merchants; and how may we be assured that the

articles we purchase are really from those places?

Prac. "Look ye out among you men of honest report, &c., whom we may appoint over this business." Let the business of procuring be entrusted to those who have a conscience in these matters. Establish, and maintain, a central warehouse where no slave-labor goods shall be sold. Let the management of this concern be confided to one or more persons of acknowledged ability, and having a general comprehension of what is to be done; that every needful guard may be set, and no imposition practiced. This done, let those in every neighborhood who desire to use the products of required toil, either unite their orders for obtaining supplies from the central depot, when they are too remote to obtain them individually, or make their custom at their neighboring stores conditional on their supplies being obtained from this source, so far as is necessary to furnish the free-labor consumption.

Prof. This may prove satisfactory so far as groceries are concerned. But where is a sufficient supply of free-labor cotton to come from?

Prac. It has been found by inquiry in the southwestern states, that there are many planters of small means, who neither own slaves nor employ them. They nevertheless, manage to raise by their own hands and the aid of their families, a few bales of cotton, which it is to their interest to put up in nice order. In various parts of Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, and Arkansas, there are numbers of planters thus circumstanced, who live in associated neighborhoods, rendering it practicable and customary to have their cotton ginned without the aid of slave-labor. This cotton can be purchased at the market prices for cash, and the parties raising it are willing to give certificates that they neither own slaves nor hire them, and that the cotton they furnish has been raised and handled entirely by white people.—(To be Continued.) GREGORY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

COMPENSATION TO THE SLAVEHOLDER.

If what is criminal in Slavery rested solely upon the personal holders of the Slave, and none on those who give the essential stimulus to the system, and who gather to themselves wealth and comfort out of it, there would be much force in the objection of W. E. to any national relief to the Slaveholder in compensation to him for the emancipation of his Slaves; but it so happens that the whole nation is "particeps criminis" in this matter. The question then arises—shall the enriched nation disgorge none of its ill-gotten gains to relieve the impoverished emancipator on the plea that doing so

would recognize "property in man;"—or would it not rather deny that claim of "property," by applying a part of its "unrighteous mammon" to the relief of those who, in the winding up of the cruel evil are the only sufferers among the more numerous offenders, yet have with them an equal right, whatever worth, to that mammon?

"Honor among thieves," is an adage which seems to have some appropriateness in this case; and I suggest to W. E. a re-consideration of his views in the light of it. P. L. A.

REDEMPTION OF SLAVES BY PURCHASE.

I find in the 10th number of the Non-Slaveholder, some observations on a note which I addressed to the Editor, and which he inserted in the 8th number, relative to the redemption by purchase, of the slaves whom the people or legislature of any slave-holding state may agree to emancipate, on condition of being paid what may be deemed a moderate valuation. There can certainly no arguments be required to convince me, or those of similar sentiments, of the intrinsic injustice of slavery; or of the total nullity of the claims advanced by slaveholders, to the persons and services of their slaves. To the arguments of W. E. to prove the moral obligation which rests on the possessors of slaves to grant their immediate and unqualified emancipation, I can cordially assent. The only question between us seems to be whether we are bound to depend exclusively on the justice of our plea, or whether we may not properly, and with due regard to the principles of universal righteousness, share in the sacrifice necessary to secure a boon which we all agree is unquestionably due to the colored race.

Perhaps a fact may illustrate my view on the subject. Nearly fifty years ago, I was informed early one morning, that a black man residing in the neighborhood, had been seized as a fugitive slave. Now it had happened that this man told me, some time before, that he had escaped from slavery, and requested that I would negotiate a purchase of his freedom. I quickly set out with one of my neighbors in search of the party; and upon finding them, my knowledge of the slavery of the prisoner, did not restrain me from insisting upon the most rigorous proof on the part of the claimant, who then had him in his possession. But the proof appeared overpowering, and no defect in the legal proceeding afforded us any opportunity to release the prisoner by civil process. We were therefore reduced to the alternative of abandoning the poor victim of an unrighteous law, to the mercy of a master, who did not seem to be overcharged with humanity, or of trying what could be done by

way of purchase. Did we by adopting the latter expedient give our sanction to the master's claim? I tried the effect of moral reasoning on the subject, and was answered by a derisive laugh. In trying a negotiation, we felt no scruple in screwing the master down to the lowest price we could attain; but after a good deal of chaffering, a practice to which I was not much accustomed, having arrived, as we supposed, at a minimum price, we paid for the man, on the spot, and set him instantly free.

Perhaps our sympathies operated upon our judgment, but during the time which has elapsed since the transaction, I have never repented of the part which I took in the case.

If now the people of the free states would voluntarily assent to the extension, to one or two states, a single one if they please, of the same principle of action which a few of my neighbors and myself, applied to an individual case, an object would be attained which we all desire to see effected. If the free states or the United States, should agree to purchase, upon what would be deemed moderate terms, (the lower the better, so that the purchase was effected) of all the slaves in Delaware, and restore them to the rights of men, it appears to me that no new principle of action would be adopted. The practice has long and extensively prevailed, of contributing to the purchase of slaves in cases of unusual hardship, not as an acknowledgment of any right in the possessor but as the only method which the laws and usages of our country have left within our power. If we can without encroachment on moral rectitude, promote by purchase, the emancipation of individual slaves when their circumstances are calculated to rouse our sympathy to its greatest intensity, what is the difference, except in our own sympathetic feeling, between cases of the kind alluded to, and those ordinary ones, which we know prevail in all slave-holding communities. E. L.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 2, 1853.

A MOUTHFUL OF TALK TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We are near the end of our first volume, and, as the reasons which induced us to commence it continue to operate, it is our prospect (Providence permitting,) to continue our task. We have therefore a few words to say to all our subscribers, and to all our readers, (from among whom we hope for additional subscribers,)—"To all, to whom these presents may come, greeting."

It is desirable that the names of subscribers should be forwarded to the publication office, by the first of 12th month, or as soon as prac-

ticable thereafter, that we may know how large an edition will be needed.

As the interest in the Free Produce cause has considerably advanced within the past year, and as the Non-Slaveholder is believed to have contributed towards this result, it is not unreasonable that we should ask of our friends a continuation and an increase of zeal in extending its circulation. As it was not undertaken for pecuniary profit, it has so far been conducted at a pecuniary sacrifice. Several efficient and true hearted friends of the enterprise have, by extensive, and doubtless arduous correspondence, done much to enlarge the subscription list, and to them, for the cause sake, our acknowledgments are due: yet we feel no diffidence in asking a continuance of their zeal, since our own labor, for the same object, has been much greater, and at much greater cost. The mere effort of writing editorials and making selections, is small and light compared with the incidental claims and cares, the vexations and disappointments, which only an Editor can appreciate or imagine. We endeavor to "take things by their smooth handle," yet if we talk from this platform another year, we wish to be assured of an enlarged audience, and to feel that we are not toiling in vain.

Our terms will be the same. Fifty cents for one subscriber:—One dollar for three; Two dollars for eight. *Always in advance.*

There are many hundreds from whom we have not yet heard, to whom we are certain that the journal would be worth its cost. There are very many who would actually be better off in their spiritual circumstances for paying the almost nominal price of eight copies, and giving them away.

We are disposed to be about as modest as the occasion requires, at the same time sufficiently explicit. We would like to have as many subscribers as we can obtain; and we intend to please them, if their tastes, judgment and principles coincide with our own.

We are still able to supply complete sets of the present volume, (although we are likely to run short of No. 3—if any have duplicates of that No. we would be glad to receive them) and we advise new subscribers to order the back numbers and to file or bind them for preservation and future reference. We shall furnish with No. 12, (or as soon after as possible) a title page and table of Contents.

EDITORIAL JUSTICE.—We have noticed with some surprise the transfer of sundry essays which were written for the Non-Slaveholder to the columns of other periodicals without any credit. From our ninth number the following articles were thus appropriated. "Al-

ways rejoicing:—"A Testament for Slave-land circulation:"—and the dialogue "Practice versus Profession." We feel sure that at least the cases we have specified must be attributed to inadvertence. An attention to usual etiquette in this matter is due on the score of Justice. An Editor is at liberty to enrich his Journal from the pages of another, on condition that he make known to whom he is indebted, and thus bring the periodical from which he copies, to the knowledge of perhaps a new class of readers, some of whom may become subscribers. This act of Justice we have carefully observed towards the papers whose conductors have forgotten to reciprocate it.

THE WILKSBARRE SLAVE CASE—SLAVE CHASERS ARRESTED—JUDGE GRIER SOILS THE ERMINE.—This case is well known to the reading public, and we need not tell of the violence committed upon the poor fugitive, nor harrow afresh the feelings of our readers by depicting his desperate flight, whilst his base and blood thirsty hunters pursued him with fire-arms, seeking to take his life. We need not describe his desperate resort to the water, with a fixed determination to put away his life rather than lose his liberty.

The deputy slave catchers were subsequently arrested for riot and assault and battery with intent to kill. Judge Grier granted a writ of habeas corpus, and the High Constable and his prisoners were brought before him, and the case finally dismissed. The conduct of Judge Grier has been so at variance with Judicial decency, that plain citizens who do not pretend to accurate legal knowledge, feel no confidence that the law has been honestly illustrated and applied by him. They perceive, throughout his course, that he is the partizan of the Slave catchers.—They perceive that his "opinion," is full of special pleading,—that after refusing to hear the testimony, he mis-states and perverts the facts of the case. They think that they can see that he was, like Tom Moore's lawyer,

"Born with a taste for the unfair,"—

and they inquire among themselves; "Is there no way for Judge Grier to be impeached?"

We heartily rejoice in the escape of the fugitive. It would have been peculiarly a hard case, had he been captured, after such amazing efforts to escape. We wish no harm to Judge Grier.—We think him a great sinner, and we desire his repentance, amendment and salvation. But we have been thinking that as Keith of Virginia, had precisely equal right to the ownership of Bill Thomas, and of "his honor the Judge," (that is to say, no right at all in either case,) and as Thomas had served in

bondage till he could bear it no longer and had managed to escape, while Grier had never served at all; how much more just (we mean, *less unjust*) it would have been, for Keith to have sent his miscreants in full howl after Judge Grier, with bludgeons and pistols, to beat him, to shoot at him while running and while swimming, calling upon Marshals and Deputies, and all bad citizens to aid in the evil conspiracy. We are glad that they did not treat Judge Grier in this manner. We are sorry that they treated William Thomas so. But if one or the other *must* be victimized; we see not but that it had been better (that is *less bad*) to abuse Grier than Thomas. The negro is very probably the better man of the two—at any rate he knows how to run away better than the Judge knows how to behave himself upon the bench—and as he has *had his share* of Slavery, if there must be more victims take fresh hands—and as the colored race neither devised nor approve the fugitive bill, take white folks—and as Judge Grier is so favorable to the Slave system, take him—or—nobody.

But this fugitive bill is no sound law! It has no true legal basis! It contravenes the precepts and commandments of the Supreme Lawgiver of the Universe. No law is lawful which has his disapprobation. "You may statulize but you cannot legalize it." His will is supreme. Every christian prays daily that it may be done on Earth. And it will be—and this, and other wicked enactments will melt away before it.

COTTON FIGHTS AND CONQUERS.—In every moral discussion the unwitting and incidental testimony of an adversary is deemed significant. The *Charleston (S. C.) Mercury*, in the course of an argument to prove his position that "Slavery is a positive good in itself," presents us with the following strong reason for withholding the motive.

"If not by the expansion of area, certainly by the diffusion of her grand project, the South is growing more powerful abroad. There is not an additional bale of cotton which leaves our shores, but renders the world more tributary to her labor, and more dependent upon its successful permanency. Defying all competition, whitening the wharves of every port, and clothing alike the peasant and the prince, whithersoever it goes, cotton fights and conquers for Southern Slavery. It closes the question by its actual and wide spread blessings."

Recently, in a neighboring city, a very pro-slavery N. Orleans relief committee assumed the sufficiency of Cotton to fight and conquer the Yellow Fever and its attendant calamities, and they announced that they did not wish contributions from Abolitionists. None of the Gothamite Cotton Princes, however, came up to the thousand dollar donation of "the man of Peterboro" whose pocket and whose conscience

are alike unsullied by the gratification or the profit arising from slave-grown produce.

NEW SPECTACLES WANTED.—The Austin (Texas) State Gazette complains of reiterated cases of misconduct of negroes, one instance being the murder of an overseer by a Slave who was daily subjected to his loving kindness, or the reverse, as the case might be; and gives the sum of the matter—the moral—the philosophy as follows:

"The control of masters over slaves in Texas, is not sufficiently strict and severe:—there lies the evil."

We find by our Exchanges that in other Slave States overseers have been killed by Slaves, but *mild treatment* is not stated as the cause. We always lament such acts of violence, but the true deduction of effect from cause is given by the *Freeman* in the caption of one of these sad anecdotes. "REVENGE THE FRUIT OF TYRANNY." Our readers will not think the query impertinent—Who gives the motive?

FREE PRODUCE CONVENTION SUGGESTED.

—We see in F. Douglass' paper a letter to Gerrit Smith from our valued friend and contributor H. Miles of Monkton, Vermont, suggesting "the propriety of organizing an American Free Produce Association:—of holding a convention during the fall or winter,"—"Let us," says H. M. "have a demonstration that there is some 'resolution in our resolves' to have no union with slaveholders, politically ecclesiastically or commercially." G. Smith in an unpublished reply says,

"I and my family have refrained for 20 years from Slave produce. It is one of the ways by which, UNDER GOD, I AM ABLE TO MAINTAIN MY ANTI-SLAVERY PRINCIPLES. I should be much pleased to see such an Association as you speak of."

A kindred project has been entertained by some friends in this vicinity.

TURKEY—DECLARATION OF WAR.—"Telegraphic despatches are such as to make the stock-jobbers dizzy." Such is the prominent thought of the London correspondent of an important Commercial Journal, in announcing a crisis which threatens the peace of Europe. The philanthropist's heart grows heavy in the apprehension of results, far more dreadful in his estimation than the dizziness of a few selfish stock-jobbers' heads. He thinks of "confused noises, and garments rolled in blood,"—of desolated homes,—of mangled bodies, and departing souls. He shudders to think

"in that sleep of death what dreams may come," and remembers that "after death cometh the judgment." According to his ideas of political economy, no circumstances can arise to render a war expedient: no causes, no provocation can be sufficient to justify it. The en-

lightened republican thinks within himself,—
"War is a game, which, were their subjects wise, Kings could not play at."

The student of prophecy, feels a solemn thrill through every vein, as he marvels whether, in this stirring up of nations, the dominion is now to be taken away from the fourth beast having ten horns, (Dan. vii. 23, 26.) He feels that the present crisis moment will be a point of interest to future christian historians, either from the greatness of the events, or from the extension of God's restraining power to hold back the wrath of man until the fulfilling of HIS time. The call is emphatic upon every denizen of Earth, so to live that his soul may be secure, while thrones are cast down, Prophecy takes its course, and the consummation hastens; so to live that in the perfecting of the unarraignable WILL he may not be "afraid with any amazement," but may like Daniel, "stand in his lot at the end of the days."

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY: PRESENTED AT NEW YORK, MAY 11, 1853. 216 PAGES.

We cannot well speak too highly of the interest and value of this elaborate document. It is worthy of preservation in a permanent form in every christian's library. Were we not otherwise "full of matter," we might profitably fill our sheet with extracts. The range of subject matter is large, "embracing" (says a notice in the Era) "not only a copious history of the past year, (political, ecclesiastical, and miscellaneous,) on the subject of slavery and abolition, but much important additional information concerning the present position of the slave question, some of which was never before published."

We have to acknowledge a kind notice of our humble periodical, and a fair statement of the objects of the Free Produce Associations of Friends.

The edition is large, and copies will be sent *gratis* to any one who will address (postage paid) L. Tappan, 48 Beekman st., N. York, enclosing four postage stamps to pay the postage on the pamphlet. The offer is liberal, and every person who wishes either to be posted up on the subject, or to contribute to an Anti-Slavery Library, should avail himself of it.

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS AUXILIARIES. 36 pages.—This pamphlet which contains the constitution of the Society and declaration of its sentiments adopted twenty years ago, and a recent exposition by W. L. Garrison, is prefaced by a paragraph addressed "to the the reader,"

which says that, "by these documents, and by its official acts, **the Society asks to be judged."

We turn over the pages, to see how far this important Society has recognized and developed the non participation idea, which we deem so sound, and which certainly gains favor daily. We do not look in vain. The documents are full of noble sentiments, some of which cover the whole ground. This little book is a well-timed re-assertion of this fundamental principle, and we trust it may check many of its readers from giving to a brother the motive for sinning. W. L. G. in his Exposition says:

"No steps has the American Anti-Slavery Society ever taken backwards. Not that it is conceited, dogmatical, unwilling to yield when in error, but because there has been no occasion for retracting or going back."

In the declaration (adopted simultaneously with the Constitution) a powerful document, permeated with eternal truth, after declaring that slaves are "plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress,"—it is asserted "that no man has a right to keep back his hire by fraud:" and this unquestionable position being admitted, we would suggest to all anti-Slavery friends the inquiry, *how can the right accrue to us, to accept the hire from those who have kept it back?* In the next paragraph it is well asserted, that "Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor, &c." After thus much, we cannot wonder, that, in immediate connection with solemn resolves, the determination should be written out: "WE SHALL ENCOURAGE THE LABOR OF FREEMEN RATHER THAN OF SLAVES, BY GIVING A PREFERENCE TO THEIR PRODUCTIONS." Truly, "there has been no occasion for retracting or going back" from this position, and if it be only to "give the preference," we wish our friends to keep their ground. *Give the preference* to free groceries, (they may be obtained)—sugars, rice, coffee, &c. *Give the preference* to flax, to wool, or to free grown cotton, even though it be at some expense of pride, and though it involve the cultivation of that christian grace, humility, wear for the slave's sake, if needs be, a homelier garment, and as thou lookest thereon, "remember those in bonds as bound with them."

AMERICAN SLAVE CODE.—W. GOODELL.

We have already noticed this work on page 24, and we again commend it to all who wish to have, in form for convenient reference, complete, reliable and irrefutable information respecting the "domestic institution" in behalf of which the South and the North, like Ananias and Sapphira, conspire together to "lie unto God," and which is hourly the occasion of such enormous cruelties

"as make the angels weep."—

From chap. 10, we extract the following notice of

"a merciful Safety valve."

"In our chapter V. on the 'Uses of Slave Property,'" it was shown how coolly and deliberately gangs of slaves are *used up* on the sugar plantations of Louisiana, once in seven or eight years. In Mr. Weld's book, before us, we have many testimonies that corroborate the general fact. We spare room for only one, which comes on the authority of Rev. John O. Choules, Baptist minister, once of New Bedford, Mass., afterwards of Buffalo, New York. "While attending the Baptist Triennial Convention at Richmond, Va., in 1835," says Mr. C., "I had a conversation with an officer of the Baptist church in that city, at whose house I was a guest. I asked him if he did not apprehend that the slaves would eventually rise and exterminate their masters? 'Why,' said the gentleman, 'I did use to apprehend such a catastrophe, but God has made a providential opening, a *merciful safety valve*, and now I do not feel alarmed, in the prospect of what is coming.' 'What do you mean,' said Mr. Choules, 'by Providence opening a merciful safety valve?' 'Why,' said the gentleman, 'I will tell you.' The slave-traders come from the cotton and sugar plantations of the South, and are willing to *buy up* more slaves than we can part with. We must keep a stock for the purpose of *rearing* slaves, but we part with the most valuable, and at the same time the most *dangerous*; and the demand is very constant, and is likely to be so, for when they go to those Southern States, the average existence is *ONLY FIVE YEARS!*"

WEEKLY MISSOURI REPUBLICAN.—Some one has sent us this paper for the 7th inst. It is a large sheet, with a business appearance. The feature which most attracted our attention, however, is certainly not very "Republican." The advertising columns are sprinkled with cuts of negroes, with advertisements of rewards for the recapture of self-emancipated bondmen,—"Negroes wanted,"—&c. A certain John Mattingly advertises for 2500 negroes, brags of his new Jail, and "wishes to purchase every good negro offered." We are pretty certain that he is not a good white man, but what shall we say or think of the newspaper conductor, who thus for hire leads himself to Satan's vilest work. We wish no harm to the Republican, nor to his advertising patrons, Flournoy, Smith, Lynch, Mattingly &c.—but we think when a gang *must* be made up "for the N. Orleans market," it would really be better to sell them off, than to catch and send back poor fellows who have had their turn, and have proved their fitness for freedom by their efforts to obtain it. It was quite refreshing to see, among these advertisements, a reward offered for a runaway horse.

*Among other uses incurably sick damaged and disabled negroes are bought "cheap, like old iron," by medical institutions, "to be experimented and operated upon, for purposes of medical education and the interests of medical science."

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 12.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, FIFTY CENTS.

" of three copies, ONE DOLLAR.

" or of eight copies, TWO DOLLARS,

in one payment, always in advance, post-paid, and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight. When gold or postage stamps can be remitted it will save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

Postage on this paper only 6 cents per annum, if paid in advance at the delivery post office.

All subscriptions and business letters to be sent to the Publisher, in Philadelphia.

Exchange papers and communications for insertion should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N. J." (the residence of the Editor.)

The following communication, addressed to our subscribers by a valued friend in Ohio, who, in co-operation with others has rendered most efficient service in extending the circulation of our paper, was received just as we were ready for the press. It is most gratifying as an evidence of zeal on the part of distant friends, and cannot, we think, fail to enlist volunteer agents.

We call upon those to whom the present number is sent, to consider whether it may not be proper for them to obtain new subscribers in their respective neighborhoods, or to hand it to some one who would be likely to take an interest in the work.

Pecuniary considerations had nothing to do with the establishment of our paper; and apart from such considerations, it is desirable to bring the Non-Slaveholder before a new class of readers. The reasons for aiming to do so, are too obvious to dwell upon. The greater the number of conscientious persons whom we can induce to look the subject fully in the face, and think seriously upon it, the more probability will there be that our abstinence from Slave produce may tell upon the system of Slavery.

To the Subscribers of the Non-Slaveholder.

Feeling a deep interest in the advancement of the cause of human freedom, we have entertained strong desires for the continuance of the Non-Slaveholder, an efficient advocate of a branch of that cause, which has engaged too little of the attention of the christian philanthropist.

We have felt bound to make an appeal to the subscribers individually, that they not only continue their subscriptions, but consider themselves as agents for obtaining as many additional subscribers as possible; let every one feel that upon them individually rests the responsibility of its continuance. If each could obtain but one additional subscription, it would establish this periodical upon a permanent basis.

It is very desirable that the circulation of the Non-Slaveholder should be largely extended. The price is but a trifle, 25 cents per copy per annum to clubs of 8 or upwards. It is of creditable appearance, and will be valuable for preservation. Will not then our young men, and young women throughout the land, those whose hearts are ever ready to feel and sympathize with the oppressed, enlist in this righteous cause, and make up clubs of subscribers for the Non-Slaveholder?

This has been done in a praiseworthy manner the present year by many of this interesting class, and we rejoice in believing that this method will be extended, particularly in localities, where we think the Non-Slaveholder would be a welcome visitor, but where we are sorry to learn but few copies are yet taken.

Then may we feel an assurance that this periodical will become firmly established, and its usefulness increased. That the principle it advocates will be more generally embraced by the sincere advocates of universal emancipation, and that a powerful restraint will be thereby exercised upon the dark crime of Slavery the world over.

OHIO.

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN, TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART VII.

SINFUL and PENITENT! uplift thine eyes,
Bent on the past too sadly and too long,
From fest, and vigil, and vain sacrifice,
Rouse to the story of a sister's wrong.

BEAUTY hath heard it—and hath turned aside
From heartless homage, to make glad our way;
Converts from humble hearth and hall of pride,
Follow our standard in a firm array.

AMBITION, with its eager straining eye,
Mark'd in their strife with wrong, our early brave,
Flung to the winds its schemings wild and high,
And pledged its strength for Freedom and the slave!

And GENIUS is with us, dropping dew
Upon our toil-worn hearts in holy Song,
Setting to music doctrines stern and true,
And making green our pathway hard and long.

SORROW hath brought her sympathetic tears,
And MIRTH our drooping spirits doth beguile,
HOURS keeps a patient watch with all our fears,
And FAITH bends o'er us with an angel smile.

Some are beside us, bearing on their way
The lone slave's burden, meekly and serene,

Her stripes and groans, as, in a darker day,
 One wore *our* bonds—THE HOLY NAZARENE!
 Chastened and contrite one! but yet we need
 Thy knowledge, and thy strength, of suffering born
 Not for the slave alone to strive and plead,
 But for her tyrant, sitting high in scorn.
 For who like one who knows the Tempter's power,
 Can find into a hardened heart, the way?
 In sad remembrance of her own dark hour,
 Learning to pity all that go astray.
 By the deep quiet of a soul forgiven,—
 The humbling lessons thou wert crushed, to learn,—
 By thy sweet foretaste of the joy in Heaven,
 When lost ones, who have missed their way,
 return—
 Draw near us—the oppressor needs a friend,
 Slow to reproach, forbearing in the Right,
 Till God in mercy over him shall bend
 On his dark path to say, "Let there be Light!"

For the Non-Slaveholder.

QUOTATIONS.

The liberty which ardent minds often take with the writings of others—the dead especially—of italicising *parts* of a quoted sentence which the authors have not so emphasised, is a departure from the precise truth which a proper consideration of the subject will not justify. It is very clear that in so doing a magnitude may often be given to a point not so enlarged in the mind of the writer—thus doing an injustice to his views: at the same time a deception is to some extent practised on the *unwarned* reader, who confidently relies on the exactness of the quotation. In some cases, the effect may be equivalent to an interpolation. To avoid all error, it is better that the quotation should appear as found in the text, and the gloss be left to the reader, or separately stated by the commentator.

VERITAS.

PRACTICE vs. PROFESSION.

Concluded from page 92.

Prof. Is there any way, by which such cotton may be certainly separated, collected and manufactured unmixed with slave labor cotton?

Prac. That has already been done repeatedly. First by the Free Produce Association, which sent a conscientious man into these states, who visited a large number of those planters at their own homes, and ascertained satisfactorily, that they neither owned nor hired slaves. This agent took down the address of those whom he considered reliable persons; and from them, free labour cotton has been obtained for the free labour store in Philadelphia. Some has been manufactured in this country, and some has been shipped to England and manufactured there, to supply the demand both in England and the United States.

Prof. Is there not a strong probability that after this free labour cotton has been thus honestly put into the hands of manufacturers, they will, to avoid trouble, allow it to be mixed with the cotton they buy in the open market, and thus defeat your object at last?

Prac. It is true there is some danger of this. To

guard against imposition, manufacturers of integrity must be employed.

Prof. But is it not a very expensive as well as troublesome operation to clean out a mill in order to run this free labour cotton through by itself?

Prac. To avoid this expense, the plan is, to put into the mill a larger quantity of free labour cotton than is required for the fabrics wanted. On introducing it into the machinery, its progress is watched, and when the goods can be certainly considered all of the free labour material, they are set aside as such until the mixture again appears. But a less troublesome method, and requiring a smaller provision of free labour cotton, would be to establish mills to run exclusively on free labour cotton. G. W. Taylor proposes, if the friends of the cause will raise sufficient capital to purchase the machinery, to try the experiment on the smallest scale of running a mill on a variety of staple articles.

Prof. I must confess, the free labour movement has more reason on its behalf, and appears more practicable than I at first supposed.

Prac. It is not only reasonable and practicable, but demands attention and adhesion upon Christian grounds.

GREGORY.

A TENDER CONSCIENCE.*

Soon after I entered this province, [Maryland] a deep and painful exercise came upon me, which I often had some feeling of, since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions. As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labor of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received, from what appeared to me to be the gain of oppression. Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that divine prohibition: "Thou shalt not receive any gift; for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous." Exod. xxiii. 8. As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect. The difference appeared thus: the entertainment the disciples met with, was from them whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them and the truth they published; but we, considered as members of

*We extract from Woolman's Journal the passage referred to by our correspondent from Merces Co., N. J.

the same religious society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and of being so distinguished from many whom I esteemed before myself, brought me very low; and such were the conflicts of my soul, that I had a near sympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakness, when he said, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight." Num. xi. 15. But I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty for his gracious and fatherly assistance; and after a time of deep trial, I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist, more clearly than ever I had done before; to wit: "My soul is even as a weaned child." Psalm cxxxi. 2. Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties; and that by his strength I should be enabled, even to leave money with the members of society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting it, would obstruct that work to which I believed he had called me. As I copy this after my return, I may here add, that oftentimes I did so, under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus; when I expected soon to leave a friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them: and at other times, I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. Before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces for this purpose; and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people, was a trial both to me and them. But the fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested

any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some conversation, accepted of them.

JOHN WOOLMAN, in 1757.

THE SLAVE-MARKET AT MEMPHIS.—A correspondent of the *Chicago Daily Times* gives the following description of some things he saw at Memphis:—"I landed at this place on Christmas morning. The first thing that met my eye, standing on a high bank facing the river, was the following inscription in large letters, upon a fine building, with piazza and pillars in front:—'Bolton, Dickens and Co., Slave Dealers.' In addition to this, I soon found two others on one of the principal streets in the city, situated nearly opposite to each other. The sign of one reads thus:—'Byrd Hill, Slave Market;' the other, 'Ben Little, Slave Market and Livery Stable.' I visited them, and was invited to 'walk in and look at the stock.' Oh! how my whole being recoiled at the thought. There were men and women, girls and boys, of almost every shade of complexion, ranging in age from ten to thirty or forty, all well dressed, as you see no other slaves, except some favoured body-servants. Some of the best-looking young women were attired in beautiful de laine, made in the fashion too. When a stranger goes in, they are quickly arranged upon seats on either side of the room, and they watch with interest any one they suppose intends to buy. Of course, you can examine teeth, limbs, &c., and call for any exercises from them you choose. They are taken out every day and walked around in a large circle, the men and boys under one leader, and the females under another. I was not permitted to look into their place of confinement for the night, but only saw the grated window. Near by are horses and mules for sale, and they are fat and sleek, because in the market. For the same reason were these men and women well dressed."—*A. S. Reporter.*

WELL DONE.

The slave Lewis, while before the Commissioners last week, at an interesting moment of the trial, when all eyes for some minutes were fixed upon the court, took out a writ of *Habeas Corpus* on his own account, and taking himself into his own custody, walked out unperceived, and has not been heard of since. Mr. Commissioner felt that his proceedings were effectually quashed, and the Anglo Saxon found himself in the vocative.

The Ch. Press, (Cincinnati.)

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 2, 1853.

With this number, which concludes the volume, a title page and Index will be sent out for the use of those who wish to file or bind our Journal.

Our esteemed friend, the Publisher, wishes us to state distinctly, that his old list is thrown aside, and that no one can be known as a subscriber till his name is entered, on renewal of his subscription, in the new forwarding book. This cash system appears to be the only one on which we can proceed.

A large number of subscriptions have been sent to us in clubs, and many of these have been paid by interested friends, without consulting the persons so furnished. The names

were entered on receipt of the money. We cannot know what subscriptions will be renewed, and were we to continue to furnish our paper until requested to stop, we must incur the risk of sending to many non-subscribers, and hence, without incurring the expense of printing a large number of extra copies, we might be unable to meet new orders.

We hope and expect the renewal of most of the old subscriptions, and a large addition to our list. We hope that those to whom this volume has been sent without charge, will, if they approve our labors, take care to send us some additional names as subscribers. We have evidence that our little periodical has been instrumental in an accession to the number of those who admit its leading idea. This consideration will, we confidently trust, stimulate the friends of the cause to extend its circulation.

Promptitude in this matter is extremely desirable and important to us. New subscribers, and those who wish to renew their subscriptions, will accommodate us by remitting to our Publisher in time to enlighten us as to the probable demand before the publication of our next number.

With those who have accompanied us through this volume, we trust that there are established some feelings in common, which would induce an unwillingness to part company.

Those who have kindly acted as AGENTS of the cause in procuring subscribers, are requested, for the Slave's sake and for the testimony of Truth's sake, to renew their labor of love. These will not think their efforts in vain, even though it be their lot to swell the number of those, who, having labored in faith for the right, and not having received their heart's desire, died in faith,

"Knowing this—that never yet
Share of Truth was vainly set
In the World's wide fallow,
After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands from hill and mead
Reap the harvests yellow."

SPROUTINGS OF GRIER SEED.

"If any tuppenny magistrate, or any unprincipled interloper can come in, and cause to be arrested, the officers of the United States, whenever they please, it is a sad state of affairs."

"If habeas corpus are to be taken out after this manner, I will have an indictment sent to the United States Grand Jury against the person who applies for the writ, or assists in getting it, the lawyer who defends it, and the sheriff who serves it."—Judge Grier.

In our last, we noticed the attempted capture of the fugitive, W. Thomas, the arrest of the brutal men who outraged the community by beating him till his blood flowed like water, and aimed at his life with fire-arms, whilst he was, without resistance, effecting his escape, and the discharge of these criminals by Judge

Grier, who accepted testimony for defendants, rejecting that on behalf of the commonwealth.

The witnesses thus set aside by the modern Jeffries, gave their testimony, before Alderman Mitchell and Com. Ingraham. Their affidavits were sent to the Editor of the Register, who published them, having, as he says, "given every thing on the other side, Judge Grier's tirade against State magistrates included."

On this, complaint being made by John Jenkins and George Wynkoop, WM. BIRNEY, the editor of the Register was arrested on a criminal charge of libel, and was required to give bail in \$800. He says:

Judge Grier threatens to have indicted, every body who shall take part in bringing such cases before our State Courts. A beginning is now made on the Editorial corps. We have been selected as the first victim. This we regard as a proud distinction. Tho' not a native of Pennsylvania, we shall let no right of her's be stricken down in our person. Our cause is that of the whole press. We shall defend ourself, even if to reach the shoulders of the chief abettor in this business, our blows must fall on ermine.

The Grand Jury of Lucerne county, have found true bills against "the ruffian deputies" (as the Freeman styles them) Wynkoop, Jenkins and Crossen, "for their murderous assault on Wm. Thomas."—"We understand," says the Freeman, "that the most desperate efforts were made by the United States authorities to have the bill quashed; but the manly yeomanry of that mountain region did not choose to submit to their dictation."

Immediately after the arrest of Birney, was published an announcement and outline of a forthcoming drama in three acts, called "Bill Thomas, or the Marshal and his men." According to the programme, Judge Grier is to hold a conspicuous place, and to appear sufficiently odious and ridiculous. We mention this as one of the results of this bold violation of Justice, and glaring insult upon the people of a free Commonwealth. We trust that those who perceive the dangerous tendency of theatrical exhibitions, will not be snared, by their curiosity or their sympathies, into a violation of their well ascertained sense of right.

"The Theatre was from the very first
The favorite haunt of Vice:—altho' some men,
Some very honest, wise and worthy men,
Have deemed it might be turned to good account,
And so perhaps it might:—but never was."

"A BRIBE FOR A JUDAS."—Under this caption the Freeman publishes the advertisement of Marshal Wynkoop, offering \$100 reward for the arrest, or for proof leading to the conviction of the humane individual who acted the good Samaritan to William Thomas. The Marshal had better keep his hundred dollars, or invest them in the under-ground railroad; for the fact he wishes to ascertain will be suf-

ficiently published in good time, in view of all the world; it is already

Recorded in the book which opened lies
Before the throne, scanned by angelic eyes.

At first blush it would seem that the coin might have been appropriately offered as a "Reward" to the good Samaritan referred to. But on reflection it will be seen that the helpers of those who are ready to perish, serve a bountiful Master, who recognizes deeds like this as *done unto Him*, and who is quite competent to reward his own servants, though his payments are made, "not as the World gives."

COLORPHOBIA.—Many of our readers are acquainted with R. Purvis, a gentleman of talent, education, refinement, and as well entitled to be respected in all his rights as any magnate of the land. Those who enjoy his friendship, derive fully as much benefit as they confer, in the interchange of thought and courtesy. And those who are not worthy of the society of gentlemen, may be the objects of his benevolence, but they enter not the circle of his friendship.

As Robert Purvis had not the ordering of his pedigree, as he did not select his parentage, it is neither to his credit nor the reverse that there is a slight admixture of African blood in his veins. It is, however, much to his credit, that his wife is the accomplished daughter of the late James Forten, for none but a man of merit could have secured her hand.

The son of this gentleman, (a gentleman himself) with two young women of education and refinement, and of African descent, who were guests at the house of Robert Purvis, visited the late Exhibition of the Franklin Institute, and were expelled, it is alleged, on the strength of an order of the Managers.

Had they sneaked into the hall without paying their admission fee? Nay verily! They purchased their tickets, and were admitted without objection. They anticipated none, or they would not have presented themselves. Especially, had any hesitation been foreseen, Purvis would never have subjected these really delicate and refined young women to the liability to insult.

Purvis Senior, prosecuted the policeman who committed the outrage, before Alderman Mitchell, who dismissed the case, as we think, unlawfully and unjustly. We do not suppose that the matter will rest here. Our friend Purvis is not one to yield, in his person, the rights of all whose ancestry can be traced to the African Continent. We trust that he will so far guard his spirit as that *Revenge* shall not be a motive. We trust that he will remember that wicked men are to be pitied, and that no conceivable danger is so lamentable as that of a perilled soul. If he can maintain christian

love for his enemies, we would be far from wishing him to rest his case, so long as he can, by pressing it, check this wicked disposition to trample on the rights of a foully injured class of our heavenly Father's children.

Not for revenge, not for wanton punishment, but for humanity's sake,—for the sake of Truth and right, the persons (whoever they may be) implicated in this despicable outrage, unless they will make ample reparation in a public apology, ought to be forced to pay exemplary damages.

MEETING IN MANCHESTER.—Our English exchanges are fraught with interesting anti-slavery matter. From a notice in the A. S. Reporter of a meeting at the Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, 9th mo. 18th. we clip some passages from the remarks of L. A. Chamerovzow.

Mr. Chamerovzow said that it would have afforded him much pleasure to yield to the wishes of the Manchester friends to hold a mass meeting on the anti-slavery question, but there was sometimes wisdom in resisting the solicitations of friends. His principal motive for desiring to confer with them—privately as it were—before holding a public meeting, was with a view to their coming to some common understanding as to the object of such a meeting, and the basis on which their proposed movement should be established. To hold a meeting in Manchester, simply to raise an outcry against slavery, he considered next to useless. Probably, not ten persons could be found in Lancashire who were in favor of slavery; and taking this for granted, they had no converts to make through the medium of a public agitation, which if undertaken at all, must have a definite object. If, however, in Lancashire there could be found no advocates of slavery, tens of thousands would be found to be advocates of cheap cotton. It was scarcely a figure of speech to say that the three million three hundred thousand slaves of the Southern States of the American Union, are held in chains of cotton. England alone had been computed to consume upwards of four fifths of the whole quantity of this staple produce of the United States. Cotton, then, might be regarded as the main-prop of American slavery, and what the anti slavery friends of Manchester had to consider was, whether they could not procure supplies of free-labour cotton from other quarters, and thus render themselves to a certain extent independent of the American slaveholders. Now, a public meeting held to call attention to the importance of opening new sources for the supply of this important commodity, would be of so practical a character that it could not fail to recommend itself to the attention of all parties; and some such course he begged to recommend. In relation to this subject, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society had directed their attention to the question of India Reform, as a means of introducing such ameliorations in the government of India, as should lead to a rapid development of the natural resources of that empire, and an augmented supply of free-labour cotton from the same region. They thought this to be one of the most practical instrumentalities for putting an end to slavery; for if the value of the slave-grown commodity could be reduced by the honest competition with it of the free-grown article from India or elsewhere, slavery must infallibly be starved to death ere many years. To accomplish this object, it would be necessary to agitate the country from end to end, because there were powerful influences at work to prevent India Reform, and unless public opinion declared itself uncompromisingly in its favour, no progress would be made. As soon, therefore, as the friends in Manchester were prepared to take this movement

in hand as an anti-slavery instrumentality, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* would be also prepared to take action, and send a deputation to attend a public meeting.

L. A. C. proceeded to discuss the position of American Churches, and, after remarks from others, the subjoined resolution was adopted.

Mr. Chamerovzow having given an outline of operations contemplated by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and embracing the following points; namely, 1st. The securing of a reform in the Government of India as a means of promoting the cultivation of free-labor cotton in that country; and, 2ndly, The calling of public attention, but especially that of the various religious denominations in Great Britain, to the position of the American Churches on the question of Slavery, in order to evoke, on the part of the former, a moral testimony against the shortcomings of their co-religionists in the United States with regard to this enormous iniquity; this meeting desires to express its cordial approval of this specific course of action, and resolves to promote the success of the same by every means in its power."

SUIT FOR DAMAGES.—One Johnson has sued the owner of a western Steamer for the value of his negro boy, who, by order of the mate, was piling wood, when by a mis-step he fell overboard and was drowned. Damages laid at \$1000.

FLAX IN AMERICA.—An important, interesting and elaborate series of Essays upon this subject, is in course of publication in *FRIENDS REVIEW*. We designed attempting a condensation, but have concluded to refer the readers to the Essays in full. The subject has an important bearing upon our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests, but a still more important one upon the **FREE LABOR** question, since it opens a prospect of a supply of linen goods, more durable, and at less cost than those made from cotton.

PENNSYLVANIA A. S. SOC.—Henry Grew, at the late anniversary of this Society, introduced a resolution affirming the apathy which exists respecting the use of Slave Produce to be inconsistent with the avowed principles of abolitionists;

"and that their requisition of the slaveholder to make great sacrifices for the cause of freedom and humanity, demands that they should make the smaller sacrifice of labor and expense, in procuring the products of required toil, so far as is practicable."

In the ensuing discussion, some objected to the sentiment, others to the wording of the part which we have quoted. It was intimated that some make this the "all in all" of the anti-Slavery cause. (An error indeed, if there be any such.) The subject was deferred to another meeting. Our friend Grew follows up the subject in the *Freeman*, in an Essay in which he happily maintains his position.

DEFERRED.—A valued communication from H. Grew is in type, but crowded out of this number.

GILDERSLEEVE'S LETTER.—This person, on whose affidavit the slave catchers were arrested, has written to Robt. C. Grier a letter, the manly dignity of which he would do well to emulate. Appended is J. L. Butler's deposition taken before and certified by Justice Burrows, that Judge Grier requested said Butler "to tell Mr. Gildersleeve that if he, Gildersleeve, should ever be brought before him, he would hang him." The high character of Burrows "as a citizen, a magistrate, and a Christian," is certified by two Presbyterian ministers, the cashier of the Bank, a Justice of the Peace, a Democratic Congressman, and a Whig Ex-Congressman. Gildersleeve's letter ends thus.

"The outrage at Wilkesbarre, and the indecent and arrogant zeal of a man who fills the high and honorable station of a Judge of the Supreme Court of the U. States, will do something to increase the intense odium with which the Fugitive Slave Act is viewed by the better class of the community. May that odium continue to expand and gather force until it shall finally render it impossible to execute this execrable act. If this be treason, you are at liberty to make the most of it."

IT IS THE SYSTEM.—F. Bremer in her "Homes of the New World," noticing the apathy, the total indifference with which really amiable people in Slave States witness the brutal maltreatment of negroes of both sexes, exclaims, "It is the system! it is the system which produces all this!" From that system, Reader, withdraw thy support. Be separate from it, and bear the eloquent testimony of a blameless example not so much against Slaveholders as against Slaveholding.

OUR TENTH NUMBER.—We have run almost entirely out of number 10. Our Publisher fears that his Packer has inadvertently sent No. 10 in place of No. 11, to a portion of our subscribers. If any have *duplicates* of No. 10 please send them back, as we are much in want of them. If any have received it a second time, *in place of No. 11*, such will please send it back addressed to "Non-Slaveholder, Philadelphia," taking care that the name of the person returning should be on each copy, that we may send No. 11 instead.

OUR NEXT VOLUME is to appear with an enlarged page. By widening and lengthening the columns we propose to give more reading matter.

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 52)

MERCER Co, N. J., 10 Mo., 14th.—Yesterday I was at the Crystal Palace. Whilst gazing upon the vast collection, bewildering in its variety, I met with our friend T. D. W., and shall remember the warmth of our greeting when much that I saw will be forgotten. We spoke of the Anti-Slavery mission to the South,* prompted and prosecuted under deep religious feeling. In this

* That of W. Foster and others.—Ed.

connection I referred to the touching notice, in John Woolman's Life, of his visit to some of the Southern Colonies. Under a solemn conviction that he ought not to receive the gains of oppression, he distributed to the Slaves, either directly or through their masters, sums of money which he thought equivalent to the value of his entertainment. Who could have harmed this meek disciple, prostrated himself into the dust at his humiliating service, yet not daring to shrink from the divine requiring?

T. D. W. said it reminded him of a circumstance which occurred in Virginia. At the meeting of a Presbytery, its members were the invited guests of a wealthy slaveholding minister. One morning, one of the members took an early walk, and, happening by the Slaves' quarters, went in and saw their apartments and the miserable meal of which they were partaking. Returning to the house deeply oppressed in spirit, he sat down to the plentiful breakfast of his host,—but he could not eat. On his declining the various delicacies which were successively proffered him, inquiry was made as to the cause; when, overcome by his feelings, he burst into tears, and simply related the observations of the morning. So deep was the effect produced upon his auditors, that the repast was uneaten. They went into the Presbytery, where he resigned the pastorate of his congregation. He removed to a free State, and remained there till his death.

A private letter, in the midst of some valuable remarks, has the following passage.

In many of the reports issued by Free Produce Associations, complaints of apathy occupy a conspicuous place. It may be that this apathy exists;—it is equally true that such apathy being felt as a burden, is an indication of life somewhere. The impression still resting upon my mind is, that the declared friends of the Free Labor movement, including the Yearly Meeting of N. Y., of which I am a member, have not endorsed a delusive theory, in committing themselves on the side of Free Labor.

BALTIMORE.—A valued Friend referring to the favorable result of the efforts, at the late election, of the Friends of Prohibitory Law, says:

There was no compromise in the matter.—It was a clear understanding that the candidates if elected, were to labor for free-totalism. The Sheriff, who is a resolute and able man, is elected for two years. The balance of the wards swell our majority to near one thousand. With such an example from a large commercial city, surely our counties will now take up the matter.

I am much hurried but must tell thee of a case of the power of conscience. I met one of our wholesale merchants on the day of election who has heavy consignments of country produce, especially of whiskey. I asked if he had voted. He said,—Yes, and for the Maine Law. It may seem strange," he continued, "for me to do so, as my commissions on Whiskey are \$1000 a year, but my conscience bid me do what I knew was right, even though beggary to me should be the result." Hundreds voted secretly for the law.

But beggary won't be the result! We have not seen such men, nor their seed, begging bread. That man would make "a whole team," if hitched on to the Anti-Slavery Car. And if he were once to appreciate the principle of *Non-Slaveholding* as we seek to expound it, we do not think he would long hesitate to sacrifice luxury, and the slight pecuniary interest involved, at the shrine of principle. For aught we know, he may be one, who, adopting the

views prevailing around him, would regard our Anti-Slavery yearnings and pleadings as fanatical;—be that as it may—we honor him, for he yields to manifested Duty, and such men may rise up in the judgment against many who yield their assent but not their obedience to the Right.

A PLEA FOR THE SLAVE.

For him who is not kinsman to the Slave,—
To whom some other God existence gave,—
To whom the eternal snowy-pinioned Dove
Hath never stooped on embassy of love,—
Of whom the God of Heaven is not the Sire,—
To whom the Holy Spirit hath not spoken,—
For him we speak not, nor awake our lyre,
We seek not from that soul an answering token.
But, to each soul who claims a Sire in Heaven,
To each for whom a Saviour's life was given,
In fervent love we send our voice abroad,
Beseeching, "Be thou reconciled to God."

Stupendous work! to make thy peace with Heaven!
To appease a God what offerings shall be given?
How wilt thou minister to His delight,
Or find oblation grateful in His sight?
How wilt thou reach Him in His bowers above
Save through His own blest medium?—God is Love
And love is the fulfilling of the law,
The sovereign tribute which he deigns to draw;
And love to Him, evinced through love to man,
Comprise the Gospel Law and Prophet's plan.
Pay to His almoners the tribute due!

In each down-trodden bondsman thou may'st view
Thy God rejected, outraged, and oppressed,
Of thy allegiance and thy love a test.
If to his misery thou hast steeled thy heart,
If to his need thou would'st not aid impart,
Or from the fugitive hast turned away,
Nor lent him shelter on his weary way,
Thou hast denied thy Maker before men,
And holy angels marked thy treason then.

Open thine eyes, and in each brother see
The representative of Deity!
With yearning love behold the meanest child,
Whose soul was ransomed by the undefiled.
Weep if oppression thrall his soul or limb!
Weep if Sin's worse domain hath fettered him!

Two harrowing spectacles our view arrest!
The man oppressor, and the man oppressed!
The plundered bondsman, when his race is run,
May hear from Heaven's high throne the words, Well done!

And he who sits thereon, may wipe his eyes,
While ambient glory thrills with glad surprise!
And he may range that living stream beside,
Whose waters from the throne like crystal glide,
Mirrored within its breast that tree revealing,
Whose verdant leaves are for the nation's healing.
"There shall be no more curse,"* to sadden him,

* Rev. xxii. 3.

Nor e'er the uncreated Light grow dim,—
Redeemed,—the un pitying tyrant's thralldom o'er,—
Mercy and Love are his for evermore!

If, for eternity, such hopes remain
For the poor slave now writhing in his chain,
Denied the brute's poor luxury,—to complain,—
Whose griefs and wrongs are multiplied each hour,
Beyond conception or description's power,
How must the Father, Maker, Judge of all,
Look down in wrath on his unhallowed thrall!
What words of human utterance can portray

The outpouring gush of tenderness and love,
The indignant pity, and the full array

Of sympathies, which should our bosoms move!

And breathe there one, who from respect to laws

Set in array against "the Great First Cause,"

Whose WILL alone is LAW o'er all supreme,

Would fail to break the fetter from his limb?

Would hesitate to speed his onward way,

Fleeing to freedom from unrighteous sway?

When Law conflicts not with the right and true,

Render to Cæsar, then, the tribute due,

If minor evils to its code belong,

In peaceful non-resistance "*suffer wrong*"—

Or else, alike for interest and for right,

Thou may'st, in calm remonstrance, use thy might,—

But when against ETERNAL RIGHT arrayed,

Judge ye, if God or man should be obeyed!

When to this issue we, perforce, are brought,

God's will is everything,—man's law is nought!

Oh! harden not thy heart, nor ease it o'er

With selfish pretexts, or with sophist lore.

Leave to the Eternal Arbitrator the sway

Of those relations He alone can weigh;

And, for thyself, the simple RIGHT pursue!

Keep this pure standard ever in thy view!

Expediency will still attend the right,

But, *taken as a rule*, will Virtue blight,

Lead thee a meteor chase, and dim thy moral sight.

But, most of all, be agonized for those

Who, while they bind the chain and wield the rod,
With infidel security repose.

As the crushed captive's cry ascends to God.

Who see, nor feel, nor fear the warnings given,

When the land darkens with the frown of Heaven!

For these speak out in love untrammelled words—

Such searching doctrine as the Truth affords!—

For these, incessant, let tongue, press, and pen,

Speak demonstration to the sons of men.

Scatter good seed abroad, and never cease!

Sow them in faith, and God will give increase!

Where Schuylkill sparkles o'er her rocky bed,

Where Delaware's serene expanse is spread,

Where Tombeckbe with Mobile southward creeps,

Where Susquehanna's wealth impetuous sweeps,

Mingling where broad Potomac's current pours;

Where Colorado dimples with strange oars,

Where Rio Bravo bounds the land of Slaves,

Where golden sands the Sacramento laves,

Where swift Columbia leaps and whirls and gushes,

Where Erie to Ontario madly rushes,

Or Mississippi in her channel loiters,
Sow with unsparing hand beside all waters.
In the cold truckling North, and boastful South,
Sow pungent seeds of never dying truth;
And pray for wisdom, guidance, utterance, strength,
And that the scattered seed may grow at length,
And bring forth fruit to multiply again,
To the high praise of the great Husbandman;
That the unflattering witness in each breast
May speak rebuke which cannot be repressed,
And that the Sun of Righteousness may shine
In hearts where selfishness has found a shrine,
Till Magnanimity o'er Avarice stealing,
And human love supplant each sordid feeling.

The spurned of man hath still a friend above,
And, stored in Heaven, exhaustless funds of love.
But, for the wielder of the chain and whip,
Who holds God's image in his Hell-nerved grip,
Who gives Cain's answer when the in-speaking Word
Asks of his brother, earnest to be heard;
By whom unnumbered wrongs and stripes are given
To the loved representatives of Heaven,
Whom God hath made recipients of the care
And love He needs not, but which man should spare,
Who wrongs his Maker's image in the slave,
What hope of mercy gleams beyond the grave?
To him thy pity, not thy wrath, be given!
Pray that the chains which bind his soul be riven!
For, more degraded than the wretch he spurns,
Self-blinded, from the gospel light he turns;
Shuts out the Truth's effulgence from his soul,
Where wilful Error holds supreme control;
His heaven-lent powers in Mammon's service wasting,
Most holy Truth to Falsehood's service wresting;
The light within him is to darkness changed,
His soul from God and happiness estranged.
For him the beacon light!—the trumpet sound!
For him let yon blue arch with Truth resound!

Friends of the slave, pursue your Christian course,
Always in love, but with redoubled force—
Heed not the fruitful slanders which defame,
And brand with transient infamy your name.
Your reputation shall be safe with Him,

Whom sinners spit upon, reviled, and slew,
Yet pitying love breathed forth in prayer for them,
"Father, forgive—they know not what they do!"

Hold up the light before the bandaged eye!

Shout in the deafened ear the warning cry!

Forth from the press, let winged agents fly

To publish Freedom's doctrines, where alone

Her name, and not her living soul, is known.

And, whilst on Truth and Freedom's service bent,

On Truth's blest guidance be thy soul intent!

With watchful spirit tread the narrow way

Where thy Exemplar left a guiding ray.

Far from thy chastened heart be all the train

Of ills which on the untempered zealot gain.

In meekness do thy part, and look to Heaven!

In God's own time, not thine, the fetters will be riven!

W. J. A.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE MAKES HIS BROTHERS SIN HIS OWN."

EDITED BY

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME SECOND.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR.
NORTH WEST CORNER FIFTH & CHERRY STS.

1854.

TO THOSE I LOVE.

BY ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER.

Oh, turn ye not displeased away, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear, an oft-repeated theme;
The story of the negro's wrongs is heavy at my heart,
And can I choose but wish from you a sympathizing part?

I turn to you to share my joy,—to soothe me in my grief—
In wayward sadness from your smiles, I seek a sweet relief:
And shall I keep this burning wish to see the slave set free,
Lock'd darkly in my secret heart, unshared and silently?

I cannot know that all the chords, which give their magic tone
Like Memnon's harp, in music out, 'neath sunshine smiles alone,
Are torn by savage hands away from woman's bleeding breast,
And with their sweetness on my soul, my feelings keep repress'd!

If I had been a friendless thing—if I had never known,
How swell the fountains of the heart beneath affection's tone,
I might have, careless, seen the leaf torn rudely from its stem,
But clinging as I do to you, can I but feel for them?

I could not brook to list the sad sweet music of a bird,
Though it were sweeter melody than ever ear hath heard,
If cruel hands had quench'd its light, that in the plaintive song,
It might the breathing memory of other days prolong.

And can I give my lip to taste the life-bought-luxuries, wrung
From those on whom a darker night of anguish has been flung—
Or silently and selfishly enjoy my better lot.
While those whom God hath bade me love, are wretched and forgot?

Oh no!—so blame me not, sweet friends, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear an oft-repeated theme;
The story of the negro's wrongs hath won me from my rest,—
And I must strive to wake for him an interest in your breast!

JOHN RODGERS, PRINTER,

BURLINGTON, N. J.

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ERRATA.

Page 15—second column, fifth line—For "excited" read *existed*.
 — 46—second column, fourth line—For "1850" read 1840.
 — 35—seventeenth line—For "paris" read *Porta*.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 1854.

[No. 1.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
 PHILADELPHIA.

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 " of three copies, ONE DOLLAR.
 " or of eight copies, TWO DOLLARS,

in one payment, always in advance, post paid,
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 should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N. J."
 (the residence of the Editor.)

FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.

TO ALL THE FRIENDS OF THE FREE LABOR
 MOVEMENT.

The importance to the cause of abstinence
 from the products of Slave Labour of a manu-
 factory exclusively employed on free labour cot-
 ton, must be obvious to all who have been con-
 versant with the many difficulties which have at-
 tended the occasional employment of mills, or-
 dinarily filled with slave-grown cotton. The un-
 dersigned proposes the FOLLOWING PLAN for the
 supply of this desideratum.

If the friends of the movement will supply the
 means for the purchase of machinery and one
 half of the stock of cotton, (which must be pro-
 cured in the winter for the whole year,) the un-
 dersigned will rent the machinery and purchase
 the cotton, guaranteeing 6 per cent. per an-
 num interest on the whole, (a sum deemed ade-
 quate for wear and tear of machinery,) and keep
 it insured against loss by fire during the term of
 his lease:—and will also engage to purchase the
 machinery within five years from the time of its
 going into operation if required by the contribu-
 tors of the fund, for a sum equal to the cost less
 the reserved fund.—It is proposed that the con-
 tributors appoint one or two of their number to
 hold the trust, and to attend to its proper appli-
 cation. Several Friends of this city and vicinity
 have subscribed one thousand dollars each, and
 some have offered five hundred dollars each. It
 is now proposed to the friends of the cause all

over the country to make up about six or seven
 thousand dollars more, which they can readily
 do by subscriptions of twenty dollars and up-
 wards—or even smaller sums. It is very desira-
 ble to have the mill go into operation the ap-
 proaching spring.

Address, GEO. W. TAYLOR,
 First mo., 1854. Box 777, Philada.

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued.)

WESTCHESTER Co., N. Y. (with 16 Subscri-
 bers.)—Having been furnished with the first Vol.
 of the N. S. by some unknown friend, we have
 been so far interested with it as to desire its con-
 tinuance, and its perusal for another year; and
 well knowing that patronage is necessary, we
 have taken a little pains to ask our neighbors
 and friends to subscribe, and thus, with my own
 name, I send 15 others. It is a little trouble,
 but more imaginary than real, and if every fami-
 ly who read the paper last year at some other
 person's expense, would do only as much as we
 have done, it would no doubt add very conside-
 rably to the circulation of the paper, and stimu-
 late the benevolent to "cast their bread upon the
 waters." We shall continue to obtain subscri-
 bers, as opportunity offers, at the club price, as
 the cheapness of the paper induces some to try it.

JACKSON Co., MICHIGAN, (with a subscrip-
 tion.)—Being determined not to support Slavery
 in any way, shape or form, and being fully con-
 vinced that the use of the products of the Slave's
 unrequited toil supports the unrighteous system,
 I have come to the deliberate conclusion to be a
 partaker of that great wrong no longer; and
 therefore wish you to send me the following bill.

[Here follows an order on the Free Produce Store.]
 [This correspondent and subscriber is especially wel-
 come, and his testimony is entitled to much respect. He
 was banished from North Carolina two years ago for
 preaching against Slavery.—Ed.]

QUEEN'S CO., L. ISLAND—(with 8 subscrip-
 tions). * * I wish to encourage the paper, hav-
 ing always liked it from the first, because it was
 in unity with my concern, which I have endea-
 vored to maintain for forty years, although I
 have not been as faithful at all times as would
 have yielded the greatest amount of happiness.
 Therefore, as my only regret in the retrospect is
 my unfaithfulness, may we be cheered on our
 way, to do what our hands find to do in the great
 work of reform, not only on the subject of Sla-

very, but of Temperance, &c. As brotherly kindness and the great law of love become predominant, and take the rule in men's minds, then indeed will the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ."

A BELOVED FRIEND FROM THE SAME COUNTY writes, (with larger number of subscriptions). "Endeavoring to enlarge the list of subscribers, nearly all the families in our meeting unite therein."

CLINTON Co., OHIO.—(with 16 subscriptions.) There appears to be a lively interest felt in the free-produce cause, by some whose influence may do much towards promoting the good work. Yet it is to be feared that (even amongst those of foremost ranks, and in other respects worthy in double honor) too much apathy exists. I trust that the CAUSE may never flag for want of true and faithful supporters, even should they be among the youth.

WILLOW GROVE, N. J.—Having perused Vol. 1—of the new series of this racy publication, I have been so well pleased with its contents, and with the wholesome tendency, (as I conceive) of the sentiments which it offers to the reading community, that I wish to contribute towards ensuring its continuance and extension.—To test my power to do this, (though laden with the infirmities of fourscore years,) I tried the experiment of a short walk among such of my neighbors as had no knowledge of the existence of such a publication. The result was nine subscribers, and \$2.25 as per enclosure. Such unanimity of belief prevails in the irrefutable principles of our "Declaration" of rights, and of their evident appliance to the outraged Ethiopian, that, were a suitably qualified person with a stitched copy of the published volume, to walk over our County, subsisting for a few weeks with its hospitable inhabitants, and soliciting their patronage of the N. Slaveholder, I think he might enlist such an army as would effectively attest the approval of your objects.

CAYUGA Co., N. Y.—(with subscription.)—I should be glad to do something more towards circulating so valuable a paper.

ORLEANS Co.: N. Y.—Enclosed are \$2.00 for 8 copies of that spirited and excellent little sheet the N. Slaveholder.

HENRY Co: INDIANA.—I enclose the price of 8 copies, hoping thus to contribute something to the down-trodden and oppressed of God's poor.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

NECESSITY FOR ACTION.

While many are endeavoring to procure and use such articles only as are free from the sin of oppression, it is to be feared that others have not let obedience keep pace with knowledge, and have used but little effort on this behalf.—The difficulty of obtaining all the articles we need, is so great, that it has a very discouraging

effect on our zeal, and did not the monthly visits of the Non-Slaveholder remind us of our duty, I fear there is danger that some of us would lose our interest altogether. I hope, however, that all of the readers of this paper are sufficiently convinced of the sin of Slavery, and also of the necessity of bearing a testimony against it, to be willing to take some further action on the subject, than we have heretofore done.

We are told that Slavery "sits upon a cotton bale,"—that the Slaves in the United States are held by "chains of cotton"—and that "cotton is the main prop of American Slavery." When we reflect on the vast amount, and various uses of cotton, we cannot but assent to the correctness of the above comparisons. Here, then, is the strong hold of Slavery, against which, but a very small amount of anti-slavery effort has been yet wielded. It is comparatively an easy matter to select the free, from slave grown groceries, but to obtain free cotton goods, is a very different thing. In a recent letter from the esteemed proprietor of the Free Labor Store in Philadelphia, he says, "It is with great difficulty I get the cotton goods made, tho' I can readily get the cotton. I hope the difficulty will become less." Here in a few words, we have the whole matter laid open to our view. While we have been persuading one another to use free goods, many of us perhaps, have not been aware of the difficulties those have to encounter, who have undertaken to supply those goods. Their devotion to the cause certainly demands our sympathy, as well as aid.

Thus it appears the first step has not yet been taken to enable us to be consistent in our testimony; and it is very plain that something further must be done,—that some further action is necessary, to enable us to obtain a supply of free cotton goods. Then let us seriously apply to ourselves the query of the early converts to Christianity, "Men and brethren what shall we do."—In the twelfth number of the Non-Slaveholder, Practice tells Profession, that "G. W. Taylor proposes, if the friends of the cause will raise sufficient capital to purchase the machinery, to try the experiment, on the smallest scale, of running a mill on a variety of staple articles." "Friends of the cause," we have here something pointed out for us to do. We find that the cotton can be obtained, but that the goods cannot be manufactured without our aid; and unless we give it, it will shew that our zeal is not sufficient for the cause we have espoused. The early Christians did not falter in the performance of their duties, for when they found that money was needed, they "sold their possessions, and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."—Let us be faithful in the performance of our duties, which do not require that we should sell all our possessions, but only a small part of our goods, in proportion to the quantity we possess, and bestow them, as the cause has need. Let our friends in Philadelphia inform us what

amount will be needed, and on what conditions, and I hope a sufficient sum can soon be raised, to set a manufactory in operation, which would be the beginning of a system, that, if faithfully carried on, would lead to results, that might cause millions to rise up and call us blessed. W.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

Friend Editor,—Having been absent for several months, I have not, until recently, had the privilege of reading your useful periodical.

It has long appeared to me an anomaly of no ordinary character, that so many of our anti-slavery friends, who can reason so ably on the general subject of slavery, and who are condemning constantly, the practical inconsistency of northern politicians and professed Christians, for their fellowship with slavery, are themselves maintaining a fellowship with it, which implicitly sanctions, and which actually sustains the entire system of iniquity.

With their standard unfurled to the world, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS;" they voluntarily maintain a commercial union, which constitutes the chief incentive for the continuance of what they themselves denominate "the sum of all villainy." Can arguments be offered in vindication of such voluntary support of the system, which will not vindicate the system itself? Is there not, in fact, a striking similarity between the excuses offered in both cases? To every abolitionist we say; close the market to the oppressor and you present the most effective motive to the Slaveholders, in general, to cease the oppression which you so earnestly and so severely condemn. Close it in parts and you diminish slavery's woes in part. You may say you wish the slaveholder to act from a purer motive. Very well; but is it right for you to present the inferior motive, which is, with him, the actual inducement to perpetrate the wrong? What would you say, in reply to the man who is constantly encouraging theft, by receiving and paying for stolen goods, if he should tell you he desires that the thieves should leave off stealing from better motives than merely to obtain his money? Would you not think that his love of virtue was rather anomalous?

Extend your mental vision across the ocean, to the land of Africa. See the warring tribes in hostile conflict. For what purpose? To supply, with wretched victims of cupidity, the white man's slave-ship, to endure the horrors of "the middle passage." Who presents the motive to perpetrate these incalculable outrages on humanity, which the nation has denominated villainous piracy? Every man who stands ready any where to purchase a fellow being to coerce his unrequited toil. So long as there is a market, it will be, in some measure, supplied, in defiance of the laws of God and man. But who presents the motive to the men who deal in human souls, and drive them to unrequited, cruel, and often death

devouring toil? The purchasers and consumers of the fruits of that toil. And here we come to the foundation of the whole superstructure of oppression, cruelty, blood and death, which we have vowed in the presence of God, angels and men, to overthrow by all righteous and appropriate means in our power.

The caveat of "impracticability" is inadmissible, until we have done what is practicable. To avoid all contact with slavery, we must needs go out of the world. Will this justify us in passing by a store where we can obtain the products of honesty, to go into one to purchase the fruits of our brother's oppression? We may not avoid all contact with unrighteousness, by purchasing at stores of honest repute. Will this justify us in dealing with the man whom we know to be in the constant practice of receiving stolen goods?

Let us solemnly consider the subject, and act so that the avenger of the poor may not require our brother's blood at our hands.

HENRY GREW.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

FRIEND WM. J. ALLINSON.—In noticing the remarks of E. L., in the 11th number of the Non-Slaveholder, it has appeared to me that his position demands some further examination.

The instance referred to, of releasing a recaptured fugitive, by purchase, it seems to me is not in point—is not a case parallel with that of petitioning Congress to pass a law to remunerate such Slaveholders, as may choose to set their Slaves free. We may be entirely excusable in throwing down our purse to the highwayman, who threatens our lives if we do not deliver it up; but in my opinion it would be far different to ask for a law granting him the money or property he would otherwise take by force on his own responsibility. Those who petitioned for the enactment of a law, most assuredly sanction that law, should it be enacted; hence it is evident there is just as much difference between the two cases our friend makes parallel, as there is between suffering wrong and legalizing wrong.

Now, as it is admitted, that the possessors of Slaves are under moral obligation "to grant immediate and unqualified emancipation" to them, can we suppose a law would be just and right, which holds out an inducement to do it for compensation only? which virtually contradicts the idea of their being under any moral obligation whatever so to do? What, I would ask, must be its effect? I take it for granted, however, that it will be conceded, that the law in itself, would be unjust; but that it will be said it is necessary, under the circumstances; and that the object to be attained warrants it. This, I apprehend, is the point between us. Can we innocently support, nay more, advocate the passage of such a law? Has it become necessary in this age of the world to "do evil that good may come?" I

have believed, and still do, that the great moral Governor of the Universe has not, in His infinite wisdom and divine economy, so ordered, that the advocacy of any wrong or unjust measure, should be necessary for the promotion of His righteous cause, or the good of his creature Man. And entertaining this view, I certainly believe, if Congress would pass a law recognizing the justice of the claim of all who should be set free, to fair and equitable wages for the time they had served, it would have a far better effect than the law proposed for the remuneration of Slaveholders.

The object of all law and government, divinely recognized, according to the apostolic definition, is the punishment of evil doers and the praise of them that do well. The law proposed, would certainly be very near the exact reverse of this, in its operation. At any rate, I am sure it would mete out no punishment to those evil doers, whose darling system embraces the "sum of all villainies," in taking care that they should not suffer pecuniarily, when they should leave off their crimes, in consequence of having committed them. If we may, "with due regard to principles of universal righteousness" enact a law to pay the Slaveholder for the relinquishment of his grasp upon his fellow man, why not apply the same rule in every other case of crime?—Why not pass a law to pay the counterfeiter for all he would lose by becoming an honest man, as an inducement to him to forego his knavery?—Can any one tell? Can our friend? It would certainly, in my opinion, be as likely to succeed in the latter, as in the former case; because, if men have no conscientious scruples against Slaveholding, and believe it to be a money making business, why should they take a "moderate" valuation for their Slaves, when they think money is to be made at the business, even when they bear a high price? But if they have those scruples, the remuneration is uncalled for, because then they will not hold them anyhow. In this light I think we may see that it is our duty to pass such laws, and advocate such principles and measures only, as are calculated to strengthen every conscientious scruple in the minds of the people, against any connivance whatever at this wicked scheme, and that this is the best way; the speediest way to effect the object, and the only consistent way for us to act. Our friend, perhaps, in his first article, gave as one reason for his policy, that if one of the Slave States could be freed from Slavery by the purchase of its Slaves, it would afford an opportunity to show to the others, the advantages of freedom, and thus, much good might result therefrom. I ask, have not these advantages been as clearly exhibited in the contrast existing between the already contiguous free and Slave States, as possibly could be? If there is anything that can be made of it, we have all opportunity, by making the masses acquainted with the facts.

A few words in reply to the remarks of P. L. A. That we, the people of the United States, "are verily guilty concerning our brother" of African descent, I readily admit, but that any have been enriched by Slavery is a matter altogether questionable. Had we a complete table of statistics showing the result of the trade between the North and South, and the losses the former has sustained by its intercourse with the latter, it would be almost astounding. In a very short time, a few years back, the town of Lynn, Mass., alone lost about 3,000,000 of dollars in this way. A vast sum is annually taken out of the pockets of the non-slaveholders of the North to pay for the transportation of letters and papers to these "only sufferers among the more numerous offenders," in the matter! The whole system of diplomacy, conducted as it has been for a long time by the Slaveholders, has been such as to regulate the duties in a way to protect their own interests at the expense of the North, and to draw from it, the expenses in a great degree, of the general government, and relieve themselves of the burden. If there has been any money made by Slavery, the Slave holders have been the alone receivers; if not, why pay them to rid themselves of a nuisance? I repeat, the Slaveholders have lost nothing by our intercourse with them, far from it; even "honor among thieves," would not give them anything. They have always taken the lion's share, they have compelled their fellow men to work for nothing, obtaining as they no doubt think, many times the amount of the money they paid for them, while we pay our laborers for all they do. But I admit that the Slave has suffered by our alliance with his oppressor—he has been the great and principal sufferer. And, if we have heretofore been partners in a firm of "thieves," and now propose to become honest, I think we should act honestly, and if we are not willing to come up to Zachens' standard of "restoring four fold" to those we have defrauded, we should be willing to restore what we have taken at least. Let them be the objects of our sympathy and commiseration, instead of taking pity on those who have revelled in idleness on the unrequited toil of their fellow men, when they may conclude to cease.

W. E.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"TIS ALMOST NIGHT."

A beautiful little girl between two and three years of age, the only child of a missionary in the East Indies, was attacked by the jungle fever, and in a few days her case was declared by the physicians to be hopeless. Having been taught, from very early infancy, to repeat a short prayer every morning and evening, as her strength ebbed rapidly away and her sight grew dim, she naturally supposed the hour of rest drew nigh. Clasp her tiny hands, in a faint but earnest voice she began—

"Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Lord my soul to keep—"

and gently breathed forth her soul into the keeping of Him who has declared, "of such is the kingdom of Heaven."

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 18, 1854.

It is to be supposed that our subscribers and readers are acquainted with the design of this little periodical, and although the opening of a new volume affords an appropriate opportunity for defining our position, we incline rather to let this be apparent in the course pursued. And yet a few words with this object may be serviceable.

Our true purpose is uncompromising antagonism to Slavery. In this we are not restricted to any single idea or mode of testimony against the great national sin, and if we omit to insert many items or to notice many important facts, it must be remembered that our space is small, and that we do not aim at obviating with any of our friends the necessity of other Anti-Slavery Journals.

The phase of Anti-Slavery action which we chiefly aim to illustrate, is indicated by our title and our motto; and we intend, (as heretofore) to keep it prominently in view. This mode of action has been regarded by the Non-Slaveholder, from its commencement, as "elementary."—We have thrown the gauntlet, charging those who supply the motive to the purchaser, and through him to the capturer of Slaves, with being the true Slaveholders. Though the charge rebound upon ourselves, we cannot on that account elude the force of the maxim; *Qui facit per alium facit per se.* Remembering our own need of charity, we hope not to be uncharitable toward others, whilst we seek to promote a perfectly consistent and pure testimony against the greatest wrong upon which the sun shines.

We are also deeply interested in other moral reforms:—and, when we find occasion and space to do so, we mean to advocate them. We regard it as being within our province to testify against OPPRESSION in its various disguises, even when, with sanctimonious garb, it stands where most emphatically it ought not. The cause of TEMPERANCE is unspeakably dear to us, and claims much of our time and effort. To it we mean to devote a portion of the Non-Slaveholder. Believing, with adoring reverence, that whenever we pray to our Father in Heaven,—"THY KINGDOM COME,"—we ask for the extension of the dominion of "THE PRINCE OF PEACE,"—and that all wars and fightings obstruct this kingdom, and spring from lusts that war against the soul, —we consider the cause of PEACE, a subject for advocacy;—and holding that "all revenge is crime" and that human life ought by man to be held inviolable, we intend, as occasion calls for it, to oppose what Whittier has fitly styled "the crime of law":—the unchristian policy of

"staying Murder's hand
By Murder at the Law's command."

We shall also aim at presenting as much variety as may comport with the giving of due prominence to our main subject, by the insertion of

By a dying infant's bed,
Sadly were her parents weeping;
While above her sinking head,
Guardian angels watch were keeping.

In a distant tropic land
With the dark-browed Hindoo dwelling,
Had her father joined the band
Jesus' love to pagans telling.

Far away from native soil,
Far from scenes of early childhood,
For his Master did he toil
In the lonely jungle wildwood.

But when evening brought repose,
Heart felt praises up to Heaven,
From that humble cot arose,
For the daily blessings given.

For the friends they once had left,
Far away beyond the water;
For the boon of health, and gift
Of a darling, only daughter.

In her parents' arms entwined,
She was all their earthly treasure,
And her early dawning mind
Filled their souls with purest pleasure.

Gentle—tender as a bird,
Her blue eye with love was gleaming,
And, by lively fancy stirred,
All her face with thought was beaming.

By her mother's pious care,
Oft as came her time for slumbers,
Breathed she forth her little prayer,
Lisp'd in faltering infant numbers.

But the loveliest scene will fade.—
In the distant skies are swelling
Clouds that darken, by their shade,
Sunshine in each earthly dwelling.

When the heated noontide air,
From the poisoned forests springing,
O'er the landscape wide and fair,
Fell disease and death was flinging.

Ere three summer suns had rolled,
Swiftly in their course returning,
Brilliant cheek and bright eye told,
Fever in her veins was burning.

As before the autumn gale,
Shrinks the tender summer blossom,
She, when strength began to fail,
Drooped upon her mother's bosom.

Still her breath grew short apace,
And the mists began to gather,
While upon her cherub face,
Shone the image of her Father.

"Mother, dear, 'tis almost night:—
Said the dying babe caressing;
"Now I cannot see the light—
"Mother sweet, thy evening blessing.

"Now I lay me down to sleep,
(And she raised her hands to Heaven)
"I pray the Lord"—'Tis silence deep!
With those words her soul was given!

With that prayer went up her Spirit,
As the morning dew exhaled,—
Free Salvation to inherit
From a source which never faileth.

Lay her hands upon her bosom!
Leave them clasped, as still in prayer!
Give to Earth Earth's fairest blossom!
God has claimed what is not there!

Weeping Parents dry your eyes,—
Trust her soul with Him who gave it!
Let the ransomed Spirit rise,
Rise to Him who died to save it!

J. C.

some literary matter. Of the extent to which this may be done to advantage, whilst our readers will differ in opinion, as the responsibility rests with us, we claim the casting vote.

In making up a number of a periodical an editor has to consider many things, the bearing of which will be overlooked by his readers. Let those, for instance, who think the whole space too little for the non-participant idea, reflect that there are some who take and read our paper for the sake of other matter, and that whilst we wish to stir up by way of remembrance those who are already convinced, it is an important object to bring before fresh minds and consciences the consideration of the duty of withholding from Slavery the motive.

Although our subscription list is a pretty large one, yet as nearly all are at the extremely low club price, (which can only be remunerative with much extension,) a pecuniary loss has attended the publication of Vol. 1.—Still we have now enlarged the size of our page, adding to each number half a page more of reading matter, and of course increasing the cost of printing.

We trust that volunteer agents will continue and increase their efforts. The work is most neglected in large cities, where persons are accustomed to wait to be called upon for their subscriptions. The low price of our Journal will not admit of the employment of paid Agents. If a few persons, *for the sake of the cause*, would circulate subscription papers in such cities, there is no doubt that hundreds of additional names might be obtained with little labor.

On page 27 of last volume we inserted the Memorial of Samuel Rhoads, Enoch Lewis, Geo. W. Taylor, Abm. L. Pennoek, Jasper Cope, Isaac Collins, and Edward Garrett, setting forth the participancy of citizens of Free States, (through their commercial relations with the South) in the profits of Slave Labor, and their consequent partnership in the *great business of Slavery*, and asking of Congress

"The enactment of a law which shall provide that whenever any State, by its Legislature, shall pass an act emancipating the Slaves within its limits, an assessment shall be made by Commissioners appointed under the authority of the Governor of the State, and the President of the U. S. of the loss sustained by Slaveholders individually, and the aggregate amount to be paid into the Treasury of such State for equitable distribution."

This gave rise to a discussion which was conducted, in the Non-Slaveholder temperately, in a good spirit, and with ability, and we would willingly have closed it with the volume, as, in reopening the debate, it must be before a very different audience, and many of our new subscribers may fail to appreciate a controversy, which has already been pretty well exhausted. We wish, however, to treat with entire fairness, correspondents who have at heart the same important objects, and who, whilst appearing to differ a little *in mode*, can appreciate the integrity of

each other. We wish that our friend W. E. could have condensed his remarks into a smaller space, as we have to reject various articles from the present number, solely on account of their length.

And here we would make a general remark to correspondents:—that, however tedious and prolonged our own lucubrations may be, yet, in the writings of others, we are enamoured with the beauty of brevity. We love to receive communications of the right stamp, and of the desired shortness. We have some essays lying on our table which we have repeatedly taken up, to count the lines, and to calculate what space they would occupy, in Long Primer, Bourgeois, or Minion, but were finally obliged to reject them, *because there was too much of a good thing.*

Our "Green Mountain" friend is quite facetious about "the Cotton that Tom picked." We wish that there was no ground for his satire upon

"the Friend so plain and grave
That would not directly own a Slave."

We have, however, the comfort of knowing that the *principles* of Quakerism lead to straightforwardness in acting out the testimonies of Truth, and that there are not a few yet preserved who find no willingness to dodge a self-application of the doctrines they profess. As we pursued our meditations on this subject, our fingers began to tingle with the "*cacoethes scribendi*;"—a pen was in our hand, and we found that it had written as follows—

THIS IS THE FRIEND CONSISTENT AND RIGHT.

I knew a Quaker, modest and meek,
Who weighed every word that he deigned to speak,
And he seemed to be always in Godly fear
Lest he might not preserve his conscience clear.

And yet he was brave—and at Duty's call
He was ready to hazard the loss of all.
He could suffer or do as the case might be
To keep from offence his Conscience free.

The views of the World he would oft neglect,
But he treated his Conscience with great respect.
Its smallest scruple he'd pause to weigh,
And its least monition or hint obey.

For he kept his Conscience turned to the Light,—
And so he was sure that his Conscience was right.
There's a Spirit in man—and the Quaker knew
That all its revealings were pure and true.

But any thing mean the Quaker scorned—
And any thing base he hated and spurned—
And what he deemed wrong for himself to do
He'd not do by proxy through me or you.

He would pay his debts like an honest man
To Pompey or Patrick or Tom or Dan:—
And none of his servants white or black
Could charge him with keeping their wages back.

And never a hunted Slave that came
For shelter or alms could put him to shame;

Nor say of his vestment's simple braid
"I raised that Cotton and never was paid!"

No Slave had lien on his sugar or rice,
He never kept back a part of the price;
Nor chain nor manacle clanked for him,
Nor Slave-whip gashed the o'er wearied limb.

There was moral health in the Quaker's tone—
And moral health on his visage shone.
He walked with an honest and manly tread
There was nothing on Earth for the Quaker to dread

He was unembarrassed in princely hall.
He owed nothing but love, and gave *that* to all.
To his Maker the Quaker his soul would abase—
But any man living he'd look in the face.

GENUINENESS OF FREE LABOR GOODS.—It appears to be necessary, in answer to the queries of some new subscribers, briefly to re-state what has been pretty fully explained in our former volume. An extensive supply of Dry Goods and Groceries is kept, (wholesale and retail), at the Free Produce Store in this city, N. W. Corner Cherry and Fifth Sts. These are quite free from the stain of Slavery: the guarantee for which is not merely in the care, conscientiousness and discrimination of the Proprietor of the Establishment, but in the sufficiency of the means employed. In reference to the Groceries, no explanation is called for at present. A list is possessed by said Proprietor, of the names of growers of free Cotton, in Texas, Alabama, Western Tennessee, and Mississippi, who have been visited on their plantations by a confidential Agent. They neither own nor hire Slaves, and hence, (owing to the laws of those States,) the cotton is raised by whites. It is also *ginned* exclusively by free labor. From these planters it is purchased by reliable stationary agents, who, after *ascertaining* that they neither hold nor hire Slaves, require, on delivery of the cotton, a certificate or affirmation of the fact, that this particular parcel of cotton has been raised and ginned entirely by free hands, and by persons who *employ no slaves*.—Moreover, no temptation to deceive is extended in the way of premium or higher price. What little extra expense is charged upon free goods, results from the cost of separate manufacture, and hopes are entertained that even this trifling bar (trifling to those who are conscientious on the subject) to the use of free goods, will be removed. To keep the free cotton *unmixed* in the process of manufacture, an excess thereof is sent to the factory, and the portion at the beginning and end, being mixed with Slave Cotton in the joining (to avoid stopping the machinery) is rejected. But whilst the arrangement is perfect as regards the integrity of the free fabric, it is highly desirable to establish mills to run on free cotton exclusively; and our friend of the Free Produce Store, has made the proposition alluded to by our correspondent W., (and to which we should be glad to see a liberal response) to estab-

lish a Jobbing Mill, and to run it upon a variety of staple articles: the only mode at present seen, to obviate the hazardous necessity of laying in large stocks of articles for which the demand is small. From the store referred to, many Merchants and others, in various States, are furnished with Goods.

FREE LABOR FACTORY.—We invite attention to the article which commences the present number. The object proposed is important. A capital of about \$15,000 thus invested, would, it is believed, enable the Proprietor of the Free Labor Establishment to carry on the business much more to the furtherance of the original design, and to the satisfaction of consumers of Free Produce. We think there are persons enough, who, by loans of various amounts, could, without any inconvenience to themselves, place the Establishment beyond the position of a mere experiment.

DO STATESMEN HAVE HEARTS?—Gerrit Smith, in his speech upon the Ingraham resolutions, happily hits off the idea entertained respecting statesmanship by the sort of politicians whom Salmagundi satirizes: "A candidate for political eminence is like a dead herring which never becomes luminous until it is corrupt." We quote a few passages.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, I should not have presumed to rise, had I been duly influenced by what the gentleman from Alabama has just now told us of the characteristics of a statesman. For in that gentleman's esteem, the heart does not enter into the composition of a statesman. With him, the statesman is a creature all head, and no heart. With me on the contrary, the heart is of more account than the head—and that, too, in all the possible circumstances of life, including even the province of statesmanship. A higher authority than the gentleman from Alabama makes more of the heart than of the head. His command, as well upon the statesman as upon every other person, is, "My son, give me thine heart." The heart first, and the head afterwards. The faculties of man drive on but to mischief and ruin, unless the heart be first given to the right and the true.

I find that gentlemen of Alabama agree in their definition of a statesman. Another gentleman from that State [Mr. Phillips.] when reviewing my speech, a fortnight ago, kindly informed me that I am but a sentimentalist, and not a statesman. To use almost precisely his words: "Though I had attained some notoriety in the country as a sentimentalist, I had never risen to the dignity of a statesman." I beg that gentleman to be patient with me. I may yet become the dignified, heartless, frigid, conventional sort of being, that makes up the accepted and current idea of a statesman. They say that Congress is a capital place for making a statesman of one, who is willing to come under the process. They say so, for the reason that Congress is a capital place for getting rid of all sentiment and sympathy, and conscience.

Now, I cannot say that I am very ambitious to have realized, in my own person, the popular idea of a statesman. Nevertheless I beg the gentleman to be patient with me. When I shall have been in Congress a few weeks longer, I may so far have lost my heart, and killed my soul, as to be a candidate for the honors of a statesman. And then the honor-

able gentleman will, no doubt, be willing to take me by his own right hand, and install me into that dignity which he and other statesmen so self-complacently enjoy.

After advocating the resolutions because they rest the justification of Capt. Ingraham on the naked ground of humanity, and after saying many good things which were liable to a salutary home application, Gerrit Smith thus concludes.

Pass these resolutions, Mr. Speaker—pass them promptly and unanimously. By doing so we shall honor humanity and honor ourselves; by doing so we shall rebuke our Government for having taken, three years ago, the diabolical position, that they who rescued their kidnapped, and oppressed, and outraged, and crushed brethren, merit, at the hands of this government, fines and imprisonment.

Pass these resolutions, and you will put the seal of your emphatic condemnation on that diabolical position; and you will cheer the hearts of those who have rescued such poor brethren, and of others who are determined to rescue them whenever they can get the opportunity to do so. Pass these resolutions; and these past and these future rescuers of the most wronged of all men will rejoice in knowing, that upon the principle of these resolutions and upon the principle by which some on this floor have advocated them, they are entitled, not to suffer fines and imprisonment, but to receive gold medals.

WHAT IS YOUR RUM TAX?—Any intelligent man, who would devote himself to answering this question for the community in which he resides, could present astounding facts. *The Prohibitionist*, (a Journal of excellent promise, just started in Albany) gives under the above caption the following extract from *The Miners Journal*, "published in the heart of the coal region."

"Coal is coal just now, and those are esteemed fortunate who can secure any now even as a favor. Outsiders are entirely cut off. Rum has reduced the supply from this region at least one hundred thousand tons this year, which will be the means of enhancing the price of coal at least one dollar per ton in the different markets. So that the rum traffic in this region the present year will probably cost the people abroad nearly one million of dollars in the single item of fuel, and that too without benefitting this region a single iota. This is worth thinking about, even by those who consider Temperance advocates fanatics and lunatics."

The above passage does not fully explain itself. The workmen were formerly paid in orders upon the stores, (a system often allied to oppression) but recently the wages have been paid in cash. Unfortunately a large portion of the laborers are addicted to Intemperance, and it takes them half their time to spend their wages. The detriment to themselves and their families is not reducible to an exact calculation.

DAILY NATIONAL ERA.—The weekly of Dr. Bailey, published in our National Capital, established with such moral courage, and conducted with such ability and wisdom, has been crowned with signal success. Dr. Bailey has resolved upon a daily issue in addition, and to those who have occasion for a daily Washington paper we strongly recommend it. The terms are thus stated.

The *Daily Era* will be issued on a sheet as large as

that of the *Daily Nat. Intelligencer*, on the 2d of Jan. 1854, and daily thereafter until the 1st of Sept., 1854, (or longer should Congress continue in session), at \$5.00 FOR THAT PERIOD; and should the result then warrant, the publication will be resumed on the 1st of December following by the year.

In reference to this enterprise the Tribune says: "On all moral questions we are sure to find *The Era* on the side of virtue and of human rights; and the independent thinker who may differ from it on any subject, can be sure that he will presently find himself fighting along with it in some other part of the battle. Besides, there is reason to welcome the establishment of a daily paper at Washington, which public patronage is not likely to corrupt, or any party to buy up. Success to the undertaking."

HAWORTH WETHERALD.—This valued and lamented friend of the Slave peacefully breathed his last on 7th inst.

For the Youth's Department of the Non-Slaveholder.

This is the Cotton that Tom pickt.—A Parody.

1. THIS is the Cotton that Tom pickt.—
2. THIS is the Fiend that stole the cotton that Tom pickt.
3. THIS is the merchant that paid the fiend,
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
4. THIS is the mill where spun the thread
Out of the cotton that looked so red
In stealing of which the blood was shed
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend,
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
5. THIS is the loom that wove the cloth
(The feeling child to wear is loth.)
Within the mill where spun the thread,
Out of the Cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed,
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
6. THIS is the Store where a stock is kept
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept
In its way to the mill where spun the thread
Out of the Cotton that looked so red
In stealing of which the blood was shed,
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
7. THIS is the dress so bright and gay,
That I mean to wear on my wedding day
That I bought in the Store where a stock is kept
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept
In its way to the mill where spun the thread
Out of the Cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
8. THIS is the dollar that goes to pay
For the gala dress so bright and gay,
That I mean to wear on my wedding day.
That I bought in the Store where a stock is kept
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept
In its way to the mill where spun the thread,
Out of the cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
9. THIS is the Friend so plain and grave
That would not directly own a Slave,
But who the dollar remorseless gave
To his child her plighted word to save,
And this is the dollar she took to pay
For the gala dress so bright and gay,
That she means to wear on her wedding day,
That she bought in the Store where a stock is kept,
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept,
In its way to the mill where spun the thread
Out of the Cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed,
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend,
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.

GREEN MOUNTAINS.

H. M.

NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 1854.

[No. 2.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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AMELIA OPIE.

DIED, on the second of twelfth month, [December,] 1853, at her residence, Castle Meadows, Norwich, England, AMELIA OPIE, in the 86th year of her age.*

She was the only daughter of Dr. JAMES ALDERSON, for many years a resident and eminent Physician in that ancient city, which was not only the birth place of Amelia Opie, but, with the exception of a brief period of married life, her only home. At a very early age she was deprived by death of the care of her Maternal Parent, and, as her Father, at that time, and for many years afterwards, entertained skeptical sentiments on the subject of religion, and of course associated with persons holding similar opinions, her position was a very exposed, and undesirable one; and the absence of female influence in her early training gave a somewhat masculine tone or unfeminine independence to her manner, which was, however, much subdued and softened in maturer life, by the regulating power of the Cross of Christ; and she was always remarkable for the amiability of her temper, the kindness of her disposition, the steadfastness of her friendships, and the tenderness and sincerity of her heart.

At the age of 29 she became the wife of JOHN OPIE, R. A., of Truro, Cornwall, who had recently commenced his career as an Artist (in which he afterwards attained to considerable em-

* A widow about 46½ years.—Ed.

inence,) and drew forth commendations from Dr. Wolcott, who warmly patronized him, and predicted "that his young friend would turn out one of the greatest Painters the world had ever seen." At this time, Amelia Opie was much admired in fashionable circles in London, to which her husband's professional talents introduced her; and she soon acquired considerable reputation as a novelist. But when she became a widow and returned to her native city, things began to be presented to her in a different light. She was brought into near neighborhood and intimate association with the Gurney family, which no doubt had a very beneficial influence, in turning her attention from the vain and unsatisfying trifles of time, and quickening her pursuit after the enduring riches of Eternity.

"As years rolled on," says the *Norfolk News*, "they brought with them a change in Mrs. Opie, which astonished the literary and religious world. Many of her former works were, as we have been informed, called in from the publishers, and Mrs. Opie, it was whispered, had forsaken the fashionable world and allied herself with the Society of Friends. Some have attributed this change to any other cause than a conviction of the rightfulness of her new course, and have jeered at the supposed want of ease and comfort with which Mrs. Opie seemed to be oppressed, when first wedded to her new attire, and to habits so at variance with those which had characterized the former part of her life. That the change however, resulted otherwise than from a sincere conviction of duty is a most gratuitous assumption, as is amply proved by the consistency of all her subsequent conduct, due allowance being of course made for the difficulties with which so vast a change could not be otherwise than accompanied."

No one who was acquainted with the integrity and uprightness of her character, could for a moment doubt that the change which took place in the habits and affections of Amelia Opie, was wrought by the transforming power of the Grace of God, and that the corresponding change in her dress and address, was the result of a sincere conviction of duty. Let us hear the sentiments of one who knew her well, and who had, perhaps, a better opportunity than most, of forming a correct appreciation of her real character.

"Few persons," (said he in a little sketch

written in 1837,) had drunk deeper of the cups of fashionable life than Amelia Opie. Admired for her amiability, her talents, and her accomplishments, she was received in London at the houses of many of the nobility, and was, I doubt not, wherever she went, a welcome guest. Such was the condition over which Grace had to triumph: a condition the more unpromising from her having been trained, among the Socinians, to low views of religion. But she gradually discovered that all her vanities, her place in the great world, and her novel-writing, in which her reputation was high, must be laid down at the foot of the Cross of Christ. Convinced of the errors of Unitarianism, and not satisfied with the forms of the Church of England, or of any class of the dissenters, she took refuge in the quietness of our silent meetings, which she attended with much assiduity. In the meantime it was evident that Christ Himself was becoming her home, her peaceful, permanent home; and, by degrees, she became thoroughly convinced of the truth of the principles of Friends. Her friendship with our family appeared to be one principal means allotted, in the order of Providence, for the working of this change. At length came the critical period, when she found herself constrained to make an open profession of Quakerism. Great was her conflict:—I remember her telling me of the agony of her mind, in the view of changing her dress, which had been decidedly worldly and fashionable, and of addressing her numerous friends and acquaintances by their plain names, and with what appeared to her to be the scarcely tolerable simplicity of *Thee* and *Thou*. But her great Master was with her in this time of need; and with remarkable decision and firmness, she made the change at once, and openly declared herself a Quaker. Seldom has a more striking improvement been wrought in any one who has passed under my notice. Truly may it be said, that her endearing qualities have been sanctified, and her *play* of character has not been lost, but has been rendered more interesting, than before, by her change. Every one who knows her, is aware of her truthiness, and appreciates her kindness and good temper; and Quaker as she is, and a determined one, she is still sought after by some of her old friends in high station, by whom she is much beloved."

In confirmation of this, A. Opie writes herself from Lowther Castle, 9th mo. 29th, 1826.

"I am glad I came, if it were only to be assured of having re-awakened in dear Lady—and in myself, the affectionate feelings of former days—but I am also glad that I go away to-morrow. The kindness I have met with here is truly cordial, and I shall leave Lowther with pleasant and grateful feelings. But what awaits me? A welcome from dear friends in humbler life—in my own sphere—and welcome from and to my own people—worth all the grandeur in the world to me.—For, my dear —, I cannot sepa-

rate the principle from the people. I love to be with Friends, because I have unity with their principles. What a refreshment was last first day's meeting to me! G. B. sent me John Gratton's Journal, and well-timed it was; for I read it coming to Lowther, and felt it strengthen me, while contemplating the temptations before me. I think I may say that when I retired to rest last night, I did not feel condemned for any thing I had said or done; and yet I had to meet that sneering R., whom, in former days, I used to shrink from meeting:—but now I feel quite at ease with him, and even friendly towards him. Wordsworth is charming, so is Sir G. Beaumont. In short it is a circle of harmony, and I may add of talent. Still, I do long to see the dear friends of Sunderland, and to find myself once again under their quiet roof. I have given thy "*Letter on Christianity*," to the mother of Elizabeth Smith. She had read the "*Peculiarities*," and said, 'I could be a Friend myself, if you would allow me the Sacraments.'

In a letter of an earlier date to the same friend, A. Opie says,—

"Your last was most welcome and truly salutary. With the text to which you refer me, I am quite familiar, and unite in your interpretation of it—"Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this—to visit the Fatherless and Widows in their affliction, and KEEP OURSELVES UNSPOTTED FROM THE WORLD. From the 'real evil' there is in the fashionable world, I trust I am in no danger—as many circumstances defend me from any temptation to positive crime, and the manner in which I begin my day, enables me to carry with me into the world, feelings and convictions, which must, I firmly believe, make me shrink back with horror from anything in the shape of real evil. No dissipation has yet had power to make me neglect to read the Scriptures every day, or fail to take advantage of every opportunity that has offered itself, of religious conversation with a view of instruction. * * * I heartily assent to your opinion, that 'there is in the world much which is not evil in itself, yet has a decided tendency to produce forgetfulness of God, and thus to generate evil indirectly.' It is against this danger that I feel myself called upon to exert all my powers of resistance, for it is one, by which I feel myself every day liable to be assailed and subdued. Against this assailant I know of no shield so powerful as a devotional spirit, habitually cultivated and exercised, but at the same time, I know of no one so difficult to be preserved in an intercourse with the world, as that intercourse generates one, entirely opposed to it, viz, a *worldly* spirit. However, all I can do, I endeavour to do. I try to keep the 'devotional spirit,' by reading the Bible, and such books as are most likely to improve my heart, and regulate my conduct. Yet believe me, I feel, with deep humiliation and self-aborrence, how

inadequate my best efforts are, to prevent my living without God in the world. The voice of that unerring guide within us, is too apt to be drowned in the noise and clamor of less holy voices, as I know full well from experience. But perhaps there is some security from evil in the consciousness of being in danger."

Eleventh of 2d mo., 1823, she writes:—

"I am truly sorry that my visits to the sick, should have deprived me of the pleasure of thy company at our own house. I therefore write, as I wish to tell thee that we are going on more comfortably, and that my dear Father attributes his present tranquility to thy printed "*Letter*" [on Christianity,] which he reads, I find, every third day morning, while I am at meeting, and one passage he has nearly gotten by heart."

The origin of the letter here alluded to, is thus interestingly described in J. J. Gurney's autobiography.

"It was about this period (1821) that I became greatly interested in the case of Dr. James Alderson, an eminent physician in Norwich, then an old man of 77 or 78, but still in much vigor as to his intellectual faculties. He was one of those in whom the evil heart of unbelief had long predominated, and whom I had sometimes seen occupying the seat of the scorner. I believed it would be right for me to go and pay him a religious visit, in the character of a gospel minister; but so weak was my faith that it seemed impossible, and I actually did not yield to the impression for a full month. Finding no peace however, on any other terms, I at length called upon him, and, with his daughter's help, induced him to sit down with me in silence. It was an awkward occasion. He was very restless, and my ministration as weak as possible. However, in broken terms, I expressed my sense of the unutterable importance of simple faith in Christ. Some considerable time afterward he was exposed to great personal danger, on his way home from London, in consequence of the horses in the coach running away. He was alarmed. The Lord applied that alarm to the highest purposes, and he suddenly awoke to a painful solicitude respecting the state of his immortal soul. In this condition, he desired his daughter to apply to me for a selection of passages from Scripture on the subject of the atonement. O the importance of that only refuge for the awakened sinner! Glad, indeed, was she to embrace the occasion, and I to avail myself of it: and without delay I sat down and wrote the original of my "*Letter to a friend, on the authority, importance and effect of Christianity*." It contained a brief summary of the evidences and doctrines of our holy religion, and especially of the doctrine of *Redemption by Christ*, and pressed the subject home, practically. I anxiously waited the result, and soon found, to my great joy, that it was well received. The doctor placed the

letter under the cushion of his arm chair, and read it frequently. His ever watchful daughter was always at hand to second every good impression. The Bible was read to him from time to time, and in the course of a few weeks, his mind was changed: his opinions, his temper, his heart, had all undergone a revolution; the lion was become the lamb. 'It was the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes.'

"On calling upon him one day, when about to leave Norwich for a short period, I expressed a desire for his preservation in the truth. 'I do assure you,' he replied, 'I have not one sceptical feeling left.' He was much afflicted with a painful disease, which he bore with patience, and continued steadfast in the christian's faith, until his death, which took place about two years afterward. Though unhesitating in his belief, he was often in conflict respecting himself, but evidently kept his hold on Jesus. Standing by his bed-side, two or three days before his end, I said 'Ah, doctor, what a comfort it is, that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.' 'Oh, yes!' he replied, with intense feeling, 'if it were not for that, I know not what would become of me!' After his death, the dignified expression of his countenance reminded us, not of an unbelieving philosopher, but of some veteran Apostle!"

The letter on Christianity was afterwards revised, enlarged, and published, and numerous editions have been printed since. There is, however, an ease and familiarity in the original letters, which give them a peculiar interest.*

Not only was J. J. Gurney instrumental in the divine hand, in turning this aged unbeliever from darkness to light, but it is very evident from letters of Amelia Opie, now in the possession of the writer, that although he was greatly her junior, his plain and faithful dealing, both in his correspondence, and in his personal communications with her, were much blessed to her soul. She often calls him her "Mentor," and desires he will continue his candor and faithfulness, and "make no apology." Her intimacy with his sisters was also a great advantage to her, and for thirty or forty years it might almost be said, she looked upon Earlham Hall as one of her homes; at least she was a frequent and always welcome addition to the cheerful family party assembled there.

The *Daily News*, says, "she improved greatly

*[These letters.—the originals, in the hand writing of Joseph John Gurney, it has been our privilege to peruse. We regarded them as most precious autographs, and there is in the personal and familiar portions a richness and freshness which gave a delightful insight into the loveliness of the christian character of the writer. The printed letter condensed from these has been read by many thousands, and has been signally blessed in winning souls unto Christ. The writer of them, a dignified and beloved minister of the Gospel, was induced to an unusual degree with the mind of Christ, and remarkably conspicuous in him were those fruits of the Spirit of which the Apostle says, when he enumerates them;—"against such there is no law."—Eg.)

in balance of mind and evenness of spirits, during her long and close intimacy with the Gurneys, and there never was any doubt about her beneficent disposition, shown by her family devotedness, no less than by her bounty to the poor. Her dignified form moved through the narrow streets of the ancient city of Norwich, and her bright face was often seen lighting up the most wretched abodes. That face never lost its brightness, nor the heart its youthfulness and warmth. She was cordially respected, and will be vividly remembered for life, by many who have long forgotten her early fame, or perhaps had never heard of it. She was a striking picture in the childhood of some, who are now elderly, when her stately form was seen half a century ago, among the old elms in her father's garden, and she will ever be a picture in the minds of such young people as saw her seated as erect and upright as ever, but with her crutches behind her, at her sofa table, in her cheerful room on the Castle Meadow, any time within the last few years."

Alluding to her literary labors after she became a Friend, the Norfolk News says—

"These were now directed into a different channel. In the place of novels, she devotes herself to the direct injunction of christian duties, and warns her fellow creatures against the vices into which all are in danger of falling." Hence we have her powerfully written 'Illustrations of Lying,' published in the year 1825, a work which has been thought to be well calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of youthful readers. In 1828 Mrs. Opie published a volume under the title of "Detraction Displayed;" the object of which was, as she said, to expose that most common of all vices, in every rank or class of society, from the peer to the peasant, from the master to the valet, from the mistress to the maid, from the most learned to the most ignorant, from the man of genius to the meanest capacity. In earlier life, she was fond of painting, and has left some excellent portraits of her friends, by her own pencil."*

* DR. CHALMERS, in the year 1833, made a visit to Earlham, which he calls "a little paradise," and the varied attractions of which, (attractions which could not fail of being congenial to the truly great and truly good,) drew from him, in a letter to his daughter, the exclamation,—"The breath of heaven is here: without, a scene of beauty that to the eye of sense is altogether delicious—and within, a sanctuary of love and holiness."

He speaks of one of the guests, as "a lady—now aged, and in Quaker attire, which she had recently put on, and who in early life was one of the most distinguished of our literary women, whose works, thirty years ago, I read with great delight—no less a person than the celebrated Mrs. Opie, authoress of the most exquisite feminine tales, and for which I used to place her by the side of Mrs. Edgeworth. It was curious to myself that, though told by Mr. Gurney in the morning of her being to dine, I had forgotten the circumstance, and the idea of the accomplished novelist and poet was never once suggested by the image of this plain looking Quakeress, till it rushed upon me after dinner, when it suddenly and inconceivably augmented the interest I felt in her. We had much conversation, and drew greatly together, walk-

On the whole, it may be said of Amelia Opie, that she had great versatility of talent, but she was certainly more remarkable for quickness than solidity, for brilliancy than depth: and perhaps her most striking characteristics were, as above suggested, the sprightliness of her disposition, and the kindness of her heart. Her sympathies were readily enlisted in the cause of the oppressed, and being intimately acquainted with Wilberforce, Buxton, &c., she watched their efforts on behalf of these, with deep and heartfelt interest.†

Until within a recent period she had enjoyed an unusual share of health and vigor, but her physical powers gradually failed her, and for some time past she had been confined by lameness to an upstairs room, in her cheerful dwelling, where various classes loved to congregate, for all were sure to meet a smiling welcome. The illness which terminated her life was an extremely painful one, but she submitted to the dispensation with remarkable composure and even cheerfulness. "Not a murmur escaped her." An intimate friend, who visited her a short time before the close, made some allusion to her sufferings, when, looking at her, with a beaming countenance, she sweetly said, "But with Christ in the vessel I smile at the storm:" and then, as if correcting herself, she added, "storm did I say? no, there is no storm—it is all a perfect calm." At another time she asked, "Where is that text, 'He maketh all my bed in my sickness;'" and expressed her grateful sense of the many mercies bestowed upon her. Thus gently and quietly, on the second day of twelfth month, 1853, she fell asleep in Jesus, "whom not having seen, she loved," in whom believing, she now rejoices, as we humbly trust, with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

AMERICAN SLAVERY, ITS CAUSE AND THE REMEDY.

The skilful physician, upon examining a patient and ascertaining the disease, seeks to know the cause, and having found the exciting cause or causes, which induces unhealthy action in the system, he directs his efforts to their removal, and nature, when left to her proper influence, will in due time effect a cure.

American Slavery is a national disease. Let

ing and talking with each other on the beautiful lawn after dinner. She has had access into all kinds of society, and her conversation is all the more rich and interesting."

We quote the above as the spontaneous testimony of a person of highest literary excellence as to the literary standing of Amelia Opie.—[Ed. N.S.]

† Let no one think that the service thus rendered to the oppressed was a slight one. Such women as H. More, A. Opie, and others who might be named, did much to cheer and to assure Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Gurney and other valiant champions of Truth and Freedom, in their stupendous work of faith and labor of love. For these sympathizing sisters, as well as for those heroic men, was heard the music of breaking fetters and falling chains, and the anthems of praise for deliverance, to the God of Liberty and Love.—Ed. N.S.]

us direct our attention to the causes which have produced and riveted it upon our nation. Slaves, I believe, were first introduced into America by a Dutch ship, and were purchased by the farmers, in the early settlement of the country, to assist in opening their new lands. Thus it will be seen that it was the value of the labor of slaves that first induced our forefathers to introduce slavery into the country. That was the first exciting cause that brought the disease upon the nation.

But slavery did not greatly spread and darken the face of our fair nation for some time. Two or three historical events contributed greatly to strengthen it, and to fasten it upon the nation. I allude to the invention of the cotton gin by Whitney, and the spindles by Arkwright, and to the admission of Louisiana into the Union. Those inventions, by reducing the amount of labor necessary to prepare cotton for market, and by thus lessening its cost, and thereby opening an extensive market for it, made the labor of slaves valuable for producing it; while the increase of territory suitable for making sugar, made the slave-labor valuable for the purpose of supplying the markets of the world with sugar.

The value of the labor of slaves for these purposes, created an unprecedented demand for slaves, which greatly stimulated both the domestic and foreign slave-trade. It was this which first led to the lucrative but inhuman practice of breeding slaves for market, and which caused southern and southwestern states to be such strong holds of slavery. The value of the labor of slaves for supplying the demand for rice and tobacco, have also had their effect in fastening slavery upon the nation.

It will thus be seen, that the value of the labor of slaves was the first exciting cause of slavery, and that the value of labor strengthened the hold of slavery, and is still its sustaining food. The question then is, what creates this value of labor, and who is responsible therefor? It is not the demand for these articles? And are not the purchasers and consumers responsible?

I believe it is conceded that the great mass of cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco, grown by American slaves, is consumed by Great Britain and America. Hence it appears, that anti-slavery Great Britain, and anti-slavery persons in America, are in a great measure accountable for slavery. In order to remove the disease, let us remove the exciting cause. Let us withdraw this demand. Let Great Britain declare that she will no longer be the cause of slavery, by purchasing the proceeds of the slaves' labor—and let all anti-slavery persons in America declare that they will no longer lend their influence to the support of slavery, by gratifying themselves with the comforts and luxuries of life, at the expense of the downtrodden and defenceless slaves. Then will the cause, the food which supports slavery,

be in a great measure removed, and nature or the laws of trade effect a cure.

If the consumers of these articles enable the slaveholder to sell the labor of slaves, it necessarily follows, that each consumer or purchaser is accountable for his or her acts in this respect, for the amount he or she consumes, and for the effect his or her example may have upon others. For, if a number of persons unitedly commit an evil act, each one is at least accountable for his portion of the offence. If a number of persons unitedly and wilfully commit murder, I believe, that according to common law and in the eye of Supreme Justice, each one is held to be a murderer! Would it not then be well for us to consider, whether we by furnishing the demand for the labor of slaves, and thus affording the life sustaining food of slavery, will not, in the eye of Supreme Justice, each of us be held to be a slaveholder, and this too, whilst we are denouncing slavery as the "vilest system of iniquity the sun ever shone upon."

Now, fellow christians of all denominations, come with me to the land of slavery. Behold the slave mother, our christian sister. See her husband torn from her embraces, and sold forever into a distant land. See her children, one by one, torn from her arms, and transported she knows not whither. Now behold that inhuman monster in human form, scourging her for not suppressing the natural feelings of a woman's, a wife's, a christian mother's heart. Then let us ask, for what are these dearest family ties broken? An internal voice answers: *To raise cotton for our wardrobes—sugar and rice to supply our tables!!* Do not our hearts sadden at the thought that we are the cause of so much suffering? And when we remember that our Lord has said, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto Me," will we not exclaim, can it be that we are thus oppressing our Saviour? He died for us all. He suffered for us all. Let us then resolve henceforth to wash our hands of the sin of slavery. Let us cease to use its productions. Let us vote against it. Let us talk, write, preach against it, and let the prayers of our hearts continually ascend to heaven for its overthrow. Let us do this, not merely for fear of punishment that may justly be meted out to us, but from that pure love to God and humanity which should fill the hearts of all christians.

HUMANITAS.

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 2.)

MORROW CO. OHIO.—One correspondent sends sixty subscriptions. Another (with 8 subscriptions) writes—I think the cause of Free Produce is gaining ground slowly in these parts, and I sincerely hope that it may so gain, that not an individual bearing the name of Quaker may be found participating in the products of Slavery.

A friend travelling in GEORGIA writes:—"I was grieved to find in our train a negro trader, carrying with us (in forward cars) a lot of living chattels in human shape, mostly women and children—the latter of all sizes from very young infancy. I was informed that they were bought in N. Carolina, and to be taken to Alabama.—Those from 5 to 10 years old appeared to enjoy the novelty of the journey, while the mothers were occupied in caring for the wee ones. 'Tis wonderful how they are adapted to their cruel fate, which very many do not realize. I thought of my friend *Non-Slaveholder*, that he would hardly know how to let such a man pass, in his honest zeal for justice and humanity. I thought with Cowper that 'I had rather be myself the slave' than be that wretched dealer."

RANDOLPH CO. INDIANA.—"A Friend placed in my hands a copy of the N. S., with a request that I would make up eight subscribers. I forthwith send that number of names, and \$2.00,—supposing that the second vol. will be as the first."

VERMILION CO. IOWA.—(with 8 subscriptions.) "I gladly embrace the opportunity of circulating the *Non-Slaveholder* amongst our members. There is an increasing interest here on that subject. Many would gladly purchase free labor goods."

The principal of an important Boarding School in INDIANA, mentions the use of free groceries in the Institution, and forwards the subscriptions of sundry pupils and of a colored domestic.

WAYNE CO. IA.—(with 13 subscriptions.) "I have read every number of the past volume, and have been much pleased with it,—and should not be willing to do without it for twice the price of the paper. It is just such a periodical as the friends of the free produce movement want, and I earnestly hope it will be well sustained."

HENRY CO. IOWA.—(with 24 subscriptions.) "There are many of our citizens here in the far West, who would gladly abstain from slave-grown productions, if a sufficient supply of Free grown could be obtained. Many of us have sacrificed largely rather than purchase the unrequited toil of the Slave. Many are becoming awakened to subject, some of whom abstain as much as they can consistently. We yet are in hope for a brighter day."

CHESTER CO. PA.—(with 8 subscriptions.) "I shall be glad to see the N. S. widely circulated and the principles it inculcates more generally understood, and carried out in consistent practice; for I believe the leading idea inculcated to be TRUTH."

JEFFERSON CO. OHIO.—(with 17 subscriptions.) A correspondent whose heart is warm with right zeal, in a valued letter, whilst expressing his approval of our paper, still thinks that "it falls short in size of what would best promote the object in view." We would cheerfully dou-

ble our sheet, if it could be done without too great pecuniary sacrifice. Another highly valued friend in a remote State, after some very kind remarks says: "I have a great desire that so needful a periodical may be sustained, and now permit me to suggest the doubling of the amount of reading—then it seems to me that it would be easier getting full subscription lists. It is quite a Yankee notion to buy cheap, and few stop to estimate the great difference in the quality of reading matter. And when your paper shews the reader his own faults instead of other people's it is little marvel if the list be small."

To all which we must reply that whilst a large amount of reading matter can be furnished for a small price, *where type already set for another publication is used, and an edition of tens of thousands struck off*, a journal the size of ours cannot be published at 25 cents per annum *without actual loss*, unless a large list is obtained of paying subscribers. We have done better than we expected—but not well enough to enlarge our borders,—the size of the present number notwithstanding. A talented authoress writes, earnestly advising us *not to enlarge*, thinking a small sheet more likely to be read.

OTSEGO CO., N. Y.—(8 subscriptions.) The minds of many are turned to the subject, and to enquiring for the way to supply themselves with Dry Goods and Groceries free from the taint of Slavery. The Oberlin paper circulates to some extent through this country, and is, I believe, a great help to the cause.

MERCER CO. N. J.—What unthought of perfidy will be evinced by the passage of Douglas' Nebraska bill! The attempted overthrow of the Missouri Compromise however, and the eager avidity with which the measure is supported by the South, after their almost unbroken assent to it for thirty three years, most forcibly illustrates the futility of a *bare majority* in one Congress settling a disputed moral question 'forever.' Each succeeding Congress is invested with full law making power, untrammelled by the principles and resolves of its predecessors. If the exclusion of Slaves from all territory north of 36° 30' was wrong,—if it was even *inexpedient*,—let the old compromise be repealed! Why bind that vast realm, the home of future millions of our race, by the narrow obsolete notions of the men of 1820, "whose ideas of morality and religion were bounded by the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude?"—Let the patriarchal state be there again renewed. McDuffie, I think, called Slavery 'the corner stone of our republican institutions.'—With national solemnities let the great blessing be secured for Nebraska! Repeal the Missouri Compromise, and let it be distinctly understood that this nation outgrows and cannot wear the baby clothes of its childhood. It is now in its youth: but, in its fast coming maturity, other measures, having

become hateful to the moral sense of our people, will also be overthrown. The Compromise Bills of 1850, the 'finality' measures which pledged the Government before-hand to admit New Mexico and Utah as Slave States should they desire it, and three or four new Slave States out of Texas,—and which enacted the UNCONSTITUTIONAL* 'Fugitive Slave Bill,' may yet by the enlightened conscience of the Congress of 1860 be expurgated or repealed.

"FOREVER!"—I used to think this a great while. Should this bill pass,—future lexicographers may give the American meaning of the word:—*The third of a century*—and may cite as authority,—*the Congress of 1854.*"

The same correspondent, not writing for publication, says,—under date of 2d mo. 7th.

"Sad, sad indeed is the intelligence contained in thy letter which I received this evening at our post office. Rarely, in the course of my experience, have I felt such a shock; and in my solitary homeward ride it seemed as though I could not bear the removal of our beloved friend, in the midst of his missionary labors. I thought of his stricken brother,—of their companions in the work,—of various friends in our land who are keenly feeling the stroke, especially—and—and—and—then, in advance of the swift Steamer, I visited in fancy his island home, saw his bereaved partner and family, his large circle of warm friends, and even London Yearly Meeting in tears; till the gathering sense of sorrow overpowered me, and I wept. And yet why should we weep that a soldier of the Cross has fallen in his armor in a foreign land? What though the endearments of a fond circle of loving friends were wanting, and even some of the attentions and comforts deemed requisite were absent,—what are these trivial roughnesses of a passed pathway, to that freed ransomed spirit?"

"When we think of what he was and of our loss, we find the well of consolation deep and difficult of access. When we think of what he is, we find it an exhaustless spring.

"Oh what an increased depth of holy interest will the diminished band feel in the work to which they have dedicated themselves, now that he to whom they so much looked, has gone to his everlasting home! In this chastening humbling dispensation, they will, I trust, find a fresh anointing for the service,—and the sympathy which will be awakened in their behalf, will aid in unlocking many hearts."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

FREE LABOR FACTORY.

I was gratified on seeing the proposition of G. W. Taylor, in the preceding number, and that such liberal sums had already been offered toward the establishment of a Free Labor Factory. Although some may reason, that the establishment

* So termed by Chief Justice Hornblower and other eminent Jurists.

of one small manufactory will do but little toward liberating three millions of slaves, it will be the beginning of a system, that may lead to that result. My memory reaches beyond the time, when a cotton factory excited in the United States; and I have often been in the little wool carding-mill, said to have been the first in America. The cotton manufactory had a small and slow beginning, but now, see its extent, and its effects on slavery. Every important measure has had a beginning, and vast results have arisen from beginnings as small as this proposed establishment.

The beginning of Slavery in this country was gradual, and its abolition thus far has been gradual. Although many have long been contending for immediate and unconditional emancipation, we see how little progress they have made. It is very little that man can do in his own will and strength, but the Creator of man, who alone has power in heaven and earth, and who sees the end from the beginning, can, and doubtless will, in his own time, give liberty to the captive, and let the oppressed go free. And although He can do this without the aid of man, yet He has heretofore been pleased to make use of instruments to accomplish his purposes, and doubtless will continue to do so; and in order to become His instruments, I believe that it is necessary for us to endeavor to make our hands clean from the sin we undertake to contend against. And while every individual is thus engaged in purifying himself, his influence and example, will doubtless have an effect on others; hence the testimony will increase and extend; and in order to provide ourselves with the necessities and comforts of life, that are free from Slavery, we shall be under the necessity of resorting to such means as are in our power, to accomplish it; and in doing this, with a single purpose of heart, we become instrumental for good to the poor slave. Thus, if all who profess to be opposed to Slavery should cease from using its products, one factory would do but little in supplying them with cotton goods, and after adopting these views, and undertaking in earnest to put them into practice, it would not be long before they would as soon think of introducing Slavery, as slave-grown produce, and from necessity the Slaveholders would have to change their system for one of free labor; and thus the object would be accomplished—not by our fighting against Slavery, or denouncing Slaveholders, but simply by ceasing to partake of its iniquity.

If the above views are correct, how important it is, that there should be a beginning to a system of free cotton manufacture; and all that is asked to make this beginning, is, for those who see and feel the importance of the movement, and who are blessed with the means, to lend, for a time, a small portion thereof. There is no difficulty in raising large sums of money for objects calculated to promote public, and pecuniary inte-

rests, and for popular benevolent purposes; but I have observed that for objects of this nature, a great reluctance to contribute has often been manifested. While calling upon Slaveholders to give freedom to their Slaves, we cling to the dollars obtained from the fruits of Slavery. I have often thought if non-slaveholders were as liberal as such Slaveholders as are disposed to do right by liberating their Slaves, the era of freedom would be much hastened.

As examples of some of these, I will refer to the recent sailing of the brig Gen. Pierce from Savannah, for Liberia, "with 163 emigrants, of whom 126 were sent by masters now living, 16 were liberated by Will, and 21 were born free."—"Of these emigrants 50 were liberated by Richard Hoff, Esq., of Oglethorpe County, Georgia, who paid \$60 each, for their transportation and support six months in Liberia, in addition to giving them, when they embarked, about \$2,000." Supposing these Slaves to be worth \$500 each, we find that Richard Hoff has in this instance contributed \$30,000, to the cause of freedom.

"It will be remembered," says the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, from whose letter I copy, "that the honorable W. E. Kennedy, of Columbia, Tennessee, sent in the Zebra, from New Orleans, last spring, 26 of his slaves. He sent another company of 29 in the Gen. Pierce, leaving only two with him, who are unwilling to leave him while he lives, but intend to go to Liberia after his death." Thus W. E. Kennedy has on these two occasions contributed \$27,500.

"The most interesting and extraordinary part of this expedition was a family of thirty-eight, consisting of a man and his wife, and their children and grand children from near Nashville, Tennessee, liberated by Col. Montgomery Bell, a gentleman 85 years old. He gave them every thing requisite as an outfit, and paid us \$2,000 for their transportation and support six months in Liberia. He has a large number more, of whom he wants to send about 80 as soon as we can take them, and is willing to pay one half the expenses of transportation and support, besides giving them a comfortable outfit and paying their expenses to the port of embarkation. These people are the iron men of Tennessee. Mr. Bell has long been known as one of the largest manufacturers of iron, and his Slaves have been his only workmen. They thoroughly understand the business, and have among them miners, colliers, moulders, and are fully competent to build a furnace for making iron and carrying it on themselves. Thomas Scott, the patriarch of the family, is yet a man of great activity and energy of character. He and his whole family entertain the very highest respect and veneration for their late master, and valued friend. His last words to me, as he stood on the deck of the vessel, were, 'Do write a most loving letter to my old master,

and tell him how much we love him, and will never stop thanking the Lord for his goodness to us.'"

Here is a case that must certainly command our admiration and respect. Montgomery Bell, having already made free a family of 38, and doubtless will add 80 more to the number, will thus contribute over \$60,000. Thus three individuals contribute some \$120,000 to the cause of freedom. Who can calculate the benefits that would result to the same cause, by the employment of a like sum in the purchase of free cotton and its manufacture? W.

Correspondence of the Non-Slaveholder.
CARIBBEAN SEA, 12th mo., 25, 1853.

We arrived at Kingston, Jamaica, yesterday morning. * * * I strolled to the outskirts of the city, and among the now half cultivated grounds and dilapidated buildings of the grandees of Slaveocracy in former days. Many of these buildings, enclosed with massive brick walls, stuccoed with broken glass bottles, and the iron bound entrance gates, reminded one of the insecurity felt by the former inhabitants, and I pictured to myself the alarm of the inmates, whenever the tocsin was sounded during the still hours of night, by the vigilant patrol of the citizens, necessary, peculiarly so, where Slavery exists in its mildest form. The advocates of Slavery think they see in this, coupled with the degradation in this city of 40,000 inhabitants, an argument in favor of its continuance; whereas I arrive at a conclusion diametrically opposite. The trade growing out of the vast production of the staple articles of this Island,—Sugar, Rum and Coffee,—the exportation of the surplus, and the importation of food and clothing stuff, gave employment formerly to much shipping, and afforded to the merchants, storekeepers and others, exchanges of the necessities of existence for the products of the Island, the whole gains of which were drawn, with the aid of hard task masters, from the unrequited labors of the slaves, who under the stimulus of the lash were drawn to perform an amount of labor and production to which the population after tasting of Liberty and inaction are altogether strangers. Subsequent to the final part of the emancipation act being repealed and unconditional liberty substituted, attempts were made to compel the former Slaves, (now freemen,) to labor for a sum altogether inadequate for the subsistence of themselves and their families under the new order of things. The same degree of injustice was attempted to be exercised towards them, by compelling them, if possible, to labor at a rate of wages about equal to what it had cost their former masters to maintain them. Remember too, that, on very many plantations, eviction from their little shanties or gardens, was the resort of the hard-hearted men who still owned and controlled the soil and habitations of their just enfranchized and suffering

fellow beings, notwithstanding the liberal appropriation of the home government of £20,000,000, (\$100,000,000) which was paid, pro rata to the slave owners of the British West Indies, and which saved them from almost universal bankruptcy and ruin. Thanks, from the friends of humanity the world over, to the memory of such men as Clarkson, Wilberforce, Fox, Buxton and others. The leaven of their labor has worked, until this stupendous stride in morals, humanity and goodness has been made in our day; and where, in the morning of our time, was blackness of darkness, light has sprung up. Eight hundred thousand human beings have been released from Cimmerian darkness, and ushered into the glorious light of the gospel. * * * Several large estates, the proprietors of which adopted a liberal system and agreed to pay the wages of freemen to their former Slaves, are still flourishing and productive, paying handsomely;—thus showing how mistaken was the opposite policy of those, who, by refusing to pay a reasonable price for labor, depopulated their lands, and deprived themselves of the power to obtain other laborers. The lands of these are now growing up into a wilderness, and evince ruin to the proprietors, and desolation to the tenants. But who, in the sequel, suffers most? Many of the evicted laborers have been encouraged, by far seeing individuals, who are buying up these abandoned estates for sums comparatively trifling, to take small tracts, (five or ten acres,) with a long time for payment. They build their own dwellings,—fence or wall their plots, and make other permanent improvements;—raise their own provisions, and some little matters to sell or to exchange for foreign articles of consumption. They build school-houses, and houses for worship,—promote education and encourage marriages, which were inadmissible under the slave system. A nucleus is thus forming, in various districts, distant from each other, for a population worthy of protection and encouragement from Great Britain or any other Government;—a population, who, in time to come, will, by the force of example, do much to redeem the vicious and vitiated individuals who have concentrated from the sugar estates to the towns and cities. It must be confessed that real estate in the city of Kingston has depreciated in value: but what does this prove? Nothing—save that fewer people can now be supported in affluence and comparative idleness from the labors of the black population. They now are either prevented from working at all by the perverseness of some of the former owners or those who do labor receive the benefit themselves. Hence the many supernumeraries, who in former times produced nothing by their own efforts, are now cut off from an income, and cannot support themselves in their former luxuriance and extravagance. This will in some degree account for the dilapidation and abandonment of the princely establishments adjoining the town, as well as

for the vicious and abandoned black population therein. * * * L.

UNMERCIFULNESS OF MAN.

It is strange that unmercifulness should be a characteristic sin of man. Among devils, who received no mercy when they fell, it were less out of place. But man is the child and protegee of mercy. He lives and enjoys his probation amid arrested thunderbolts, and storms of wrath rolled back, and caverns of despair closed, and the hushed curses of the law. The rain, and dew, and sunshine of Heaven are descending upon his fields. The birds are piping their sweet notes as they might have done in Eden, and all nature, not veiled in sackcloth, but clad in multiform glory, waits upon him like a sister. Above all, man lives in the light of glorious and glad revelations, of evangelical and joyful tidings, of living streams of salvation, and of ministering angels, and of voices from the sky, owning him as a younger brother that wandered, but in the far-off land of prodigality found mercy, through the cross, and through that blood that flowed freely as rain drops from the bosom of Jesus—in the midst of these he stands a monument of mercy, himself unmerciful!! Yes, and too often with one hand on the New Testament and the other on his brother's throat, no argument nor art avails to persuade him that in that brother's bosom may beat a heart of higher aspirations, of better purposes, of purer affinities than his own.—*Christian Parlor Magazine.*

A NEGRO BURNED TO DEATH!—The burning of a negro alive near the city of Natchez, an account of which appears in the Natchez Free Trader, is frightful. The slave struck a white man, and the Democracy of that region, not waiting for justice to take its course, inflicted Lynch law. The victim was chained to a tree, faggots were placed around him, while he showed the greatest indifference. When the chivalry had arranged the pile, in reply to a question if he had anything to say, he is reported to have warned all slaves to take example by him, and asked the prayers of those around. He then asked for a drink of water, and after quaffing it said—"Now set fire, I am ready to go in peace." When the flames began to burn him, in his agony he showed gigantic strength, and actually forced the staple from the tree, and bounded from the burning mass! But he instantly fell pierced with rifle balls, and then his body was thrown into the flames and consumed, that nothing might remain to show that such being had ever existed. Nearly four thousand slaves from the neighboring plantations were present as at a moral lesson. Numerous speeches were made by the magistrates and ministers of religion to the slaves, warning them that the same fate awaited them if they proved rebellious to their owners.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

JUAN PLACIDO.

The intelligent reader of Whittier's captivating little volume, "THE STRANGER IN LOWELL," will be glad to know more of the hero of the seventh section, entitled "The Black Man."

Juan Placido was born in slavery, about the year (as we suppose) 1798. His father was a *pardo negro*—(mulatto)—his mother "the offspring of an African and a mulatto union." He was a poet of no mean pretensions, and we have before us (a present from our valued friend, Joseph Sturge) a volume of his poems, with his Autobiography prefixed.

"It is not too much to say of these poems," says Whittier, "that they will bear a comparison with most of the productions of modern Spanish literature. Certain it is, that their author is the only Cuban poet. His style is bold, free, energetic."

At the time of the publication of the poems, Placido was residing at Havana; and from prudential motives, his name was suppressed by the compiler, R. R. Madden. Such reasons no longer exist. From "The Stranger in Lowell," we learn the tragical termination of his career.

The autobiography we now lay before our readers, for its intrinsic value, as a creditable specimen of negro literature, and as evidence that this injured people are capable of higher performances than the raising, by *unrequited* toil, of luxuries to pamper our appetites. Ed.

AUTO-BIOGRAPHY OF THE NEGRO POET.

The Senora Donna Beatrice, the wife of Don Juan M— took a pleasure every time she went to her beautiful estate, the Molino, to make choice of the finest Creole children about the age of ten or eleven years, and carry them to town, where she gave them instruction conformable to their new condition. Her house was always filled with these young slaves instructed in everything necessary to her service. One of the favorite young slaves was Maria M—, my mother, who was greatly esteemed for her intelligence, and her occupation was to wait on the Senora Marquesa of J. in her advanced age. This lady was accustomed when she was pleased with her attendants, to give them their liberty when they were about to marry, if it were with some mechanic likewise free; providing them with all things necessary, as if they had been her own children, without depriving them after their marriage of the favor and protection of her house, which extended even to their children and husbands; of which conduct there are many notable examples, among those who were not even born in her house. Various changes, however, taking place in the service, Maria became the chief waiting-woman of the Marquesa. In this situation she married Toribio de Castro, and in due time, I was ushered into the world.

My master took a fancy to me, and it is said I was more in his arms than in those of my mo-

ther. She had all the privileges of a slave who had acted as a dry-nurse, and also partly as a wet-nurse, *media criandera*; and having married one of the head slaves of the house, and given a little Creole to her mistress, I was called by this lady, "the child of her old age." I was brought up by the side of my mistress without separating from her, except at bed-time, and she never went out without taking me in her volante. With the difference of hours in respect to some, and days in regard to others, I was the contemporary of Don Miguel de C., and also of Don Manuel O'R. now Count of B.; which two families lived in a splendid house, close to the Machina, separated only by doors which divided the apartments; for, in fact, it was two houses made into one.

It would be tedious to detail the particulars of my childhood, treated by my mistress with greater kindness than I deserved, and whom I was accustomed to call "my mother." At six years of age, on account, perhaps, of too much vivacity, more than anything else, I was sent to school to my godmother every day at noon; and every evening I was brought to the house, that my mistress might see me, who seldom went out without seeing me, for if she did, I roared and cried, and so disturbed the house, that sometimes it was necessary to send for the whip, which nobody dared to lay on me, for not even my parents were authorised to flog me, and I knowing this, often took advantage of it. On one occasion, being very bold, my father beat me, but my mistress hearing of it, did not allow him for many days to come into her presence, until he procured the intercession of her Confessor, the father Maya, a Franciscan, and then he was forgiven; after the latter had explained to him that my Senora, as mistress, and my father, as a parent, had each their respective direction of me.

At ten years of age, I learned by heart some of the longest sermons of Father Louis, of Grenada, and the visitors who came to the house on Sundays, used to hear me repeat them when I came from the chapel, whither I was sent with my godmother, to learn how to behave in church; because, although the service was performed every Sunday in the house, I was not permitted to be present, on account of the tricks I might have played with the other children.

I also knew my catechism well, and as much of religion as a woman could teach me.* I knew how to sew tolerably, and to place the furniture in order. On one occasion, I was taken to the Opera, and received some presents for reciting what I heard, but many more for the sermons, and my parents got what I received in the drawing-room.

* Placido may be excused for his inadequate estimate of woman. Happy for those who, blest with pious mothers, evince by their lives the value of a true woman's teachings.—Ed

But passing over much of my early history, in which there was nothing but happiness, I must not omit the circumstances which happened at my baptism; on that occasion, I was dressed in the same robe in which the Senora Donna Beatrice was baptized, which was celebrated with great rejoicings, my father being skilled in music, and playing on the flute and clarionet; and my mistress desiring to solemnize that day with one of her noble traits of generosity, in part liberated my parents by "coartacion," giving them the power at any time of purchasing their liberty at the sum of three hundred dollars each; what greater happiness could be looked for at her hands.

At the age of ten, I was placed under the care of my godfather; having learned something of my father's trade, which was that of a tailor, previously, to being sent to the estate. My mother gave birth to two other children. One of them, for what reason I know not, was made free—and this one died. My father lamenting his death, saying, "if things had been otherwise, I might have been content, my two living children are slaves, and the one that was free is dead;" whereupon my generous mistress had a document prepared, in which it was declared that the next child they should have should be free; and it happened that twins were subsequently born, who are still living, and both were freed. My parents now were removed to the estate of the Molino, where they were placed in charge of the house, and about this period the Marquesa died there. I was sent for in her last illness. I remember little of what happened on my arrival, except being at the bed-side of my mistress with my mother, Donna Joaquina, and the priest, and that her hand rested on my shoulder, while my mother and Donna Joaquina wept a great deal, and spoke about something which I did not understand, and then that I was taken away. Soon after I went to play, and the following morning I saw her stretched on a large bed, and cried, and was carried, down stairs where the other servants were mourning for their mistress; and all night long all the negroes of the estate made great lamentation, repeated the rosary, and I wept with them.

I was taken to the Havana, to my godfather, with whom I soon learned my mistress had left me; for some years I saw nothing of my father. My godfather had taken up his residence in the court-yard of the Count, in the street Inquisidor, where I was accustomed to go about the house, and to leave it when I thought proper, without knowing whether I had a master or not.

But one day, being permitted to go to the house of the Marquesa, to see my old acquaintances there, I knew not what passed there, but when I was about returning to my godfather, and my dear godmother, I was not allowed to go: here I was clothed in a rich livery, with a great deal of gold lace, and what with my fine

clothes, going to the theatres, to tertulias, balls, and places of amusement, I soon forgot my old quiet mode of life, and the kindness, even of my godmother herself. After some time I was taken to the house of Donna Joaquina, who treated me like a white child, saw that I was properly clothed, and even combed my hair herself; and as in the time of the Marquesa de J., she allowed me not to pray with the other negro children at church—and at meal time my plate was given to me to eat at the feet of the Senora Marquesa de P., and all this time I was far away from my father and mother.

I had already at the age of twelve years composed some verses in memory, because my godfather did not wish me to learn to write, but I dictated my verses by stealth to a young mulatto girl, of the name of Serafina, which verses were of an amatory character. From this age, I passed on without many changes in my lot to my fourteenth year; but the important part of my history began when I was about eighteen, when fortune's bitterest enmity was turned on me, as we shall see hereafter.

For the slightest crime of boyhood, it was the custom to shut me up in a place for charcoal, for four-and-twenty hours at a time. I was timid in the extreme, and my prison, which still may be seen, was so obscure, that at mid-day no object could be distinguished in it without a candle.—Here after being flogged I was placed, with orders to the slaves, under threats of the greatest punishment, to abstain from giving me a drop of water. What I suffered from hunger and thirst, tormented with fear, in a place so dismal and distant from the house, and almost suffocated with the vapours arising from the common sink, that was close to my dungeon, and constantly terrified by the rats that passed over me and about me, may be easily imagined. My head was filled with frightful fancies, with all the monstrous tales I had ever heard of ghosts and apparitions, and sorcery; and often when a troop of rats would arouse me with their noise, I would imagine I was surrounded by evil spirits, and I would roar aloud and pray for mercy; and then I would be taken out and almost flayed alive, again shut up, and the key taken away, and kept in the room of my mistress, the Senora herself. On two occasions the Senor Don Nicholas and his brother showed me compassion, introducing through an aperture in the door, a morsel of bread and some water, with the aid of a coffee-pot with a long spout. This kind of punishment was so frequent that there was not a week that I did not suffer it twice or thrice, and in the country, on the estate, I suffered a like martyrdom. I attribute the smallness of my stature and the debility of my constitution to the life of suffering I led, from my thirteenth or fourteenth year.

My ordinary crimes were—not to hear the first time I was called; or if at the time of getting a buffet, I uttered a word of complaint; and I led

a life of so much misery, daily receiving blows on the face, that often made the blood spout from my nostrills; no sooner would I hear myself called than I would begin to shiver, so that I could hardly keep on my legs, but supposing this to be only shamming on my part, frequently would I receive from a stout negro lashes in abundance.

About the age of fifteen or sixteen, I was taken to Matanzas once more, and embraced my parents and brothers.

The character, grave, and honorable of my father, and being always in his sight, caused my time to pass a little lighter than before. I did not suffer the horrible and continual scourgings, nor the blows of the hand, that an unfortunate boy is wont to suffer far away from his miserable parents; notwithstanding, my unfortunate cheeks were slapped often enough. We passed five years in Matanzas, where my employment was to sweep clean the house as well as I could at sunrise, before any one in the house was up; this done I had to seat myself at the door of my mistress, that she might find me there when she awoke, then I had to follow her about wherever she went, like an automaton with my arms crossed. When breakfast, or the other meals were over, I had to gather up what was left, and having to put my hand to clear away the dishes, and when they rose from table I had to walk behind them. Then came the hour of sewing, I had to seat myself in sight of my mistress to sew women's dresses, to make gowns, shifts, robes, pillow-cases, to mark and to hem fine things in cambric, and mend all kinds of clothing.

At the hour of drawing, which a master taught, I was also present, stationed behind a chair, and what I saw done and heard, corrected and explained, put me in the condition of counting myself as one of the pupils of the drawing-class. One of the children, I forget which, gave me an old tablet, and a crayon; and with my face turned to the wall, the next day I sat down in a corner, and began making mouths, eyes, ears, and going on in this way, I came to perfect myself, so that I was able to copy a head so faithfully, that having finished one, my mistress observing me, showed it to the master, who said that I would turn out a great artist, and that it would be for her one day a great satisfaction that I should take the portraits of all my masters.

At night I had to go to sleep at twelve or one o'clock, some ten or twelve squares of buildings distant, where my mother lived (in the negro baracones).^{*} Being extremely timid, it was a serious matter to me to pass to this place in the wettest nights. With these troubles, and other treatment something worse, my character became every day more grave and melancholy, and my only comfort was to fly to the arms of my mother, for my father was of a sterner nature. He

^{*} Yards surrounded with sheds in which the Slaves were shut up at night.

used to be sleeping when my poor mother and my brother Florence waited up for me, till the hour of my arrival.—*To be Continued.*

A NOBLE EXAMPLE.—M. M. and F. T. White of Cincinnati, having inherited eleven Slaves, magnanimously refused the proffered sum of \$10,000 in cash, for them, gave them their liberty, and made arrangements to settle them, as agriculturists, in Indiana.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 18, 1854.

We have doubled the size of present number, to afford room for the valued article respecting AMELIA OPIE, written, and kindly contributed, by one who was for many years her intimate friend and correspondent. We are certain that we thus make an acceptable present to our subscribers, who will have too much taste to object to it as being aside from the main design of our Journal, especially as we give, in addition, more than our usual amount of anti-slavery matter.

DECEASE OF WM. FORSTER.—The solemn event which has been permitted by Him in whose sight the death of his saints is precious, has saddened many hearts, and words are too poor to convey our sense of the bereavement to survivors and to the church, and of the perfect peace and unspeakable gain of the loved friend who, though to us his tarriance seemed so needful, has now realized that "to depart and to be with Christ is far better."

WILLIAM FORSTER, long honored and beloved,—whose life from his youth has been a Christian Mission, who in obedience to the Divine voice, traversed seas and continents, pleading with Kings and Rulers, and giving his tender sympathies to their humblest subjects, has now responded to the call,—"come up hither,"—has received the welcome of "Well done good and faithful servant"—and has (we reverently believe) entered into the joy of his Lord.

It is of little matter to the bondman in which particular field of a great plantation, he may feel the fetters stricken from his limbs, and hear the thrilling words "be free." Nor signifies it now to the enfranchised spirit, that home and its endearments were afar, and that, of the thousands who revered and loved him, none, save three proved and faithful brethren stood by when he left his earthly tabernacle for "a house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens."

The place of his decease was an obscure spot in Tennessee, surrounded by that evil which had so oppressed and grieved his soul—a wrong against humanity—a sin against Him who took on Himself a servant's form. And dying thus, in the midst of his testimony, that testimony, for which he has laid down his life, is thus rendered the more emphatic.

"Fallen while his loins were girded still,
His feet with Zion's dews still wet,
And in his hands retaining yet
The pilgrim's staff and scallop shell."

It is a comfort that although in the domain of slavery, he was also among his own people, and his interment was in a pleasant burying ground of Friends', immediately in front of Newbury Meeting House, at Friendsville.

No subject could be more adapted to the objects of our Journal than a fitting notice of this apostolic man. We hope to furnish a more extended one in a future number.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF WAR WITH THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST. SIGNAL EXTENSION OF DIVINE MERCY TO SOLDIERS.—We were wishing to insert in the present number something illustrative of the unchristian character of War, when an aged and venerated Friend related to us the following anecdote.

During the French and English war some generations ago, a strange scene was observable in the English camp in Normandy. The officers and common soldiers were seized with an unaccountable feeling of solemnity,—and they stood in groups of hundreds together, with gaping mouths and awe-stricken faces. They were brave men, not accustomed to fear—they were flushed with recent victory and had no unusual reason to anticipate coming evil—yet paleness overspread their countenances, and indicated an inward emotion of no ordinary character. During this panic, if such it might be called, one John Haywood, a soldier quite popular in the army, was seized with sudden illness and carried to the hospital. During his sickness the fatal battle of Fontenoy occurred, which was, in fact, a massacre in the two contending armies.^{*} A young man was brought wounded into the hospital and placed on a bed near to Haywood. He was in great mental agony, loudly and continually bewailing his departure from his principles, by which departure he had been brought to this deplorable condition.

Haywood at last called to him—"Young man—you talk of your principles—what are your principles?" He said that he was brought up in the Society of Friends—and again exclaimed bitterly "Oh that I had never departed from my principles!"—"But young man"—repeated Haywood, "what are your principles?" He then explained that the principles of Friends were against wars and fighting, and not to kill but to love their enemies. Conviction of the excellence of these Christian principles was sealed upon Haywood's mind. He recovered and returned to the camp; and, on a day of great parade to the great astonishment of the soldiery, he stepped forward out of his rank, and laid down his gun upon the ground. The amazement was heightened when two others with whom there had been no collusion also stepped forward and laid down their guns.

^{*} 1745, loss of each army about 12,000.

They were, of course, at once placed under arrest. They understood the consequence involved, and that their lives must be forfeited. Sentence of death was passed upon them by Court Martial. Haywood being generally beloved, was visited and urged to retract, with promises of pardon. He told them that he knew that he must die and he was ready to lay down his life—he was convinced that war was inconsistent with Christianity, and he could not retract.

The case was represented to King George, who gave orders that they should be tested to the very last—but, said he, "God forbid that any man should be put to death for conscience sake under my reign."—The time of execution came—they were led to the ground, their eyes were bandaged, and they were made to kneel.—At the moment when the command to "fire" was due,—their pardon was proclaimed. Haywood afterward narrated, that he was already in heavenly places, and his soul filled with peace and ready to depart. But when the pardon was declared, a great revulsion took place in his feelings, and great conflicts and darkness were his portion.

They returned to England, and here we lose sight of the other two. Haywood sought the People called Quakers, and became an eminent minister among them; and dedicating his life to his gracious Lord who had redeemed it from destruction, he travelled much in the service of Truth, and died in a good old age. A memorial has been preserved of him, but we are not aware that the above anecdote, which was related to us by a valued friend who had it from those who personally knew him, has ever, till now, been committed to writing.

This circumstance not only includes the clear testimony of the Divine Spirit against War,—but illustrates also the kindness and mercy of our gracious Lord to those soldiers, who, torn from their parents, forced into the army without any agency of their own, were made mere tools in the destruction of their fellow men. To these poor men, on the eve of a bloody engagement, a remarkable visitation was extended preparing some of them, perhaps, for the solemn event. In the midst of a camp where levity, dissipation and revelling prevailed, the spectacle was suddenly presented of large groups of such men, standing with the solemnity of worshippers, awed by the unseen presence of the Father of the Spirits of all flesh. The young apostate too, upon his death-bed, mercifully recalled to the principles he had forsaken, was made the means (by Him who works by means) of arresting Haywood in his illness. The soldier also, in mercy called away from the paths of death and made a minister of life and peace,—the other two soldiers, by the direct workings of the Holy Spirit upon their minds, brought to such a knowledge of the Truth that they were willing to yield their natural lives for the testimony's sake,—the Divine protecting

care of Providence in delivering his servants, by tendering the heart of a King;—all these lead us to magnify the Divine benevolence, and to exclaim, "Oh that men would praise the Lord for for his goodness"—"for his mercy endureth forever!"

JOHN MITCHELL.—His fame might perhaps have survived the violation of his parole;—the breach of honor might have been skillfully concealed and forgotten;—but when he deliberately says, in print,—“We, for our part wish we had a good plantation, well stocked with healthy negroes, in Alabama,”—he extinguishes the sympathies which thousands had cherished for him as an exiled patriot. On this Alexandre Holinski, a Polish refugee, reminds him, that, had the British Government been “sufficiently enterprising” to reduce the Irish population to the state of servitude he now commends, “there would be no more anxious agitation, no more hope of obtaining redress for your religious and political grievances, no more emigration even. Those who desired to seek liberty in America would be advertised, hunted down, thrown into jail, and given up to their owners, upon the arbitrary decision of any inferior judge. They would, then, according to you, be better lodged and better fed than they are now. I will admit this pretended advantage, and I ask your ragged and hungry Irish brethren if they would buy clothes and bread at at the price of their own persons. A thousand times no! would answer all these men, who are worthy of a better fate, if it were only because they aspire, not to the well-fed state of domestic animals, but to well being, with liberty for its first condition.”

John Mitchell sits complacently in his editorial chair and writes,—

“We are not abolitionists—no more abolitionists than Moses or Socrates, or Jesus Christ. We deny that it is a crime, or a wrong, or even a peccadillo, to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to keep slaves to their work by flogging or other needful coercion.” Holinski, (in his admirable letter) after giving him for his inconsistency, such a dressing as might make him wince, rebukes him for his presumptuous comparison of himself.

“Never did Moses, nor Socrates, nor Jesus Christ, sanction, as you have done, the ownership of one man by another.

“The wise Hebrew was pre-eminently an abolitionist, for his time. He found slavery in Egypt, and only permitted it for a term of years. And slavery for a term of years must have been stripped of its most odious features. It was more in the nature of an apprenticeship. You may consult with advantage upon this point, the excellent book of Mr. Barnes.

“Socrates, whose life was a constant struggle to keep down every evil inclination, did never, that I am aware, desire to become a rich slaveholder.

Poverty was a virtue in his eyes, and this feeling could not have made him envy those who lived in luxury on the sweat and blood of another. You would oblige me by showing me some passage in Xenophon or in Plato, where the wisest of Greeks excuses or praises cupidity—the first and most miserable source of tyranny in every shape. If such a passage exists, it has escaped me.

“As to the founder of Christianity, he has generally been proclaimed, and with justice, the greatest of abolitionists. To prove this, it is not necessary to quote many texts: ‘Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you’—‘Love thy neighbor as thyself.’ Is there an oppression upon the earth, call it despotism or slavery, which can exist without a flagrant violation of these two admirable precepts, the epitome of Christianity and of Christian philosophy? Has the Crucified One ever appeared to tell you that the black or the mulatto was not your brother? Or has he ever authorized you to buy, to sell, and to lash the flesh of slaves, when it would seem to you abominable to be bought and sold and subjected to the infamous chastisement yourself? What! Christ, the friend of all the poor, of all the unfortunate, not an abolitionist? Excuse the expression, sir, but this is a blasphemy against truth!

“If you are a Christian, you cannot draw so false a conclusion from the Gospel. If you are only a Catholic, you are guilty of heresy—you are in opposition to the Popes.”

We can make room for but one more extract.

“If you care nothing about the Universal Republic; if Ireland alone interests you, you serve her cause badly, believe me, in separating it from that of the other victims of tyranny. You maintain her rights with a bad grace, when you deny the rights of a vast portion of humanity.

“The joy of Ireland at your deliverance will be saddened to find you in open contradiction with her most illustrious patriot. I can hear from the tomb the angry voice of O’Connell, repeating his fine expressions of 1837: ‘We are all children of the same Creator, heirs of the same promise, redeemed by the blood of the same Saviour, no matter to what caste, or color, or faith we may belong.’”

THE NEBRASKA BILL.—We scarcely suppose that any reader of the Non-Slaveholder will need to be awakened to a sense of the nefarious design, the perfidy and falsehood couched in this bill, and in the unprincipled advocacy of it by Douglas and others. Its design is the diabolical one of extending the area of slavery, and the pretence is that the Missouri Compromise (wicked as a whole, and good only in the part which it is now designed to annul,) is abrogated by the compromises of 1850. In this pretence there can be no sincerity, and the men who urge it ought not to be regarded as veritable, or as fit

for the society of humane, honest, truth-loving people.

Were we called upon to designate this bill by some one attribute, we should hesitate to say whether barbarity, mendacity, or audacity predominates. A certain leading commercial paper, is only restrained by the “perfectly knavish character” of the reasoning of the Washington Union and the advocates of the measure, from calling it “fool’s logic.” It is indeed a kind of folly which would hardly depart from its possessor though you should “bray him in a mortar.” Yet when we have heard it openly avowed, and this policy vindicated as “justice to the South,” and in itself right, we have wished that such persons might try the experiment of slavery just long enough (and no longer) to clear their vision—to give them a true perception of what is due to human beings. “But,” said such a person yesterday, in reply to this wish—“I hope you don’t compare niggers to white men!” We do place all human beings on the common platform of humanity, and we do claim for them all the rights which belong to our common nature.

The N. Y. Evening Post has some good passages on the subject:

“Among the commercial men who are giving their signatures to the call for a meeting in relation to the threatened repeal of the Missouri compromise, the observation is frequently made, as they set their names to the paper, that a bargain is a bargain, and that if one of the parties to a bargain, having received from the other the consideration stipulated, refuses to do what he promised, he is a rogue. The Nebraska question in the aspect which Mr. Douglas’s bill has given to it, is a simple question of moral honesty. A merchant of New York, who should refuse to deliver to a purchaser merchandize for which he had been paid, would never be trusted again. This is mercantile honesty, but if we are to follow the maxims of those who talk of repealing the Missouri compromise, after Missouri has been admitted under it, political honesty is a very different thing.”

“The very reasoning employed by these people refutes itself. If the compromises of 1820—the Missouri compromise—is repealed by the compromise of 1850; in that case it is not necessary to repeat it again—in that case the permission to introduce slavery, prompted by Mr. Douglas, is unnecessary. If the compromise of 1850 has annulled the prohibition of slavery in the region once called Louisiana, there is no need of annulling it in the bill for organizing the Nebraska territory. But if it be needful to enact a special law in order to permit slavery to enter Nebraska, then is the Missouri compromise not repealed by the compromise of 1850; and the plain truth of the matter is, that Mr. Douglas and his associates want to make another compromise.

Let us try this question by the ordinary rules of mercantile morality. There are two partners, Mr. Smith and Mr. Jackson, in a mercantile house. For one year they divide equally the profits of their business. The next year Smith is persuaded to relinquish the entire profits to Jackson. After Jackson has pocketed the proceeds of that year, he turns upon Smith and uses the logic of Mr. Douglas and the Washington Union, requiring him to refund his share of the profits of the previous year. “By our last compromise,” says Jackson, “I was to have all the profits—that was the effective and vital principle of our agreement—I must, therefore, have all the profits of the year before, of which, under a previous agreement, you have taken half. I have here an instrument ready prepared, acknowledging my right to the whole of the profits of the first year as well as the second. Sign it, my friend; it is the only way to ‘give permanency and perpetuation’ to our last compromise. If you do not sign it, I shall consider you as desirous of fomenting an agitation. What I want, is peace and harmony, and all the profits.”

“Strange as such language would seem in a mercantile transaction between man and man, it is precisely the language of the friends of the Nebraska bill. Of course, nobody but one who deserved to be under guardianship for idiocy would listen for a moment to such arguments in an affair of business. Those who use them in support of the Nebraska bill, greatly underrate the intelligence of the people, as, we think, they will yet find to their cost.”

THE BURNING OF A NEGRO.—There is a class of citizens who stoutly deny that, except in isolated cases, cruelty is practised upon the slaves. Yet we need not look elsewhere than in Southern pro-slavery papers for abundant instances of horrible barbarity which sicken the soul. The negro, bond or free, male or female, has in fact no real security in some states of the south. No matter what the injury, the outrage or assault, the negro who shall dare to raise his or her hand against a white, is subject to fearful retribution. And the greatest outrage and wrong may be perpetrated upon a negro, in the presence of many credible negroes, and they dare not interfere, nor will their testimony be listened to. In another column we give a shocking narration, much the worst part of which, in our apprehension, is the part performed in this tragedy by the ministers of Religion (so called.) Far be it from us to join in denunciations against the ministers of the Gospel, a class of persons (if genuine and faithful) who are occupied in the noblest work which can engage the powers of man,—but such as these,—who “steal the livery of Heaven” for the service of the foul Fiend, merit the scathing rebukes of Whittier in his “Clerical Oppressors.”

“Pilate and Herod, friends!
Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine!

Just God and holy! is that church which lends
Strength to the spoiler, Thine?

Paid hypocrites, who turn
Judgment aside, and rob the Holy Book
Of those high words of truth which search & burn
In warning and rebuke!

Feed fat, ye locusts, feed!
And, in your tassell'd pulpits, thank the Lord
That, from the toiling bondman's utter need,
Ye pile your own full board.

How long, oh Lord! how long
Shall such a Priesthood barter truth away,
And, in Thy name, for robbery and wrong,
At Thy own altars pray?

* * * * *

Woe, then, to all who grind
Their brethren of a Common Father down!
To all who plunder from the immortal mind
Its bright and glorious crown!

Woe to the Priesthood! woe
To those whose hire is with the price of blood—
Perverting, darkening, changing as they go
The searching truths of God!

Their glory and their might
Shall perish; and their very names shall be
Vile before all the people, in the light
Of a WORLD'S LIBERTY!"

HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY, says a popular adage, and as an *abstraction* we suppose most people would assent to it. But who is there that really believes it? Not the rumseller, for he thinks it his policy to pursue a business which he knows to be in violation of honest principle. Not the slaveholder, for he knows that nobody can acquire an ownership in him, and that he has no right to hold and to use his fellow beings as property. We deal gently with those who give him the *motive* so to hold and use our brethren and sisters, for we wish them to know their own true position, and to be sure to occupy a right one. We deal gently with them,—for who has been clear enough in this matter to accuse those who stand to day where he stood yesterday?—and our aim is to convince and not to criminate. But does the politician believe it? Do statesmen, legislators, and magistrates believe it? If they did, we might look out for a millennial stride in legislation, for these folk are very desirous to pursue the best policy. Suppose that *one more than half* of the members of each House of Congress for ten successive years, should really believe that *honesty is the best policy*:—and suppose, in addition, that a like majority in each State Legislature should be thoroughly impressed with the same belief:—we are inclined to think that a much larger portion of our private citizens would soon be compelled to give their practical assent to the proposition. We are pretty sure that if this were the case, negro slavery

would never be introduced into new territory, and that no slave would ever be publicly burnt to death in Nebraska, for raising his hand against a white man.

But suppose—to make a tremendous supposition—suppose that every professed minister of the Gospel were actually and practically to give in his adhesion to the position that *honesty is the best policy*:—would we know the world we live in after so great a change? Slaveholding ministers, and slaveholding church members, would soon be as few and far between, as fig trees bearing olive berries, or vines yielding figs; and we should not again have to record the hideous spectacle of clergymen assembled to witness a slave burned to death, and to admonish thousands of assembled negroes that, unless they observed due subordination, a similar fate should be theirs.

But ministers there are, and statesmen, magistrates and citizens, who truly hold, and illustrate by their lives, the proverb that, HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.

FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.—By a typographical error in G. W. Taylor's card on the first page of last number, his meaning was obscured. It should have read thus:

"The undersigned will rent the machinery and purchase the cotton, guaranteeing six per cent per annum interest on the whole, and a sum deemed sufficient for wear and tear of machinery,—and will keep it insured against loss by fire, during the term of his lease," &c. &c.

NEW FREE LABOR GOODS. FOR SPRING SALES.

JUST received, Superior heavy English Shirtings.
Three qualities of Hair Cord Muslins.
Six qualities of Tape Check Muslins.
Swiss Cambric Lawn.
Cambric Handkerchiefs.
Glazed Linings, Slate, Drab, Brown, Black and White.
Fancy Check Gingham, 27 inches—large variety.
Coloured Check Muslin or Gingham Lawn, 27 inches.
Gold and Buff Check Gingham.
Hair Cord Gingham, Lilac, Blue, Pink, Buff, Black.
Check Gingham, Gold, Buff, Green, Blue.
Solid Stripe Gingham, Gold, Buff, Pink, Green, Lilac, Blue.
Men's and Boys' Dress Pant Stuffs.

The stock of Gingham now on hand is large and well assorted.
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
1st of 2d mo. 1854. Cor. 5th and Cherry Sts., Philada.

TO OUR READERS AND PATRONS.

In answer to enquiries by some of our friends, the *Publisher* of the Non-Slaveholder would now state, that the first number for 1854 has been purposely delayed in order to secure the advantage of a pretty full quorum of our subscribers to aid in the arrangement of the forwarding book, which being now accomplished, it is intended that the future numbers of the volume shall be mailed promptly in accordance with the date of publication, which has been changed to the *middle of the month* to accommodate the mechanical department. Respectfully,

GEO. W. TAYLOR.

NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 1854.

[No. 3.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

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JUAN PLACIDO.

(Continued from page 20.)

Some attacks of ague, which nearly ended my days, prevented me from accompanying my mistress to Havana. When I recovered, no one could enjoy himself in two years as I did in four months; I bathed four times a day, and even in the night, I fished, rode on horseback, made excursions into the mountains, ascended the highest hills, eat all kinds of fruit; in short, I enjoyed all the innocent pleasures of youth. In this little epoch I grew stout and lively, but when I returned to my old mode of life, my health broke down again, and I became as I was before.

When I recovered sufficiently, my first destiny was to be a page, as well in Havana as in Matanzas; already I was used to sit up from my earliest years the greatest part of the night, in the city, either at the theatre, or at parties, or in the house of the Marquis M—— H—— and the Senoras C., from which we went out at ten o'clock, and after supper play began, and continued till eleven or twelve; and at Matanzas, on the days appointed, and sometimes not, when they dined at the house of Count J., or in that of Don Juan M., and generally to pass the evening in the house of the Senoras G., in which the most distinguished persons of the town met and played at *trecillo*, *malilla*, or *burro*. While my lady played, I could not quit the side of her chair till midnight, when we usually returned to the *Molino*. If during the *tertulia* I fell asleep, or went behind the *volante*, if the *lanthorn* went out by accident, even as soon as we arrived, the mayoral, or *administrador* was called up, and I was put for the night in the stocks, and at day-

break I was called to an account, not as a boy; and so much power has sleep over a man, four or five nights seldom passed that I did not fall into the same faults. My poor mother and brothers more than twice sat up waiting for me while I was in confinement, waiting a sorrowful morning. She, all anxiety when I did not come, used sometimes to leave her hut, and approaching the door of the infirmary, which was in front of the place allotted to the men where the stocks were, on the left hand side, at times would find me there; and would call to me, "Juan," and I, sighing, would answer her, and then she would say outside, "Ah, my child!" and then it was she would call on her husband in his grave—for at this time my father was dead. Three times I remember the repetition of this scene, at other times I used to meet my mother seeking me—once above all, a memorable time to me—when the event which follows happened:—

We were returning from the town late one night, when the *volante* was going very fast, and I was seated as usual, with one hand holding the bar, and having the *lanthorn* in the other, I fell asleep, and it fell out of my hand; on awaking, I missed the *lanthorn*, and jumped down to get it, but such was my terror, I was unable to come up with the *volante*. I followed, well knowing what was to come, but when I came close to the house, I was seized by Don Sylvester, the young mayoral. Leading me to the stocks, we met my mother, who, giving way to the impulses of her heart, came up to complete my misfortunes. On seeing me, she attempted to inquire what I had done, but the mayoral ordered her to be silent, and treated her as one raising a disturbance. Without regard to her entreaties, and being irritated at being called up at that hour, he raised his hand, and struck my mother with the whip. I felt the blow in my own heart! To utter a loud cry, and from a downcast boy, with the timidity of one as meek as a lamb, to become all at once like a raging lion, was a thing of a moment—with all my strength I fell on him with teeth and hands, and it may be imagined how many cuffs, kicks, and blows were given in the struggle that ensued.

My mother and myself were carried off and shut up in the same place; the two twin children were brought to her, while Florence and Fernando were left weeping alone in the hut. Scarcely it dawned, when the mayoral, with two

negroes acting under him, took hold of me and my mother, and led us as victims to the place of sacrifice. I suffered more punishment than was ordered, in consequence of my attack on the mayoral. But who can describe the powers of the laws of nature in mothers? the fault of my mother was, that seeing they were going to kill me, as she thought, she inquired what I had done, and this was sufficient to receive a blow and to be further chastised. At beholding my mother in this situation, for the first time in her life, (she being exempt from work) stripped by the negroes and thrown down to be scourged, overwhelmed with grief and trembling, I asked them to have pity on her for God's sake; but at the sound of the first lash, infuriated like a tiger, I flew at the mayoral, and was near losing my life in his hands; but let us throw a veil over the rest of this doleful scene.—[To be Continued.]

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 15.)

JEFFERSON CO: OHIO.—“Has it not been a bitter cup to us all, to give up our honored friend Wm. Forster, to lay down to his last rest thus far from his beloved life-partner, his home friends. He has fallen as with a double armor on—a mission of philanthropy, and the mission of the gospel of Christ. He preached Christ most sweetly whilst he was here. Some of our children who were present were much interested in his sermon at ——. His theme was the shortness and uncertainty of time. Again in the evening he spoke most sweetly to a select circle, and to a large company next day, one of whom afterward remarked emphatically, that he seemed too ripe for Heaven to stay long here.

To him the change is doubtless glorious: but the Church is mourning and stripped.”

A correspondent from the far south,—(in such cases we think it best not to give localities) says: “There are men in this vicinity, doing business, who can neither read nor write. This is not a fair specimen of the south. In some places there is a good share of intelligence: planters are more wealthy—children better educated—society more aristocratic, and more dissipated. I was recently at a wedding. The bride was quite pretty, but, when she came to sign the certificate, *not being able to write*, she touched the top of the pen while the magistrate wrote the name for her. Most of the beautiful girls in this neighborhood smoke a pipe!—and nineteen twentieths of the married women do so. The old women here pay great respect to the moon in planting garden seeds, &c. &c. At table, in serving fried meat or boiled, they will enquire,—‘Will you have some of the fry?’—‘Will you take a piece of the bile?’”

Rich and poor are alike generally deficient in education, or if they have a competent literary education, be sure they have no domestic one. From personal observation, I am convinced that

in a company of Yankee girls, a Coelebs might take the first he came to, and find her in intelligence and moral worth, in literary and domestic education, in gentleness, and in all the characteristics of the true lady, superior to nine out of ten of the southern ladies.

The southerners have a high opinion of ‘the Yankees,’ as they style all from ‘the north:’ and well they may. When they come in contact with them their pockets generally feel it. It is these who take most of the contracts on their railways—who furnish their carriages, steam engines, pianos, &c., (at high prices)—who manufacture their negro shoes and clothing, teach their high schools,—who are their music masters, lawyers, physicians, ministers, master carpenters, &c., and whoever has anything to be done will employ a ‘Yankee’ in preference to a southerner, (supposing them in other respects equal.) Experience has taught them that southern habits and southern education do not develop a business capacity that can compete with that of ‘Yankee land.’ * * *

A CORRESPONDENT WRITING FROM LOUISIANA, says: “This is a cotton growing country, but one of few comforts. Fig trees grow readily from slips, merely staking them in the ground and keeping the cattle from them; yet few have plenty of figs, and nine tenths have none at all. Peaches will do very well here, yet they are by no means plentiful, and the quality is generally inferior. For apples the climate is rather warm, yet by a suitable selection, and by keeping the trees well trimmed, enough for home consumption might easily be raised. But farmers have no apple orchards. Some have four or five trees of natural fruit, which are never trimmed, and the fruit of which the slaves eat when half ripe. They seem to have but two ideas: the one cotton and the other ‘Niggers.’ They clear land, exhaust it, and then clear more. Thus a planter must own four times as much as he wishes to cultivate at once, and when it is all exhausted, he must abandon his place, buildings and all, and settle a new one. I have endeavored to show them that by plowing in the southern pea, (the clover of the south) all the level land at least, might not only be kept in tillable condition, but actually improved at less cost than the clearing of new land. I have enforced my views by the authority of the Patent Office Report, address of Edmund Ruffin, &c., but many are too ignorant to understand an argument which contemplates the future as well as the present, and the most intelligent are mere routinists in farming. They will cut down great pines, and deaden others, and work hard rolling logs, &c., and then raise an uncertain crop of four or five bales for one man, worth \$40 clear per bale, when instead of felling the trees, they might, by properly notching them in three or four places, and collecting the turpentine, make at least twice as much. But ignorance and indolence, twin

sisters, sit brooding upon the hearth stones of the ‘sunny south.’ They cloud the brain and palsy the arm; and, while the soil and climate admit of many and varied productions, the golden fruit hangs from the bough, but they reach not their hands to gather it.”

The same friend says:

“I think I can demonstrate that slave-labor is generally unprofitable. A good field-hand is now worth \$1500. The interest at 8 per cent is \$120 per annum. Doctor's bills and lost time, including one week at Christmas, say \$15 more. Clothes, say \$15 per annum: expense of overseeing, say \$10 per head: tax about \$5 per head; making \$165 a year,—to which add the gradual and yet final extinction of capital, and the fact that seven northern freemen will, at most work, perform as much as ten slaves, and it must be evident that as a mere matter of dollars and cents, it does not pay well.”

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BE STRONG IN THE RIGHT.

“He that is not with me is against me: He that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.” This declaration is unchangeably true, when applied to religion—inasmuch as human research has never been able to find a middle ground between approval and disapproval in the Divine sight; and with little exception, the declaration is equally applicable to Slavery. Honest self-examination would prove to us, that we are either countenancing or discountenancing it; either aiding its continuance or its discontinuance.

This system, with its inseparable evils, is so repugnant to the moral feelings of those who have not dwelt immediately under its benumbing influences, that ninety-nine out of a hundred will declare themselves opposed to it; and yet how few are willing practically to make good this declaration by refusing it aid, politically, morally, religiously, commercially.

The Slave system demands non-interference—it demands even silence, under the specious plea that the peace and prosperity of the Church, the Government and the Country require it; and under the cloak of apparent good, the demand has been astonishingly submitted to. The agents of civil government, the church, the commercial interest, have all largely responded to the demand:—not because they really approved and loved the system of American Slavery, but because they have not sufficiently hated it—because (having never been its victims,) they underrate its enormity, and thus make it a subordinate concern of small account.

And why does the system require silence and concealment from public notice, but because its atrocity will not bear investigation? Why does the powerful instrumentality of pro-slavery newspapers, (made such by political and commercial influences) fill the minds of the

people, with apologies for Slavery and with pro-slavery arguments based upon supposed expediency, but to close the way against partial examination into the wrongs of the Slave, upon principles of morality, christianity, and humanity? These labors have for a great length of time proved alarmingly successful, so that very many who would not willingly be in the wrong, have received from such sources much of their information of the present character and position of Slavery. Yet there is reason to believe that a better and a brighter day, for the unhappy bondman and his oppressor, is in advance. There is a remnant who are, in good earnest, heart and hand, opposed to the barbarous system. The feelings of the people are against it. Yes, we know it to be wrong, and it is clearly true, that the wrong is not without a remedy; and the day cannot be far distant when that kind of logic (suited only to uncivilized ages) which undertakes to prove that slaveholding is not a crime to be repented of and forsaken, will be rejected with disgust. May this day be hastened with a rapidity commensurate to the vast amount of injustice and iniquity embraced in the system.

Fellow Christians, let us make the subject an interesting one. It is superlatively so to the Slave, his all is at stake. And why should it not be so with us? We too have much at stake in the matter. Our profession requires that we do not aid tyranny and oppression, by political, commercial, moral or religious means, but that we should wash our hands in innocency, and “remember those in bonds as bound with them.” This will give to the subject an importance, that in its advocacy will enable one to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight.

Quaker Hill, 5th of 3d mo. 1854. D. I.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DO WE CONSIDER?

The query has arisen, do we often enough review mentally the evils of slavery, the sighs and tears that are drawn from its helpless victims, by the rending asunder of the closest ties of relationship,—their hard toils and cruel whippings, which they do not escape, notwithstanding their faithful endeavors to comply with the demands of their cruel taskmasters? It seems to me, were we seriously and frequently to consider these things, we would also consider whether we are endeavoring in any way to advance their liberation, and whether an abstinence from the productions of their unrequited toil would not in some measure, tend to open the eyes of their oppressors. Should we not view those productions as the price of blood, since the slaves are driven under the lash, and their blood daily flows, to produce luxuries for the consumers? Let us then examine whether the amount consumed by each family, or, may I not say by each individual, has not caused the laceration, sighs, and groans of some poor toil-worn slave.

The greater the demand for sugar, cotton, &c., the greater the toil and sufferings of the poor victims of slavery. Although each individual may sometimes reason thus,—“what good can it do for me to refrain from their productions? What I use can have no effect either to increase their toils, or to break their bonds,”—let such remember that many small items swell to a considerable amount, and it is something to feel guiltless of our brother's blood. And while we should endeavor to act so as to be guiltless; we should look upon the slaveholder as our brother, who is deluded by the influences of a wrong education and example, and, remembering that we are by nature frail and erring, remembering too, the power and influence of habit and education, we should not spurn him from us, as unworthy of our regard, but endeavor, in kindness, to convince him of the evils of his practice.

“The oppressor needs a friend,—
Slow to reproach,—*Forbearing in the right,*—
Till God in mercy over him shall bend,
On his dark path to say,—let there Be light!”
Jefferson County, Ohio. M

For the Non-Slaveholder.

USE THE RIGHT SPECTACLES.!

It is difficult to prove a self-evident proposition. That the system of slavery is upheld entirely by the purchase and consumption of its products, seems so plain a statement as to admit of no demonstration. Never have I met with a candid, unprejudiced individual who would not admit, that, if *all* professed abolitionists would abstain from the use of slave-labor products, slavery would inevitably fall. And seldom have I seen a person having little or no interest in such products, who could not perceive the impropriety of their use. But it is difficult to see clearly through the medium of interest. All the arguments adduced in justification of their promiscuous use, resolve themselves into those of expediency.

The heart often *feels* its way where the intellect stumbles. I have just risen from the perusal of the thrilling narrative of Solomon Northup. Here is no labored fiction; but we see faithfully depicted, the stern realities, the terrible facts, the overwhelming enormities of the system of slavery. Again, I resolved, never, knowingly, to partake with the slaveholder, in the gain of oppression. I have been moved often to grief and tears, by the sad records of the dreadful wrongs inflicted upon our colored brother; but never before was my heart so deeply, so painfully oppressed by the monstrous injustice and iniquity of the system.

It seemed to me, that Providence had permitted him to be thus ruthlessly snatched from his home and family, to pass unpitied and alone, his long, painful, and almost hopeless pilgrimage; and finally, in a remarkable manner, rescued him from the grasp of oppression, that he might give us another report from the dark prison-house,

and raise one more warning voice against that dreadful traffic in “slaves and souls of men.” And I remembered the voice of inspiration: “Whoso stoppeth his ears from hearing the cries of the poor, himself shall also cry and shall not be heard.”

Let every abolitionist read that volume, and then ask himself, if, in the eye of impartial justice, he is innocent, while he continues in any way to countenance, or lend the *motive* to that most iniquitous system.

A vast amount of time, talent, and money have been expended by the many friends of the slaves, in disseminating information, purchasing their freedom, or colonizing them in Africa. Let the same amount of genius, funds and time, be devoted to increasing the growth, and of course consumption of Free labor productions, and the days of oppression would soon be numbered.

Who is fully on the side of mercy and justice? Let them be united, and faithful to their individual convictions of duty. L. T.

Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 2d Mo. 1854.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 18, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

In our last number, we gave brief expression to our emotions respecting the removal of one who was justly loved and revered by many persons widely separated from each other. With his apostolic form mentally in our view, his solemn truthful, loving tones still lingering in our ear, his *tout ensemble* present to our memory with affecting freshness,—we were unready to pen any thing further than a reference to the event by which the Father of Life conferred upon him in eternal fulness, “the end of his faith,” whilst to survivors was extended a deep sorrow, a profound lesson, a solemn call mingled with blessed consolation.

It is expected of us, and it is due to our subscribers, that we should fulfil the promise which we gave of a further notice of this eminent Christian Philanthropist: and, although space cannot be afforded in this month's number for all that we shall feel bound to say, we do not intend that our readers shall dissent from our opinion that the subject of this article was worthy of responsive love from all men, and of a full tribute from a Journal which is devoted to a testimony against all oppression.

Seldom, perhaps, if ever, has a person been known, who was so sensitive to the wrongs and sufferings of his fellow men, or who was so weighed down by the consideration of them. Literally remembering those in bonds as bound with them, his life has furnished an illustration of the practicability of obedience to this command, which includes so much renunciation of self, and so full an adoption of another blessed precept—

“Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.” This fundamental law of love being so incorporated in his system of motives, and his gift of sympathy being thus large, his appeals for the oppressed were beautiful beyond description, and it is difficult to convey or to conceive an adequate idea of the love with which, on the behalf of these, he pleaded with those in authority.

WILLIAM FORSTER, son of William and Elizabeth Forster, was born at Tottenham (near London,) 3d Mo. 23d 1784. Of his parents, who were valued and worthy Friends, we know little, but we may infer much. To have so trained a large family of sons and daughters that they should attain to Christian eminence, and serve their generation according to the will of God, they must themselves have walked in the Divine fear, and realized that better is he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city. What habits of self-government on the part of parents, what watchfulness, what secret fervent prayers, what circumspect example, and what Godly teachings must have been the seed sown, which afterward bore fruit in the matured characters of such men and women!

We have already said that his life, from his youth, has been a Christian mission. Early responding to his heavenly Father's gracious invitation, “My son give me thy heart,” he yielded at the age of nineteen, to the call of the Spirit to the public advocacy of Divine truth,—and at the age of twenty-one he was a duly recognized minister of the gospel, in the religious society of Friends. At this time he was aiding his father in the surveying business: but he left all for his Master's work,—was engaged in it, with little intermission, for nearly half a century,—traveled in it extensively,—and has died in it, the unction from the Holy One abiding with him to the end.

In the year 1811, he was extensively engaged in a religious visit to Scotland and the Hebrides, and in that and the following year, he joined our beloved Stephen Grellet in his gospel labors in London, Dublin, and some other places. Of their remarkable labors in New-gate prison, (in which they spent more than a week) it is to be hoped that some Biographer may be able to furnish a particular account. We cannot refrain from noting, that these Friends, after their affecting discoveries in this prison, went to Elizabeth Fry, and enlisted her in the benevolent work, for which she became “world renowned,” and in the prosecution of which, the fruits of the Spirit were so conspicuous in her, and her life so shone before men that she was as a city set upon a hill that *that could not be hid*. A meeting in London, for the Jews, appointed by Stephen Grellet, in which W. Forster was his companion, was, we believe, the first Christian meeting held for the Hebrews. At several large public meetings which our friends held in Dublin, W. Forster performed the work of an Evangelist—as

also in visits to some public institutions. Elizabeth Fry, who knew his humble dedicated walk from youth to age, in her memoranda speaks of Wm. Forster as having been an instrument of much good to her. In the year 1814, they were associated in visiting the families of Kingston Monthly Meeting. So abundant were his labors as a minister of Christ, that we cannot hope to trace out and enumerate a moiety of the services upon which he entered. In common with our readers, we must wait for the appearance of a memoir worthy of a career like his, and which, we hope, will not be withheld by his family and friends.

In the 5th Mo. 1819, he spread with great humility, before the Yearly Meeting of London a concern to make a religious visit to this land. A solemn silence reigned in that dignified and truly Christian assembly, in which those spiritually minded fathers and mothers in the church, sought to know “the mind of the spirit,” which, as the Apostle declares, “searcheth all things, even the deep things of God.” And strikingly was the whole body brought, in the true unity of the Spirit, to recognize the genuineness of the call which had been extended to this beloved disciple. The dear companion of his life, (as one who was present* testified) spoke beautifully and with power, declaring the goodness and mercy of the Lord which had hitherto followed them, and expressed her strong desire that her beloved husband might be upheld, comforted, and encouraged. The whole meeting seemed affected. Their striking example of submission and resignation, has been edifying and encouraging.”

His wife's brother, the noble philanthropist, Thomas Fowell Buxton, wrote to his sister, in reference to this contemplated mission, a letter fraught with a true appreciation of it.

Earlham, January, 1819.

“My dear Sister,
“Your letter has been much upon my mind, and has raised a variety of feelings. The first impression was one of much sorrow, that your plans and prospects of home and happiness should be interrupted, and for so long a time; but I must confess, I have been speedily almost reconciled to it; that is, I have brought it home to my own mind, and have considered, whether it would not really be the greatest of blessings, if by any means my duty would call me to such a sacrifice, and the call were not to be disobeyed. After all, it is a noble thing—it is the noblest of all things—to be permitted to be a servant of the Infinite Ruler of the world; and how low and earthly is that wisdom which could prefer any delights, before the delights of self-dedication. We know but few things for certain; but this is one of them;—a promise is given to him, who leaves father or mother, or wife, or children, for Christ's sake. How can I mourn then, that William should accept the terms of such a

* Priscilla Gurney.

promise? I rejoice that he is counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake. I have always felt particularly interested with the vision of the man of Macedonia, calling Paul to come over and help them, comparing it with the Epistle to the Philippians. The discouragements at first were so great, and yet the Epistle describes such an abundant and happy produce. Who can tell how many may have eternal reason to rejoice at the obedience of the Apostle; and who can presume to limit the effect, which Providence may please to produce by William's visit? We may differ on some points, but not on this—that his call is from above. I am persuaded it has been sought in the right spirit. I believe it is sent in mercy to others—in eminent mercy to him and to you; and I am willing that you should undergo the pains of separation. But, my dear Anna, you must not imagine I am indifferent about this. * * * With love to you both, and not without thankfulness that there is something of a missionary spirit among you,

"I am,

"Your affectionate brother,
T. F. BUXTON."

In a letter dated 3d Mo. 12th, 1820, from Bradpole, the residence of Wm. Forster, T. F. Buxton writes:

"I came here yesterday, and have had a full opportunity of learning a lesson of humility. It is very well to do good, and to serve one's country, while at the same moment we are feeding our ambition and gratifying our pride: but what are the sacrifices I make? I may call them sacrifices, but their true name is the pleasures I enjoy. Here, however, the pleasures and the sacrifices are totally at variance. How truly and exactly do the words, 'They left all and followed him,' convey my view of William's two years' absence from home, a wife, a boy, the very darlings of his heart, all his wishes and desires centering in this spot! Well, I cannot pity him, I am more inclined to envy one who is wise enough to make a bargain so incontestably good. I went to Meeting with him twice to day: his morning sermon, on 'Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not unto thine own understanding: in all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths,' was one of the very best I ever heard. But the text is one particularly interesting to me."—[To be Continued.]

BLESSED ARE THE PEACE-MAKERS.—MISSION OF JOSEPH STURGE, &c.—It is among the interesting events of the day, and a pleasing evidence of the continuance among Friends of the missionary spirit, that a deputation from London Meeting for sufferings has proceeded to Petersburg to plead with the Autocrat in behalf of Peace, which cannot be violated without disobedience to Christ's precepts. The deputation consists of our valued friend JOSEPH STURGE, (personally beloved by many of our readers, and

known to most of them as a large hearted Philanthropist)—HENRY PEASE, (brother to John Pease who is justly dear to American Friends) and ROBERT CHARLTON, another unwearied Philanthropist and Christian. These friends have engaged in this mission from an impression of religious duty, and, having spread their feelings before the Society, have received its sanction and encouragement. They are the bearers of an Address, which we have not seen, but from such a source, we cannot doubt that it is replete with christian sentiment. A political Journal, announcing their departure, says:

"Our Quaker friends have, ere this, successfully pleaded the cause of humanity before crowned heads, when diplomacy has been unsuccessful. Perhaps the simple truthfulness of Joseph Sturge may produce more impression than the well reasoned dispatches of Lord Clarendon, or the entreaties of Hamilton Seymour."

On reaching St. Petersburg they had an interview with Count Nesselrode, the Prime Minister, and an assurance of an audience with the Emperor. From Count Nesselrode, with whom, at his request, they left their "Address," they met with extraordinary kindness and sympathy. They subsequently had a full interview with the Emperor Nicholas, who heard them patiently and sympathizingly, expressed entire approbation with the sentiments of the Address, and, on their representation of the inevitable consequences of the war, and of the horrors which had already resulted, was evidently affected. We understand that he pleaded the pressure upon him from without, that his honor was at stake, and that it was not in his power to arrest the war. Be this as it may, we quite believe that he who is styled the AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS has in reality far less of power than is ascribed to him, and that he is compelled to move in the current of events which he is thought to lead.

Whatever may be the issue, we adore the benevolent Providence which moved our dear friends to this "work of faith and labor of love." We are thankful that the testimony of Truth has been uttered, and we have no fear that it will be in vain, whether we or they ever see the fruit or not. He who appointed the service will take care of the results.

It appears that the murderous hostilities so unhappily commenced, are most unpopular with a large class in Russia. How strange the infatuation by which thousands of people submit to be led to slaughter by the will of mere men like themselves, in a quarrel which concerns them not!

"War is a game, which, were their subjects wise, Kings could not play at."

We are no revolutionists, and would not encourage in any people, an insubordination towards their government: but we should rejoice to see the day when all men would resolve rather to suffer the penalty of human law than to enlist as warriors, in violation of the higher law of Christ.

In the southern part of this Empire, where every man is supposed to be a soldier, there are

numerous religious people who have a testimony against War. Stephen Grellet and William Allen visited these people, and from the biography of the latter and the statements of the former we have accounts of the Malakans, of one of the sects of the Duhobortsi, and of the Mennonists, who hold that a true Christian cannot harbor revenge: and those last named conscientiously refuse to bear arms. The Malakans hold strongly the christian sentiment, that it is better to suffer wrong than to avenge it, and carry it very far in their practice, bearing violence and robbery rather than resort to suits at law. But, gleaning from the sacred volume that they must be subject for conscience sake to Kings and Governors, and that there are no powers but such as are ordained of God, they are puzzled, and whilst they know it to be wrong to fight, they are not so fully enlightened as to perceive that they may yield a passive obedience to the powers which are set over them, by bearing, for Christ's sake, the consequences of refusing to break his law, when the alternative is whether it be right to obey man rather than God.

And here we have to record what appears to us to be most instructive, and calculated to show the Divine condescension to those who, in sincerity, strive to avoid the evil and to adopt the right. "Who is there that shall harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?"—These persons, being above the common soldiers in mental advancement and integrity, had, at the time when our informant knew them, never been actually engaged in human slaughter. They enlisted as soldiers, but, ere they reached the battle field were taken up and appointed to other services, often to trust and responsibility. Yet, in each successive enlistment, the Malakan left home with heart sorrow—imbued with peace principles, yet thinking his active obedience due to his rulers, and not knowing whether his might not be the first exception to the remarkable exemption from a murderous task.

Such is the care of the Almighty over those to whom he has entrusted sacred truth, and who are obedient to the heavenly vision.

HAVE FAITH IN YOUR PRINCIPLES.—It is a fine thing to be theoretically right,—but it is a noble thing to be practically faithful. Be right in such a manner, that, in the trial hour, men shall not have reason to say that you might just as well have been wrong! We have known many persons with whose real convictions we had perfect sympathy, who, when the crisis called for an out spoken testimony, either were silent,—or else whispered the truth as if they only half believed it,—or else conceded and compromised it away so that honest adversaries could not respect them, and the real champions of the right had to mourn for the faint-heartedness of their friends. Commend us to the man who does not think that discretion requires him, "under the peculiar circumstances of the case," to seem

to side with the wrong in hope that he may thus reserve an influence which will subserve the Truth when Error shall have hanged herself with the rope which he has lent her. In many a case of wide-spread delusion, involving great violations of individual and collective rights, these faint-hearted lovers of the Truth, by their sins of omission, do more to advance the very thing which they abhor, than all the combined efforts of the opposition could have effected, if these had maintained their posts and prevented the very agitation they dreaded by being faithful in season. Where's the use in being right, if you act just as though you were wrong? Have faith in your principles!

FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.—The proposition of our friend George W. Taylor, on the first page of the current volume, addressed "to all the friends of the Free Labor movement," is an important one. It invites subscriptions to a stock of about \$15,000, according to a plan therein set forth, for the establishment and supply of a Jobbing Mill to be run on a variety of staple articles. Wake up friends! Talk to one another about it, and let your conversation be seasoned with what Demosthenes found to be the secret of eloquence: "Action! Action!" Don't be too diffident about these money matters. When Henry Clay failed to obtain the high position for which (it is to be feared) he bartered away so much of virtue and honor,—it was a light thing for politicians to undertake to raise for him a sum equal to the Presidential compensation. The call in this case for pecuniary sacrifice (even if such were involved) is as much higher than the politician's motives, as Duty is above Dollars, as HUMAN RIGHTS are paramount to human ambition, as the Heaven of PRINCIPLE is higher than the earth of selfishness.

The stock is partly filled up—but there is room for you. Shall the enterprise stick fast? Shall one man, already overlaid, be expected to bear all the burden? Where's the Bellman? Wake up!

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

Ah! know ye not, in Israel
A Prince is fallen to day,
A just man, from the ills to come,
In mercy called away?

The Church is clothed in mourning:
Who shall supply her loss?
A standard-bearer's quit the field,
A soldier of the Cross.

On mission high and holy,
He braved the watery main,
And many a faithful heart rejoiced
To welcome him again.

Thrice had the veteran warrior
Nobly forsaken all,

And trod our western wilderness,
Obedient to HIS call
Whose voice he knew from childhood,
And followed where it led,
For "perfect love" reigned over him,
And banished fear and dread.
Meekly, he journeyed onward,
Unmoved by praise or blame,
The mark was always kept in view,
And steady was his aim.
Unfaltering trust in Jesus
Had ever nerved his arm,
He knew HIS shield of love was near,
Protecting him from harm.
Like Paul, he "went from house to house,"
And boldly preached the word:—
And many souls accepting it,
Were gathered to the Lord.
While, from his heart and from his lips,
Wherever he might pass,
Fell gentle benedictions,
As showers upon the grass.
Nor from the galling chains of sin
Alone he sought to free:
However named, the "bondsmen" claimed
His whole souled sympathy.
Bending beneath a weight of care,
A pilgrimage of years,
Before the rulers of the land,
Behold him plead with tears.
For poor down-trodden Africa
He lifts his latest breath,
And with her name upon his lips,
Sinks in the arms of death.
Thoughts of the distant and the loved
Came thronging to his heart,
He felt, 'twere sweet to be with them,
Yet sweeter to depart.
"Better to die and be with Christ:"
Were the blest words he said,
Then, in the midst of bonds and chains,
The enfranchized spirit fled.
And in a far off stranger land,
Near Holston's billowy wave,
A voice is calling silently,
From that lone Martyr's grave.
Oppressor, list its meaning,
It is to thee it calls,
Ah heed the solemn warning voice,
Before the judgment falls.
It tells thee that a martyr's prayers
Are heard in highest heaven,
That soon the shackles of the Slave
In mercy shall be riven.
God will avenge his own elect,
Who're groaning to be free:

His promises are sure—He will
Avenge them speedily.
But where will be the Oppressor,
In that soul searching day,
When perfect Truth and Equity
Have undivided sway!
Quailing before the majesty
Of the Omniscient One,
Dealers in "slaves and souls of men,"
Will feel their work is done;
And bowed beneath that "word of God,"
Which pierces as a sword,
Call on the rocks to hide them, from
The presence of the Lord.
Hush! mercy's voice is whispering,
"Immanuel died to save":—
And HE designs rich fruit shall spring,
From that lone martyr's grave.

FREE LABOR WAREHOUSE. N. W. CORNER OF FIFTH AND CHERRY STREETS, PHILADELPHIA.

LIMITED to the sale of the products of Free Labour.
Much pains are taken to provide a variety of fabrics
wholly or part cotton, viz:

Prints Lawns, Ginghams,
Brown Muslins, Bleached Shirts,
And Sheetings, Drilling,
Canton Flannels, Colored Cambrics,
Paper Muslins, Serge, India Mull,
Swiss Cambric, Cambric Hdks,
Cold Checks, Plaid Muslins,
Poplins, Lustres, De Laines,
Wool and Cotton Fancies, Ticking,
Furniture Check, Satinets,
Pant and Coat Stuff, Vestings,
Suspenders, Hosiery, Knitting Cotton,
Spool Cotton, Dress Cord,
Table Oil Cloths, Umbrellas,
Wadding, Wicking, Cotton Laps, &c., &c.
A pretty assortment of Hair cord and Solid Stripe
Ginghams, Fancy Ginghams and Gingham Lawns, lately
received—
A variety of articles in Silk, Wool and Flax, viz:
Rich Glace Silks, Plain,
Plaid and striped for dresses,
Silk Hosiery, Shirts and Drawers,
Black Apron Silk, Cravats,
Superior Bandanna Hdks,
Alpaca, all wool De Laines,
De Beiges, Bereges, Flannels,
Linen Shirts and Lawns,
Fine Printed Cambrics,
for dresses, Pocket Hdks,
Table Cloths, Bird Eye Toweling and Crash.

Loaf and Crushed Sugars,
Pulverized and Sifted do.,
A, B, and C. Refined do.,
Superior W. I. Brown do.,
do. do. Molasses,
Steam Syrup, 2 Qualities—
Coffee, superior and medium Qualities—
Pure Caraccas Chocolate,
do Sweet and Homoeopathic do.
Rice, Green and Black Teas,
Armistead's English Mustard
put up in kegs, bottles, tins and tin foil.
Jamaica and E. I. Ginger, Pure Liberia Bird Eye Pep-
per, and other pure spices,
Genuine Palm Oil Soap,
An assortment of Fancy Soaps.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 4.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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JUAN PLACIDO.

(Continued from page 26.)

I said before, that I was like my mistress's
lap-dog, since it was my duty to follow her
wherever she went, except to her own private
rooms, for then I remained outside to prevent
any body from going in, receiving any messages,
and keeping silence when she was there. One
afternoon, I followed her into the garden, where
I was set to gather up flowers and transplant
some little roots, when the gardener was employ-
ed in his occupation there. At the time of
leaving the garden, I took unconsciously, a small
leaf, one alone of geranium, thinking only of
making verses; I was following, with this leaf
in my hand, two or three yards behind my mis-
tress, so absent in my mind that I was squeezing
the leaf with my fingers to give it greater fra-
grancy. At the entrance at the anti-chamber
she turned back, I made room for her, but the
smell attracted her attention; full of anger, on a
sudden and in a quick tone she asked me "What
have you got in your hands?" Motionless and
trembling, I dropped the remains of the leaf, and,
as if it was a whole plant, for this crime I was
struck on the face, and delivered to the care of
the overseer, Don Lucas Rodriguez. It was
about six o'clock in the afternoon, and in the
middle of winter. The volante was ready to go
to town, and I was to ride behind; but alas! I
was little aware what was to come in the next
hour! Instead of riding in the volante, I was

taken to the stocks, which were in a building,
formerly an infirmary, and now used for a prison,
and for depositing the bodies of the dead till the
hour of interment. My feet were put in the
stocks, where shivering with cold, without any
covering, they shut me in. What a frightful
night I passed there! My fancy saw the dead
rising and walking about the room, and scram-
bling up a window above the river and near a
catastrophe, I listened to its roar, which seemed to
me like the howling of a legion of ghosts.
Scarcely day-light appeared, when I heard the
unbolting of the door; a negro came in followed
by the overseer wrapt in his cloak; they took
me out and put me on a board fixed on a kind of
fork, where I saw a bundle of rods. The over-
seer, from under a handkerchief over his mouth,
roared out, "tie him fast;" when my hands
were tied behind like a criminal, and my feet se-
cured in an aperture of the board. Oh, my God!
Let me not speak of this frightful scene! When
I recovered I found myself in the arms of my
mother, bathed in tears, and disconsolate, who,
at the request of Don Jaime Florida, left me and
retired. When my mistress rose next morning,
her first care was to inquire whether I was
treated as I deserved; and the servant who was
waiting on her called me; and she asked, if I
would dare to take any more leaves of her gera-
nium? As I could not answer, I was near under-
going the same punishment, but thought to say,
no. About eleven o'clock, I became quite dan-
gerously ill: three days was I in this state. My
mother used to come to see me in the night-time,
when she thought my mistress out. At the sixth
day I was out of danger, and could walk about.
I met my mother one day, who said to me, "Ju-
an I have got the money to purchase your liber-
ty; as your father is dead, you must act as a fa-
ther to your brothers; they shall not chastise
you any more." My only answer was a flood of
tears; she went away and I to my business; but
the result of my mother's visit was disappoint-
ment: the money was not paid, and I daily ex-
pected the time of my liberty, but that time was
not destined for many a long year to come.

Some time after, it happened that a carrier
brought to the house some chickens, some capons,
and a letter, and as I was always on guard like
a sentinel, it was my fortune to receive them;
leaving the fowls outside, I took in the letter to
my mistress, who after reading it, ordered me to

take them to Don Juan Mato their steward, to whom I delivered what I received. Two weeks after this, I was called to an account for one capon missing, I said without hesitating, that I received three capons, and two chickens which I delivered. Nothing more was said of the matter, but the following day I saw the mayoral coming along towards the house, who after talking with my mistress for some time went away again. I served the breakfast, and when I was going to take the first morsel, taking advantage of the moment to eat something, my mistress ordered me to go to the mayoral's house, and tell him—I do not remember what. With sad forebodings, and an oppressed heart, being accustomed to deliver myself up on such occasions, away I went trembling. When I arrived at the door, I saw the mayoral of the Molino, and the mayoral of the Ingenio, together. I delivered my message to the first, who said, "Come in man," I obeyed, and was going to repeat it again, when Senor Dominguez, the mayoral of the Ingenio, took hold of my arm, saying, "it is to me, to whom you are sent;" took out of his pocket a thin rope, tied my hands behind me as a criminal, mounted his horse, and commanded me to run quick before him, to avoid either my mother or my brothers seeing me. Scarcely had I run a mile before the horse, stumbling at every step, when two dogs that were following us, fell upon me; one taking hold of the left side of my face pierced it through, and the other lacerated my left thigh and leg in a shocking manner, which wounds are open yet, notwithstanding it happened twenty-four years ago. The mayoral alighted on the moment, and separated me from their grasp, but my blood flowed profusely, particularly from my leg—he then pulled me by the rope, making use at the same time, of the most disgusting language; this pull partly dislocated my right arm, which at times pains me yet.—Getting up, I walked as well as I could, till we arrived at the Ingenio. They put a rope round my neck, bound up my wounds, and put me in the stocks. At night, all the people of the estate were assembled together and arranged in a line, I was put in the middle of them, the mayoral and six negroes surrounded me, and at the word "upon him," they threw me down; two of them held my hands, two my legs, and the other sat upon my back. They then asked me about the missing capon, and I did not know what to say. Twenty-five lashes were laid on me, they then asked me again to tell the truth. I was perplexed; at last, thinking to escape further punishment, I said, "I stole it." "What have you done with the money?" was the next question, and this was another trying point. "I bought a hat." "Where is it?" "I bought a pair of shoes." "No such thing," and I said so many things to escape punishment, but all to no purpose. Nine successive nights the same scene was repeated, and every night I told a thousand

lies. After the whipping, I was sent to look after the cattle and work in the fields. Every morning my mistress was informed of what I said the previous night.

At the end of ten days, the cause of my punishment being known, Dionisio Copandonga, who was the carrier who brought the fowls, went to the mayoral, and said that the missed capon was eaten by the steward Don Manuel Pipa, and which capon was left behind in a mistake; the cook Simona was examined and confirmed the account. I do not know whether my mistress was made acquainted with this transaction; but certain it is, that since that moment, my punishment ceased, my fetters were taken off, and my work ceased, and a coarse linen dress was put on me. But the same day an accident happened, which contributed much towards my mistress forgiving me.—*To be Continued.*

Starksborough, Vermont, 3d Mo. 23, 1854.

Much esteemed friend, William J. Allinson—I wish through the columns of the Non-Slaveholder, to call the attention of its readers to the importance of an individual protest against the passage by Congress of the Nebraska or any other bill, the nature of which would be to extend or perpetuate slavery in our professedly republican government, or in the least degree to infringe upon our treaty with the Indians. I would by all means impress upon the women as well as men, the fearful responsibility that rests upon all, and the probable weight of influence attached to lucid appeals from the former.

One important feature of this momentous subject is, that in a republican government it is not expected that individuals rule, but the mass of the people, and that they send men as agents to Washington, to legislate and embody the will or judgment of their constituents, always however in conformity with the professed object of the framers of our excellent Constitution, which was for the benefit of all the people of these United States. Shall we then be silent, when we are assured that our agents enter upon a scheme which if consummated would greatly infringe upon the rights of three large portions of the people, viz: the Non-slaveholders, the colored people, and the Indians; or shall we rise in all our civil and moral power, and speak in language clear and cogent, saying to them, stop your oppressive measures, and do the work for which you were sent. Can we without protest, see our agents perpetrate abuse upon any class and be guiltless? In the little town of Starksborough, a meeting was called irrespective of party, and seven strong resolutions on the Nebraska bill, &c., were unanimously passed. They circulated petitions against the passage of said bill, and obtained and forwarded to James Mescham, our representative in Congress, the signatures of 260 males and 200 females. If all other towns in the free States

should do as much in proportion to their population, Congress would be suitably warned.

Very affectionately thy Friend,

JOEL BATTEY.

WELL-WISHERS.

There is a class of persons professedly favorable to the cause of emancipation, who nevertheless content themselves with vague hopes and wishes for the discontinuance of slavery at some indefinite period, without once attempting to hasten the hour of its approach, by any thing like active exertion. They are perfectly willing that the good work of emancipation should be accomplished—that millions of their fellow creatures should be raised from the miserable condition of beasts of burden, to the rank of men, and useful citizens—provided, only, that such consent involves nothing like personal exertion, no possible inconvenience to themselves, during the process of this transformation. They acknowledge the deep iniquity of the system of slavery, but they act as if the admission of its criminality, instead of being merely prefatory to amendment, was amply sufficient of itself to satisfy all the demands of justice, to silence all the reproaches of conscience. They appear to have one species of justice for their theory, and another, vastly lower in its standard, for actual practice;—or rather, the high and true rules of moral equity by which they mete out justice between themselves, swerve instantly from their even measure, when the rights of their sable brethren are brought into competition with their own convenience, or their prejudices. Certainly, say they, every man has a just and natural right to his own person, and to the control of his own conduct, so long as it interferes not with the well-being of others. Yet should the ancestors of any individual, unfortunately guilty of having been gifted by his Maker with a sable brow, have been violently wrenched in some terrible scene of ruin and conflagration from their native home, and having been dragged to some distant land, there sold into perpetual bondage—then, under such circumstances, the right of the individual to his own flesh and sinews, or of the Creator to the being whom he has made, is superseded and invalidated by the claims of one who hath bought him for money, or received him as a lawful inheritance; and, although we regard with horror the idea of trafficking in human flesh, or holding our fellow-men in a state of slavery, yet we would not be so unjust as to wish rashly to deprive the slaveholders of their property. We know that the employment of free laborers would be much more advantageous to the planter, but we can convince him of this only by practical experiment; and it is not worth while for us to undergo the expense and inconvenience of obtaining free articles, unless every one else would do the same. So stands the argument; and so, were it committed to our hands,

would the destinies of the slave stand unaltered for ages, unless some terrible convulsion, like the sudden springing of a mine, should at once tear asunder the bonds of the slave, and overwhelm his master beneath the falling ruins of his wall of opposition.—*E. M. Chandler.*

A TIMELY MOVEMENT.

A call has been issued for a meeting at Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 18th of next month, of persons disposed to emigrate to Southern Nebraska. It is proposed to form a colony of at least one hundred families of farmers and mechanics, "who are in favor of sustaining the principles of the Gospel, and opposed to the extension of Slavery." The call is from a responsible source—from men who are themselves prepared to enter into the movement, and to make personal and pecuniary sacrifices to give it effect.

The end is not yet. As in a beleaguered city, when the outer wall is in danger of being overthrown, an inner one is erected, so the breaking down of the Missouri prohibition may only disclose a wall of free hearts drawn around the threatened territory, against which the dark hosts of Slavery shall be broken like waves on a rock.

J. G. WHITTIER.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 13, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

In resuming our notice of this dedicated friend, we are aware that our readers will look for details of his labors on behalf of the slave. They will, however, accord with us, in preferring to trace the various steps of his christian course, and to note how truly "the path of the just is as a shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

"He was not," (says a valued Friend who loved him much, and whom for many years he regarded as a sister in the Truth,) "one of the multitude, and there were comparatively few who were capable of taking the measurement of his large and powerful mind; still fewer, probably, who could appreciate the mellowed ripeness of his Christian experience, or the depth of those secret conflicts and exercises of spirit, which often brought him low before the Lord. His native reserve of disposition was a barrier to his forming many intimate friendships, but, to the few whom his heart had singled out in early life, as possessing a kindredship of spirit, he was a steady, faithful, and truly sympathizing friend. Indeed, his gift of sympathy, though not always called into exercise on ordinary occasions, was a very remarkable one. He would give his whole large heart, and tender all his services to a friend in need; and his true brotherly kindness, those who have largely experienced it, can never forget.

"One of the distinguishing features of his

character was, a remarkable native timidity, which contrasted strikingly with his gigantic intellect, and manly, powerful frame. In allusion to his disposition to shrink from general observation, he says, in one of his letters; 'My indulging in this sort of timidity is, I dare say, sometimes liable to be misunderstood, even by my best friends; and thus it is, I can well believe, that I have often deprived myself of intercourse which might have been to my help and comfort.'

"This uncontrollable timidity extended even to the passage through the valley of the shadow of death. He had a constitutional dread of dying, from which he said, at different periods of his life, he had suffered much; but He who is Head over all things to His own Church, our compassionate and holy High Priest, touched with a feeling of the infirmities of His dedicated servant, in mercy smoothed the gradual descent, and shielded him from all the imagined terrors of the closing scene. A veil of unconsciousness was gently drawn over his perceptive faculties, and after a quiet slumber of twenty-four hours' continuance, 'he was not, for God took him.'

The *Norfolk News* says, in a brief but graphic memoir of WILLIAM FORSTER; "An intimate attachment subsisted between him and Joseph John Gurney, and in many respects they were kindred spirits. We know not on whom the mantle of either may have fallen, but we scarcely expect to see the men who will wear it with equal worthiness. Faithfully did each of them serve his generation, and calmly did the sun of life set on their departing moments." Between these good and noble men, a close and intimate bond of union was formed in the year 1815—a bond of such a nature as not to be interrupted in life, and only to be hallowed and strengthened by the seeming separation of death. We have been allowed the perusal of a few of Wm. Forster's letters to his christian friend and brother, with some extracts from which we propose to enrich our Journal. They will serve as indications of his epistolary style, and will furnish a better insight into the beautiful character of his mind than we could otherwise hope to convey.

In a letter to J. J. Gurney, written at Staines, 8th Mo. 18th, 1815, he says:

"For some days previous to the receipt of thy letter thou hadst been much in my thoughts. * * * The remembrance of thee was attended with that indescribably sweet and precious feeling which I take to be a lively sense of the fellowship of the gospel of Christ, and I often recurred with peculiar satisfaction to the few days we passed together in Suffolk and Essex, to our meetings, our conversations, and our readings; but more especially to what I felt, and to what I believe thou felt with me. The last half hour of our last stage is to this day a subject of very grateful reflection. It was one of those

bright spots in my pilgrimage to which I trust I shall always look back with comfort and satisfaction. * * *

"Now I want to tell thee a little about myself, and where I have been for the last few weeks: but I have such a thorough dislike to any thing in myself bordering on egotism (though I fear hardly enough so on a right ground) that I have scarcely courage to begin. But as I value thy sympathy I will try to tell thee a little of the way in which I have been led—of my troubles and rejoicings. When I had got through Barking Monthly Meeting, I was joined by my dear sister R., in a visit to our own members. It took up three or four weeks, and was an engagement as humiliating and mortifying as thou canst readily conceive. I was often plunged into the depths of my infirmities, and laid very low; but I have had to rejoice in these dispensations of Divine Wisdom; for by them the creature was subjected, former experience was forgotten, and having nothing to trust to but the renewing of the Holy Spirit, I was sometimes made glad in Him who is the Resurrection and the Life. When thus permitted to look unto Jesus, the faintest glimpse of His power and glory never failed to afford me comfort and support. From our own Monthly Meeting I came into Longford, where I found Ann Crowley, a humble disciple and truly valuable minister, prepared to unite with me. I left home last First day two weeks, and had a meeting in a barn at Harrow in the evening, on my way to Uxbridge. It was very large. The love and power of Christ were richly and eminently displayed in my view, and I think I never felt more of the consolations of the Gospel dispensed for my own support and encouragement, than while I was traveling alone in my chair that evening: a striking contrast to the fears and doubts that assailed me on my setting out. Such seasons are truly like a brook by the way. If the foretaste be so unutterably glorious, so completely satisfying, what must the fruition be. But we often rise to fall, and sometimes with little hope of being lifted up again. So it was with me. I had to wade under much sensible weakness in our visit to Friends, as we went from house to house, yet I trust the Lord was with us. Blessed be His name, He made His power manifest." He proceeds to mention numerous meetings, some of which were held to his relief in villages where the people were little acquainted with Friends, and, in looking towards the close of his present mission, he says: "How I then may be disposed of I know not, but at present I see no prospect of resting at home. Sometimes I wish for a little respite, but my principal desire is for that state of resignation in which I can feel it to be my daily meat and drink to do the will of my Father which is in Heaven." By subsequent letters of the same year, we find that he was occupied almost without intermission, by gospel

services, holding meetings from day to day, &c., and whilst humbly ministering to others in the ability afforded, experiencing a fuller establishment in the gospel of Christ. Of a large public meeting at Huntingdon he modestly says: "under the prevalence of the love of the Redeemer (or at least what I believe to be such) I was enabled to labor to my own relief, and have left that neighborhood in a good degree of peace. I have just come from a meeting here, in which, after a dark and gloomy day, I met with a little comfort—but I am now ready to sink again. Alas!—what are we, unless upheld by the Divine Power from one hour to another. * * * Thou dost not tell me about Amelia Opie. I was thinking of her the other day, and something of a prayer was formed in my heart for her support and encouragement, that she may be enabled to persevere."

To this endeared brother in Christ (whose greatness of character he had the large mindedness to appreciate,) he wrote with perfect openness, and it is much to be desired that the world may in due time, be benefitted by their entire correspondence. From a letter, dated at Bradpole, 12th Mo. 13th, 1816, we extract some passages.

"My Dearest Joseph,

"It is most pleasant to us to think of thee, and to talk of thee, as we do almost every day, and often to feel thee near to us in such affectionate love as is our happy enjoyment, and I do not know whether these very feelings, so favorable to Christian friendship, and so likely to prompt to a frequent intercourse with those so near to us, have, not in some degree been the means of making me more satisfied with what I have not unfrequently felt to be a reprehensible silence. It has been so satisfying to me to feel that I loved thee, to believe that I enjoyed thy friendship, and that thou continued to retain an interest in me and my cares and comforts, that I have been too much disposed to rest in this sweet enjoyment, not enough considering that unless I took my part in the intercourse, there could not be much communication between us." After referring to afflictions in the family of his correspondent, he writes: "It is thus, as it has sometimes appeared to me, that our heavenly Father is pleased to grant to His believing and obedient children a token of His love. He afflicts them and lays them low. He makes them feel their dependence upon Himself. They call upon His name, and then in unutterable mercy He inclines His ear to their cry. He causes the light of His countenance to shine upon them, and they are made abundantly glad in His salvation. Thus I have to believe that, whether he visit us in judgment or in mercy, all His dealings with us are with the same ultimate object in view,—the increase of our acquaintance with Himself, the increase of our love to Him, and our more entire establishment in that faith which would enable us to hold out to the end.

In my earlier days I had many trials. My path in life has, to my own apprehension, been marked with much exercise of faith and filial dependence. Often did I seem to myself a pilgrim on the earth, without any certain dwelling place; and sometimes like one moving round a large circumference without an outward centre. In those days, I reaped the benefit of many sufferings, in being taught to look towards that rest which is in Christ Jesus our Lord, as my ultimate home. The principal object of my life was to fulfil what I believed to be the whole will of God, and I scarcely had a wish to be detained a day longer in this world, than to be brought to that day in which I could believe it to be accomplished. But now, in abundant goodness, the case is greatly altered. Blessings, temporal and social, are poured forth in such plenty upon me, the cup of earthly comfort is so full and overflowing, that I am at times seriously alarmed under the conviction of my utter inadequacy to worship the Lord with thanksgiving and praise, or even distinctly to enumerate my blessings. Canst thou realize or comprehend such a state as mine—laden and weighed down with benefits, and scarcely able to lift up thy soul with gratitude to the Father of all thy mercies? Yet even in this I would rejoice, because I am brought to feel my weakness and my poverty; to feel that all my help is in God; that all my springs are in the riches of His bounty and love, and that without His assistance I can neither serve nor worship Him.

"All our friends seem to fancy us very happy in our dear little cottage, and rich in the enjoyment of each others' company, and truly they are not mistaken. Our comforts are almost without alloy—the retirement, (nearly amounting to seclusion) of our allotment, insufferable as it would be to many, gives us an opportunity for rest, such as I little expected ever to enjoy, and in which I feel there is great need of watchfulness and prayer, lest it should have a tendency to settle me down in spiritual indolence and indifference. On my first coming here, I was a little uneasy at being without an object of outward pursuit and attention, though I must say, and thou canst believe me, that to attend to a dear and most affectionate wife, and in every possible way to endeavor to promote her comfort and enjoyment, was a duty and pleasure of all others most satisfying and delightful to me. But I already feel that there was not much need of this anxiety. There is enough for us to do. Our poor neighbors are in the extreme of indigence, and here seems scarcely any one to care for their wants. We have an association formed for the purpose of a stated supply of food during the winter, but there are many little wants which call for our attention, and which it will be our privilege and great enjoyment, in some degree to alleviate."

Nor was his attention to these poor neighbors

restricted to their physical need, their educational and religious wants claiming his warm solicitude.

We find him, after his removal into Norfolk, earnestly associated with his friend J. J. Gurney, in the formation and support of the Norwich Soup and Coal Societies, which still continue their important benefits, and "he took," says the *Norfolk News*, "a deep and uniform interest in the Blind Hospital, the District Visiting Society, and the Norwich and Norfolk Hospital, with the latter of which he was, at different times, officially connected as a member of the Board of Managers."—"There was in fact, scarcely a local charity with which he was not more or less connected."

He made frequent domiciliary visits to the poor, imparting counsel more valuable than direct pecuniary aid, and to encourage economical habits he was active in the establishment of the provident Bedding Association, which was supported by the charity of a few persons, and "supplied many families with comforts otherwise unattainable." This institution was wholly under his own charge.

We have already alluded to his visits to Newgate. The subject of Prison Reform, especially in reference to juvenile offenders, was very near his heart, and in the jail of his own city (Norwich) he labored much for their benefit.

Indeed he was often led into deep sympathy with classes of human beings for whose souls none seemed to care. "He paid considerable attention," says the *Norfolk News*, "to the overlooked, or too often forgotten foreign itinerant musicians who visit this city, (Norwich) more particularly Germans and Italians. He made himself acquainted with them by personal visits, to ascertain if they possessed copies of the scriptures in their native language, and he labored to promote the well being, physical as well as moral, of a class which appears to lie beyond the pale of ordinary benevolent effort."

This humble, unobtrusive Christian, with a wonderful expansion of heart and mind, gave out his warm affection in large measure for all the children of his Divine Father,—for all the objects of his Redeemer's love. Seas formed no barrier to the flow of his sympathy: no nation, caste or color was excluded. In every human being he recognized a brother or a sister,—and human suffering always found him ready to mourn with those who mourned. A faithful and largely commissioned laborer in the Lord's harvest, with him as with the early apostles, *the field was the world.* (To be Continued.)

The beloved survivors of the deputation who were charged with the presentation in this land of the Anti-Slavery Address of London Yearly Meeting to the Sovereigns and Rulers of Christian Nations, have engaged their homeward passage in the Steamer Atlantic. Before this sheet

shall be presented to our readers, they will probably have taken their leave of a country, towards which their hearts must ever turn with touching memories of an honored colleague, who there laid down his life for the Testimony's sake, and passed from the field of labor into unalloyed rest.

These dear friends have received from the members of their own Church in this land, and from many others, of various classes, abundant tokens of sympathy and appreciation, and many a friend can address to each of them the words of Montgomery:

"Thus then in peace depart,
And angels guard thy footsteps—No!"
There is a feeling of the heart
That will not let thee go.
Yet go—my spirit goes with thee.
Yet go—thy spirit stays with me."

Of their Christian mission, which we believe to have been performed in the wisdom of their Master, we propose to speak more particularly in the course of our memoir of their deceased associate.

DEPUTATION OF FRIENDS TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.—Since our last publication full accounts of this interesting embassy have been received. The address of which Joseph Sturge, Robert Charleton, and Henry Pease were the bearers, is an admirable document, worthy of the Christian body from which it emanated. Pleading as their ground of action "a deep conviction of religious duty," and "the constraining love of Christ, our Saviour," and referring briefly to the Christian kindness to Friends evinced by the illustrious brother and the mother of the present Emperor, it proceeds ably to set forth our testimony against war, and its incompatibility with Christianity. The subject of their concern is skillfully presented, without obtruding any officious opinion upon political questions. For the Address itself, we refer our readers to *Friends' Review*, in which it has appeared, together with a synopsis of the Emperor's observations, and a translation (by the venerable Editor of that Journal) of the Emperor's written address to the Society of Friends, in reply to their document. This paper was considered by Friends in England of sufficient importance to claim the attention of the Government. Nicholas declared his anxiety to avoid war by all possible means, his determination not to attack, but to act only in self-defence,—and his readiness to forgive all that was personal to himself, and to hold out his hand to his enemies in the true Christian spirit. In his written reply, he "repudiates all ambitious designs of conquest, or of unjust interference with the affairs of Turkey."

At the request of the Empress, our Friends had an agreeable interview with her. To each of them a present was offered by the Emperor, which was refused by them, neither venality nor fame having anything to do with this religious proceeding of three plain men. The Em-

peror kindly sent a courier before them over nearly 500 miles of drifted snow.

We believe, without a doubt, that this mission was instigated by the Divine Spirit, and we have no fear that it will have been in vain, although we may not be permitted to know when or where the good seed may germinate and mature fruit to the praise of the great Husbandman, who sent the sowers.

THE OCCASION AND ITS DUTIES.—Under this caption, Whittier gives us in the *Era* a capital essay, too large for us to copy in full. He thus introduces his subject.

"If appearances are at all trustworthy, the geographical question mooted by a late eminent New England statesman may be considered as good as settled. There is a North. It begins to be understood that it is hardly safe for political filibusters and piratical adventurers to ignore its existence, and treat it as a fabulous Cape Fly-away or Isle of St. Brandan's. The Nebraska mischief, like most other evils, has its incidental and unlooked-for compensations—it has revealed the North.

"The action of the Legislatures of New York, Maine, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts; the public meetings of men of all parties in nearly all the principal cities and towns of the Free States; the municipal elections of Detroit and Milwaukee; the falling off of the Democratic vote in New Hampshire, although the friends of the Administration spared no pains to impress the People with the belief that the Nebraska question had nothing to do with the State election; the united remonstrance of the clergy of New England, of all denominations and all political parties—these are among the indications of a development of Northern feeling, which can scarcely be mistaken.

"There is a North! The returns of the New Hampshire election must, we think, satisfy such skeptics even as General Pierce and Secretary Cushing of this fact."

He proceeds to show that the Nebraska bill, although an Administration measure, and advocated by these Government retainers, who are "sold to the Demon of Patronage, and renounce all pretensions to self-control and private judgment," entirely fails to enlist any popular enthusiasm in its favor, and he graphically pictures in numerous localities, the People, of all parties, on one side,—Collector, Postmaster, and a tide waiter or two on the other." These "pen editorial leaders for subsidized presses,"—and for electioneering purposes relinquish part of their official pay. "They have piped, but the People would not dance. The plain common sense of disinterested men of all parties, has rejected their arguments in favor of the Nebraska perfidy."

Our gifted friend pursues the subject with its present and prospective bearings,—and in conclusion presents an intelligent plan.

"The present is the time for action. Let the movement begin at Washington at this very session. Let those who are willing to stand on the question of Slavery where the fathers of the Republic stood, unite, irrespective of party names, to form a LEAGUE OF FREEDOM—the nucleus of a mighty organization, throughout the country, the country, having for its watchwords—

"No Slave Territory.

"No more Slave States.

"The General Government relieved from all responsibility for Slavery.

"No interference by the General Government with Slavery in the Slave States.

"No interference with the right of Jury trial, the writ of habeas corpus, and other guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, in the free States.

"Slavery left to itself in the States which cherish it, without any extraneous aid or comfort, to reconcile itself as it best may to the progress of civilization and Christianity, and to the liberal spirit of the age.

"Such a movement as is here contemplated will naturally demand a leader—an embodiment of its idea. He will not be wanting. The Divine Providence does not mock us in presenting these great opportunities for the advancement of humanity. It gives the Man for the Hour—the strong, bold hand, to grasp the forelock of the passing Occasion. When such a man shall unmistakably reveal himself, whatever may have been his party name or connection, whether his home is in New England or the Empire State, by the Mississippi or the Colorado, all who love liberty, and desire the peace, honor, and prosperity of the several States, and the permanence of their Union, will naturally rally about him. But, in the mean time, let the movement be commenced, and vigorously prosecuted, whatever may be the fate of the Nebraska Bill, and without regard to the selfish appeals of the present leaders of parties. It needs but to be begun at Washington; the great mass of the People of the free States, now anxiously waiting for it, will take hold of it at once, and carry it forward to its consummation."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—We omit many essays which we by no means "deem unworthy of a place."—We are much more embarrassed by the redundancy than the lack of matter, and are frequently compelled to throw articles aside after we have placed them in the Printer's hand.

We have sundry metrical communications of merit, (one upon a subject to which we have already devoted much space;) but our compositor's "chase" is of unyielding metal, and we know no means of making it elastic, like the Hall which was reported to have been "crowded with abundance more than it could hold." Four writers ask us to procure the insertion of their essays in other periodicals, from which, upon reflection, they will see that we ought to be excused.

For the Non-Slaveholder.
THE TIMES.

Written on hearing of the passage of the Nebraska Bill,
in the Senate of the United States.

The dark storm gathering thick and fast
O'ercasts the distant Orient;
The shriek of death and trumpet-blast,
Betoken woes of dire portent:
War, rapine, ravage, ruin vast
O'er all the land their blight have cast.
Kong's fertile vales and Shanghae's plains,
Are scathed with fire and dyed with blood;
O'er Tartaria's antique domains,
By Pekin's wall, by Ganges' flood,
Imperial hosts—insurgents' arms,
Are dealing death and dread alarms.

But not alone on Asia's plain
War drives his gory reeking car,
Europa feels the scourge—the stain
Of blood and carnage rests on her.
By Citale's towers, by Danube's wave,
There fall the strong—there die the brave.

The navies sink, the hamlets blaze,
Cannon and bombs flammivorous,
Destruction deal, and havoc sways
The Baltic and the Bosphorus:
And gathering fleets from seas afar,
Are hastening to the scene of war.

Yet not alone on Europe's strand
Or Asia's plains, the dark cloud lowers:
A storm awaits our favored land,
A fearful fate may yet be ours,
Fraught with more sad and direful woes
Than Europe or than Asia knows.

Ye children of the wilderness!
Ye unsubdued, ye wild and free!
Flee! flee! For you there's no redress!
Your western Amazonia flee!
The haughty tyrant's on your track
With servile minions at his back.

Flee! broad Nebraska is not yours!
No home for freemen or for you!
The slave-power greedily secures
Your scanty portion as its due.
Flee to Nevada's summit—yet
The invader there his foot will set.

Ye remnant race! Ye robbed and peeled!
Thought ye, when from your father's graves,
From home, and stream, and fertile field
Ye fled, driven out by artful knaves,
To find a home by Kansas' waves?
Vain thought! For tyrants, 'tis, and slaves.

While ye repose beneath the shade,
Or chase o'er hills the timid game,
Or rear the bark-hut in the glade,
Or angle in the limpid stream,
Wot ye that all this native joy
Base men are plotting to destroy?

That in dark counsel with his clan
The white Chief plots your overthrow?
Has found his toil, has marked his plan
To seal the doom—to fix the woe
On you and on the negro race,
And shroud the nation in disgrace?

Douglass—(oblivion hide his name):
Cass, Butler, Badger, Atchison
And Pettit fill the niche of shame,
And to themselves have basely won
The meed of an inglorious fame—
From Satan may their guerdon claim.

While Chase, a noble, dauntless form,
Stands in the front of thickest fight
And bares his bosom to the storm,
Empanopied in Truth and Right,
Feared, yet respected by his foes,
Clear, cogent, strong his logic flows.

And caustic Wade, a colleague fit
For Chase, unflinching keeps his post,
Replete with reason, sense and wit,
Of truckling traitors worth a host,
For freedom and the rights of man,
Combats the mad opposing clan.

And Seward, Statesman-like and bland,
Determined, bold, yet courteous still,
Beside his compeers takes his stand,
And meets, with firm unyielding will,
The conflict waged to overthrow
The dearest rights of man below.

And Sumner, eloquent, sublime,
Terse, flowery, classical and wise,
Turns back the pages of all time,
Strips from the tyrant his disguise,
And holds the Senate in control
With the deep pathos of his soul.

And Fessenden, undaunted, free,
Comes to the rescue with the few—
The gauntlet throws to Slavery,
And gives to Freedom's foes their due.
As stars in splendor these shall shine
And coming ages shall their names enshrine.

O, lost to virtue! lost to shame!
Lost to all good and manly sense!
Ye boasters loud in Freedom's name!
Ye sold to Slavery's defence!
When will ye cease your vain pretence,
Or to defy Omnipotence?

Tremble ye rulers of the land!
For while ye revel, on the wall
In fearful lines, the mystic hand,
Prophetic of your destined fall,
Amid your sacrilegious deeds
Writes MENE, TEKEL, o'er your heads.

Ah, yes! the fetters, which ye forge
For other limbs, shall bind your own!
The measure, ye so madly urge,
Be meted out ten fold for one!
Belshazzar's doom may be your fate,
For God his name will vindicate.

Ohio, 3d mo. 20th, 1854.

A. L. R.

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THE

NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 5.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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JUAN PLACIDO.—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 34.)

After helping to load sugar, I was sent to pile
blocks of wood in one of the buildings. While so
employed, all of a sudden the roof with a loud
crash gave way, burying under its ruins the ne-
gro Andres Criollo; I escaped unhurt through a
back door. The alarm given, all the people came
to the rescue of poor Andres, who with great
difficulty and labour was taken from under the
ruins, with his skull broken, and he died in the
Molino a few hours after. Early next morning,
as I was piling the refuse of sugar canes, there
arrived the then Master Pancho, and now Don
F., followed by my second brother, who was in
his service, and who intimated to me that his
master was coming to take me back to the house.
This was owing to my brother, who hearing of
the accident and my narrow escape, begged ear-
nestly of his young master to intercede with his
mother on my behalf, which he easily obtained.
I was presented to my mistress, who for the first
time received me with kindness. But my heart
was so oppressed, that neither her kindness nor
eating, nor drinking could comfort me; I had
no comfort except in weeping: my mistress ob-
serving it, and to prevent my crying so much,
and the same time being so very drowsy, ordered
me to move about, and clean all the furniture,
tables, chairs, drawers, &c. All my liveliness
disappeared, and as my brother was greatly at-
tached to me, he became melancholy himself;

he tried, however, to cheer me up, but always
finished our conversations in tears: for this rea-
son, also, my mistress would not let me wait
upon her, nor ride in the volante to town; and
at last appointed me to the service of young
Master Pancho; they bought me a hat and a
pair of shoes, a new thing for me, and my mas-
ter allowed me to bathe, to take a walk in the
afternoon, and to go fishing, and hunting with
Senor.

Besides the events just related, there happen-
ed two other circumstances resembling each
other; one while at Havana, and the other at
Matanzas, and which I think worth relating,
before I begin to speak of my passing to the ser-
vice of Don Nicholas de C. on my return to Ha-
vana. The first of these events happened when
the new coin of our C. M. King Ferdinand the
Seventh, began to circulate. Don Nicolas gave
me a peseta of the old coin one night; next
morning there came at the door a beggar, my
mistress gave me a peseta of the new coin for
him, which calling my attention, and having the
other in my pocket, one is as much worth as the
other, muttered I to myself, and changing the
pesetas, I gave the beggar the old one; after I
went to my usual place in the antichamber, I
sat down in the corner, and taking the new coin
out of my pocket, began like a monkey turning
it over and over again, when escaping through
my fingers it fell on the floor, making a rattling
noise; at its sound my mistress came out of her
chamber, made me pick it up; she looked at it,
and her face reddened, she bid me go into her
chamber, sit in a corner, and wait there; of
course, my peseta remained in her possession,
she recognized it as the same she gave me for
the beggar two minutes before; with such proofs
my fate was decided. My mistress was busy
going in and out, till at last she sat down to
write; soon after the carrier of the Ingenio, who
happened to be there at the time with his drove
of mules, came into the chamber with a bundle
containing a coarse hemp dress, and while he was
unfolding it, he dropt a new rope, drawing near
me at the same time; trembling, and suspecting
his intentions, I sprang up on a sudden, and es-
caping through another door, ran for protection
to Don Nicolas; in the way, I met the young
lady Concha, who kindly said to me, "go to my
papa." The Marquis was always very kind to
me, I used to sleep in his room, and whenever

he was afflicted with headache, I gave him warm water, held his head and attended on him till he recovered. When I arrived at his room, which was in instant, and he saw me at his feet, "What have you done now?" said he; in my confusion I related my case so confusedly, that he understanding that I stole the peseta, said in an angry tone, "You knave, why did you steal the peseta?" "No, sir," I replied, "your son Nicolasio gave it to me." "When?" "Last night," said I: we then went to the Senorito's room, who looking at the peseta, said that he did not give it to me. In truth, I was so frightened and confused, that I could not state the particulars sufficiently clear, on account of the presence of the carrier; and the name of the Ingenio, with its new mayoral, Don Simon Diaz, so inspired me with horror, that all conspired to confuse a boy of sixteen years only as I was.—The Marquis interceded for me, and for all that, I was shut up in a dungeon four whole days, without any food, except what my brother could introduce through a little opening at the bottom of the door, and that was little. At the fifth day I was taken out, dressed with a coarse linen dress and tied with a rope. They were going to send me with the baggage of the family, and the other servants, my brother among them, to Matanzas; when the hour arrived, and they were leading me away, I met at the door Donna Beatriz, at present a nun in the Convent of the Ursulinas who interceded for me, that the rope might be taken off, which was done; we embarked in a schooner for Matanzas, where we arrived at the end of two days.

While on board, and before coming on shore, I changed the coarse dress for the one my brother unseen had provided for me; as soon as we landed, my brother and I instead of going with the rest of the rest of the servants to present ourselves to Don Juan Gomex, who had instructions about us from the family, but being ignorant of it, and desirous to see our mother, we left the rest of the servants, and went to the Molino, where after presenting ourselves to the mayoral, and telling him that the rest of the servants were coming, we ran at full speed towards my mother's house; but we scarcely arrived and had time to embrace her, when the Creole, Santiago, greatly agitated and full of anger, called me out, saying, "come with me," not suspecting the secret instructions he had, I refused to go with him, and my mother asking me what have I done, but without giving me time to explain myself, very abruptly took hold of my arm, tied me with a rope, and led towards the Ingenio Saint Miguel, where we arrived about eleven o'clock, fasting all this time. The mayoral read the letter sent to him from Havana, and then put me in fetters; twenty-five lashes in the morning and as many more in the evening for the term of nine days, was the order of the latter. The mayoral questioned me about the pe-

seta, I told him plainly and truly the fact, and for the first time, this savage man showed pity; he did not put in execution his orders, but sent me to work with the rest of the negroes; here I remained two weeks, when my mistress again sent for me.—*To be Continued.*

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 27.)

WAYNE CO., INDIANA.—(With a list of new subscribers, pre-paid.) "I am well pleased with the *Non-Slaveholder*. The principles it advocates are really those of Friends, and I believe it to be the duty of members of our religious society to see that it is well sustained. Were it doubled in size, I believe that it could be filled with profitable reading matter, and I am of the opinion that we have not given to the subject of *free labor* that serious investigation which its magnitude demands. This important testimony ought to be faithfully borne, especially, as I think, by all the members of the Society of Friends.

When we take into consideration the evils inseparable from the system of Slavery, and reflect that the products of the Slave's unpaid labors constitute the Master's great inducement to hold on to his victims, what further evidence do we need, that *we*, the consumers of these products, are implicated in the transgression of which we are not backward to complain. Hence the necessity for the *Non-Slaveholder*. The copies for which I previously sent have come to hand, and, so far as I know, give entire satisfaction. I hope to order more before long."

WASHINGTON CO., OHIO.—"Please send me the *Non-Slaveholder*. I admire the title. All we can do, is to be, in our Church Communion our domestic expenditures, &c., *Non-Slaveholders*. Heaven save me, for the future, from paying "the fiend that stole the cotton that Tom pickt." Though we can, perhaps, do nothing towards putting down Slavery, we are certainly in danger of doing, inadvertently, much towards building it up.

I will do all I can against Slavery as I do against Satan, though I have no expectation of annihilating the old Adversary. I'll fight Slavery while I live—the Lord being my helper!"

[Fight away, and let Slavery "and the other," take care.]

DUTCHESS CO., N. YORK.—"Enclosed is \$1.00 for three copies of your excellent and faithful advocate for the poor and oppressed of our land. We have received a few copies, and are much pleased with the benevolent and christian spirit which breathes throughout its valuable pages."

From among many approving references to our memoir of William Forster we select the following.

"Thou canst not easily realize the service thou art rendering to many of us by the deeply interesting biographical notices of dear William Forster. I knew before that he was a great and very good man,—but I had not formed an adequate estimate of the depth of his character, which opens more and more upon me with each succeeding number of the *Non-Slaveholder*. For an authorized memoir from his family, we may have long to wait, and thou hast well done in presenting us with an outline of his history."

Another says:

"The Editorial memoir of William Forster is worth to me much more than a year's subscription. It renders the *Non-Slaveholder*, since the commencement of this article, the most welcome periodical that enters my house."

For the *Non-Slaveholder*.

RIGHT ACTION.

The habit which men are in of mutually deferring to each other's "superior piety and intelligence," in the exploring and carrying out of their moral obligations, is a rock on which many

a beautiful bark has been shattered to pieces. It was divinely intended that man should act on his own honest convictions of right—not on the asserted convictions of others. What defects of the heart or head may underlie the latter, we know not. We even measure with difficulty our own, where the temptations of some selfish interest may intervene to obscure the lustre of the light within us. We know not but that the wrong in others may be the reflex of some wrong in ourselves, and that to be ourselves *outright* in the practice, and *outspoken* in the utterance of the truth as we find it in our heart, would be to correct a mass of evil both in and beyond us. To be thus outspoken, if speaking in love, is the evidence of a sound charity, not of its contrary. Under the truthful cover of this sentiment, I venture the assertion, that the conviction of the moral unlawfulness of using the products of slavery is an *indwelling*, though *borne-down* feeling in the minds of *all* who justly appreciate the evil of slavery itself. Every body knows that it is wrong voluntarily to support an evil, and often a greater wrong, in contemplation of the relative intelligence of the parties, in the accessory than in the principal. The man who buys the stolen apple is guiltier than the boy who stole it. He who gives the motive to the assassin is the chief assassin, for without him there would be no victim. In the great day of account who will be found the greater criminal—the tempter or the tempted? Let us then cease to justify our wrong by telling what this man says, or that man does, and listen only to Truth's voice. "Follow thou Me!" Thus doing, we would aim a blow at Slavery, which the most splendid declamation unvivified by a faithful life must ever fail to inflict.

Jonathan Dymond, in his chapter on Immoral Agency, well says:—"A great portion of the moral evil in the world is the result, not so much of the intensity of individual wickedness, as of a general incompleteness in the practical virtue of all classes of men. If it were possible to take away misconduct from one half of the community, and to add its amount to the remainder, it is probable that the moral character of our species would be soon benefitted by the change. Now, the ill dispositions of the bad are powerfully encouraged by the want of upright examples in those who are better. A man may deviate considerably from rectitude, and still be as good as his neighbors. From such a man, the motive to excellence which the constant presence of virtuous example supplies, is taken away. So that there is reason to believe that if the bad were to become worse, and the reputable proportionably better, the average virtue of the world would speedily be increased.

"One of the modes by which the efficacy of example in reputable persons is miserably diminished, is by what we have called immoral agency—by their being willing to encourage, at se-

cond hand, evils which they would not commit as principals. Linked together as men are in society, it is difficult to perform an unwarrantable action without some sort of co-operation from creditable men. This co-operation is not often, except in flagrant cases refused; and thus not only is the commission of such actions facilitated, but a general relaxation is induced in the practical estimates which men form of the standard of rectitude.

"Since, then, so much evil attends this agency in unwarrantable conduct, it manifestly becomes a good man to look around upon the nature of his intercourse with others, and to consider whether he is not virtually promoting evils which his judgment deprecates, or reducing the standard of moral rectitude in the world. The reader would have no difficulty in perceiving that, if a strenuous opponent of the slave-trade should establish a manufactory of manacles and thumb-screws, and iron collars for the slave-merchants, he would be grossly inconsistent with himself. The reader would perceive too, that his labors in the cause of the abolition would be almost nullified by the viciousness of his example, and that he would generally discredit pretensions to philanthropy. Now, that which we desire the reader to do is, to apply the principle which this illustration exhibits to other and less flagrant cases. Other cases of co-operation with evil may be less flagrant than this; but they are not on that account innocent."

Following out this reasoning, the intelligent reader will be led to inquire how much more or less necessary to the existence of the slave-trade and slavery is the manufacture of the thumb screws, manacles and collars, than is the use of the products of Slavery, and ascertaining this, he will be likely to arrive at a correct view of their relative guiltiness. VERITAS.

For the *Non-Slaveholder*.

"THE OPPRESSOR NEEDS A FRIEND."

HE NEEDS A FRIEND who will scorn to afford him an inducement to continue in the sin of enslaving his fellow man. *He needs a friend* who will encourage him by example as well as precept, to withdraw from tyranny's unhallowed deeds, from the unchristian practice of oppression, and to move in that line of life which is characterized by love and good will towards all. *He needs a friend* to show him that considerations of personal comfort, and the enjoyment of the luxuries of temporal things, sink very low in his estimation, when they interfere with the rights and well-being of any human being however lowly and despised. *He needs a friend* to set before him the self-denying example involved in a conscientious refusal to enjoy worldly good, when the blood of oppression's victims marks the process by which it is obtained, and in closing his eyes upon prospects of advantage to be derived from the "gains of oppression."

Such a friend, and many such, does the guilty slavemaster truly need. Who then will pursue that course of action, that principle, which at once befriends him and his suffering victim, affording the former no plea for the practice of cruel robbery, and the latter a release from the miseries of a galling servitude? And not only so, for we befriend *ourselves* by the force of the measure we would employ for the good of others; for therein we stand guiltless of our brother's blood. Who then will continue so to oppose the true interest of all, as to afford support to slavery? How can any endure the thought of the most distant connexion with the cause of African enslavement?

The Lord formerly complained by His prophet, of those who strengthened the hands of the wicked, and what greater wickedness can we be instrumental in strengthening, than that of slavery, the existence of which comprises every form of iniquity and wrong? P.

For the Non Slaveholder.

"IS IT I."

Let us not ask, in contemplating the circumstances of wrong and cruelty belonging to slavery, if the immediate actors in these scenes of horror, are to be regarded as the occasion of it,—but *am I*.

"While from the toiling bondsman's utter need,
We pile our own full board,"

and fold about our forms the robes afforded by his wasted life, how can we condemn the Slaveholder who only does directly what we do by him?

Let us pause in the career of pleasure and profit, not so much to calculate the great destruction of life in the whole process of African enslavement, (we know that is fearful,) not so much to estimate the wrong done to the enslaved by the whole number of anti-slavery people, while they continue to demand the proceeds of their toil, as to consider and query if *we* individually, are clear of blood-guiltiness, while we are connected in ever so small a measure, or at any point whatever, with the process which causes the premature and cruel death of many an unfortunate creature, whose right to the unmolested enjoyment of all the gifts and privileges bestowed by the Universal Father, is the same as our own. How long will we neglect the cry of suffering, which comes up to us from the "field of cane, from the low rice swamp, from the traders cell, from the loathsome and suffocating hold of the slave-ship, and the coflee's weary chain? Know we not that our choicest luxuries are tainted with the blood of slaves,—that briny tears are mingled with the sweets prepared for our "pampered palates," wrung out from aching eyes, by the agonies to which the oppressor dooms his victim. Know we not that the over-taxed and fainting forms of age and youth, toiling in the cotton field, victims of the lawless

cruelty of a merciless overseer, are affording, by their unrequited labors, the raiment we fold about us? And, knowing this, shall we deem it a light thing to add to our many comforts, and to the gains which arise from happy and requited toil, any proceed of slavery? *I would, if others would*; seems too much the feeling of some, when this subject is presented to them. They would withdraw their aid from the support of a system which we all profess to abhor, and clear their hands of the unhallowed gains of oppression, *if others would do the same*. Without looking to *others*, each should remember that individual effort, individual faithfulness, in this line of duty, is as important and effectual, as is an advance to the same extent in any good cause. Individual influence is adding to the inhuman force by which African bondage is prolonged, or it is tending to the advancement of principles that will weaken the task-master's hold upon his trembling victim. To which of these points, to the good or to the evil, shall our daily actions and our influence tend? With the thought of all the horrors of slavery, we should ever connect the consideration, that this cruel system owes its continuance to the consumption of those commodities, in the production of which, servile labor is applied. This consideration will not allow us to place *ourselves* at a distance from the charge of causing the enslavement of our sable brother, while we are pursuing a course which involves an inducement to the existence and continuance of his bondage. Were we disposed nicely to examine every form of injustice, we could discern immense wrong done to our fellow men in chains, in the very act which furnishes a free man with the full value of the slave commodity which we have purchased of him. His profit and our comfort and convenience, are the result of robbery and wrong, perpetrated upon the possessions of the slave, and held in continued force by transactions which have the appearance of justice and honesty, and which are just and honest, so far as the dealings of one free man with another are considered. But while we would scorn to defraud those with whom we are immediately connected, let us extend our principles of justice to the robbed and desolated condition of the slave. OHIO.

Peroration of Webster's great speech against Knapps and Crowninshield, for murder.

With consciences satisfied with discharge of duty, no consequences can harm you. There is no evil that we cannot either face or fly from, but the consciousness of duty disregarded.

A sense of duty pursues us *ever*. It is omnipresent, like the Deity. If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost part of the sea, duty performed or duty violated, is still with us, for our happiness or misery. If we say, the darkness shall cover us, in the darkness as in the light, our obligations

are yet with us. We cannot escape from their power or fly from their presence. They are with us in this life, will be with us at its close; and in that inconceivable solemnity which lies yet farther onward, we shall still find ourselves surrounded by the consciousness of duty, to pain us wherever it has been violated, and to console us so far as God may have given us grace to perform it.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 18, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.*

The time having nearly arrived for his embarkation upon a Gospel mission to this continent, his faith was subjected to an unexpected test.—As he was quietly walking in his lane, (at his retired country residence about two miles from Bradpole,) a cow, without any provocation, hooked him in the knee, inflicting a painful wound. In this condition he went to Bristol, (from whence he was to sail,) and in that city he was enabled to minister largely to his fellow probationers, "in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power."

On the 15th of third month, 1820, he sailed for America. A number of his friends accompanied him to the ship—among whom was the beloved Stephen Grellet, who had been bound to him in Christian brotherhood for nearly nine years, a fraternity which strengthened and brightened till their final parting in 1853, when it was our privilege to witness between these aged pilgrims an interview of peculiar interest and solemnity which truly seemed "quite in the verge of Heaven."

In allusion to his embarkation Joseph John Gurney makes in his diary, the following note:

"It was a memorable occasion; both he and his dear wife were marvelously upheld. Just before the vessel left the basin, we were all collected in the cabin, in retirement before the Lord—about twenty Friends; dear Anna returned thanks for the prospect which was given her of William's safe voyage. I felt strengthened to commend them and their child individually to Him who can alone preserve; immediately after which the vessel sailed, and went off, contrary to usual custom, in almost perfect silence. The last look of William's, which I caught, was a look of peace and joy; and some of us, after we had parted, traced the course of the vessel down the river. It was a bright sun-shiny morning. The vessel was very handsome, and I shall not soon forget the beautiful scene which she presented to us as she glided between the banks of the Avon."

Our dear friend being increasingly conformed to the likeness of Christ, "his meat was to do the will of him that sent him." Hence, although his lameness was painful, and to his

* Continued from page 38.

friends a source of anxiety, it was a relief to him to be able to enter upon the service to which he was called,—looking for his rest at the end, not by the way: and having committed himself, in filial trust to Him who rules the waves, he was enabled, during a tedious voyage, to possess his soul in patience, as will be seen in the following extract from a letter to J. J. Gurney.

Bristol Channel, 6 miles Eastward of Sandy Island,
4th Mo. 19th, 1820—9 o'clock, P. M.

"My dearest Joseph,

"Thy friendship, love and sympathy so eminently manifest during thy visit at Bristol are very frequently present in my recollections, much to my comfort and encouragement. My heart is so much dwelling with thee in near affectionate love, and most intimate unity, that I scarcely seem to have parted from thee, and I hardly know how to admit the thought that it may be years before we meet again. But that we *shall* meet again, in the enjoyment of the peace and love and fellowship of the gospel of Christ, is the hope with which I feel my mind sustained at this moment, and in which I am allowed to take some real consolation. My heart is very much prone to sink at the prospect opening before me, and I feel much of the awfulness of the service to which I have been strengthened to devote myself. But being enabled in some moments of Divine favor to believe that it is a path into which I am led by the Spirit of Christ, I am endued with some small measure of capacity to put my trust in the Lord for the days to come. Dear Joseph, I have heretofore taken comfort in believing that I was remembered of thee in thy secret approaches to the throne of Grace: that thou hadst it given thee at times to pray for me. May the Lord still incline thee, in his love and power, thus to think of and to plead for thy poor brother, both in his long pilgrimage thro' these deep waters, and in all the tribulations, temptations, and perils which may be permitted him, in filling up his appointed measure of suffering for the sake of Christ, upon those distant shores.

This is the fifth day since we left Bristol, and we are only now about to leave the Channel.—Our detention has been an exercise of patience, but through Divine help, I have mostly been kept in quiet contentment, not at all doubting that it is all best for me, and that if it be the Lord's good pleasure to give me a safe landing on the other side, it will be in the day of his own appointed time. * * *

Do have the charity to cheer my poor wife's solitary widowhood by a few lines from thy pen. Thy letters, and those of our Keswick friends, seldom fail to have that effect. * * *

W. F."

The friend to whom this letter was addressed, was associated five years previously, when about

22 years of age, with William Forster, as his companion in a religious tour in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, &c.; in reference to which engagement J. J. G. long afterwards wrote: "This was the foundation of that warm and intimate brotherhood which has ever since subsisted between us, and which never bound us in a stronger tie than it does at present. His ministry and example powerfully impressed me; and I soon found, that beneath the veil of almost insuperable modesty, there lay a rich treasure of intellectual power." "Great fluency, depth and clearness, distinguished his ministry. It was almost apostolic."

He landed at New York on a First-day afternoon, at a time when he was not expected by his Friends, who understood that his visit was postponed on account of his accident. He enquired his way, and went, a stranger and alone, to one of the meetings of that city, where he took his seat beside Richard Mott, and they silently worshipped together "as unknown and yet well known," until William Forster, in reverent prayer to the God of the Spirits of all flesh, gave full evidence of the "anointing which he had received." Between these two dedicated servants a warm friendship subsisted, from that time till the close of William Forster's life.

On the ensuing seventh day, the Yearly Meeting of New York commenced,—during the sittings of which William Forster was conspicuously engaged in the work of the Lord, to the edification and comfort of the Church.

He then attended a few neighboring meetings, and the wound in his knee, being, by this time, greatly aggravated, his physician pronounced that nothing but perfect rest could save his limb, if even his life. He was accordingly confined, chiefly in a recumbent posture, at the house of Thomas Eddy, for about two months; after which he went with Richard and Abigail Mott to their home at Mamaroneck, and soon after set out upon his christian mission, accompanied by Robert F. Mott. Whilst they were holding meetings on the eastern shore of Maryland, William Forster had a serious attack of illness.

He had been perhaps a year in America, when he was joined by John Paul of Philadelphia, (well known to many of our readers as a valuable Elder,) who was for about four years the faithful companion of his travels in this land, where, being long detained "an Ambassador in bonds," he visited (with the single exception of a very small congregation), every established meeting of Friends in America, laboring abundantly in the love of Christ. His diligence was exemplary, as an illustration of which we may mention, that being at a village in Western New York, and having peremptory appointments ahead, he found that he could not peacefully leave the place without discharging a debt of Christian love; and therefore, he held a public meeting, (which proved large and satisfactory), at 5 o'clock in the morning.

It will be remembered that William Forster bore a useful part in the proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in 1840. During the ninth day's sitting of that body, in a speech upon his resolution respecting the internal slave trade which is cherished by our nation (although we have declared the *African Slave Trade* to be piracy,) and referring to his American mission, he said:—"I have not forgotten, and it is impossible that I ever should forget, the impression made on my mind at that time, of the enormity and iniquity of the trade, which I there saw prosecuted between the older and the more newly settled States of the Union."—With characteristic modesty, he said in the same speech:—"When the subject was before the Convention on a former occasion, I could have added my personal testimony to the truth of the statements then advanced, having travelled through the Southern States in the winter of 1824. I know not, however, that I can adduce facts more striking than those which were then brought forward. I, therefore, preferred hearing the recital of others, rather than addressing the Convention myself."

We are not certain that he journeyed, at this time, farther South than Charleston, South Carolina, where the impression left upon the minds of the people was such, that when, some years after, Stephen Grellet was in that city, they bore unequivocal testimony respecting his christian services.

During this tour he made notes respecting prisons in the U. States and in Canada, partly, we believe, for the use of his brother-in-law T. F. Buxton, then in Parliament, in whose philanthropic efforts he took a deep interest. "I feel much relief and real satisfaction," he writes, "in hearing that the subject of the Slave-trade and Slavery has such a deep hold on Fowell's mind."

In a letter, bearing date 10th mo., 1st, 1822, W. F. says:—"I sometimes take pleasure in anticipating the day, when relieved from my present many arduous exercises, I shall be restored again to that near and intimate religious communion with many of my dearest friends; rendered dearer to me than ever by my long separation from them, and the sympathy I have been brought to feel with them, under the trials they have passed through in my absence."

10th mo. 18th, 1822, he writes from New Hampshire;—"My path has been one of many trials, and often of discouragement, and I think thou wilt not be surprised to hear that it continues to be so, but through all, I am not left without confidence in the care and guidance of our gracious Lord; and sometimes I am animated to persevere, by the rising of a gentle hope, that, notwithstanding my very many infirmities, He condescends to accept my dedication, imperfect as it is, and to acknowledge me among His servants. If this be vouchsafed to the end, it is all I dare to ask, and I am sure it will be more

than I deserve. I trust thou wilt feel for me, when I say, that I have not been able to discover a door open for my release as soon as my beloved wife, and my many dear friends may probably expect my return. I wish to stand constantly on the watch, ready to accept the very first intimation that may be granted me; and very earnestly do I crave an interest in the prayers of all who can feel with me, that I may be endued with patient resignation to the Divine will, and entire devotedness to the service of the Lord, until, in the same love and power in which He made me willing to forsake all for His name's sake, He may be pleased to lead me back again to the enjoyment of my many social and domestic comforts."

Few persons, as we apprehend, have more fully appreciated the glorious doctrine of redemption by Christ,—of the sufficiency of the price which He paid to cover all our debts,—of the vastness of that merit upon which we have to rely when all works of our own must fail us,—of the blessedness of the mediation of the Son of God,—of the importance of true faith in Him who has declared himself to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and that no man cometh unto the Father but by Him.—Being thus filled with a grateful sense of redeeming mercy, it was always painful to Him when those who stood as ministers of righteousness were engaged to preach themselves, and not Christ Jesus the Lord. On such occasions he would say: "It grieves my spirit."

We may close our notice of his first visit to America, with the following paragraphs, kindly furnished us by a valued friend, whose intimate friendship with the subject of our memoir, extended through the period embraced by that mission, and through his remaining years.

"The first visit of our late beloved friend, William Forster, to this land, occupied him almost five years, during which he visited nearly, if not quite all the meetings of Friends on this continent, and many of them several times. The gentleness and tenderness of his spirit, his warm and faithful affection to those who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship, greatly endeared him to them, and we believe it may safely be said that few ministers have ever been more truly beloved. There was a richness, a fulness and persuasive energy, a clear and comprehensive recognition and development of those great truths of redemption by Jesus Christ, which rendered his preaching peculiarly touching and impressive, and it was attended with a degree of divine unction and authority which carried conviction to the minds of his hearers, and won an acknowledgement of its truth, and of his sincerity, even from those who did not, in all respects, coincide with his views on some points. In illustrating and defending some of the leading points of Christian doctrine, he was often logical and powerfully argumentative, evincing an intimate

and accurate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and a clear appreciation of their force and meaning; which showed that he had been largely instructed in the school of Christ, and drawn the rich stores of his spiritual knowledge from the treasury of Him who only has the key of David, and opens and no man can shut. Some memorable occasions of this character are fresh in the recollection of the writer, and probably of many others, when he stood forth as an ambassador of Christ, and under the constraining power of His love, nobly and convincingly advocated that blessed cause which was dearer to him than life itself, with an earnestness, fervency, and tenderness of spirit which seemed to baptize the assembly, and, for the time, subdued every feeling of opposition.

"Possessing a mind unusually sensitive to every species of human suffering, with a peculiar faculty of making the privations and sufferings of others his own, and the most delicate and soothing manner of imparting sympathy and consolation, he was, beyond most, qualified for ministering to the suffering and afflicted. In his travels through the southern states, the deep interest he had long felt in our enslaved brethren of the African race, was powerfully called forth, and at times seemed almost overwhelming to his feeling mind. He was earnest in his efforts to spread correct views on this momentous subject, and circulated extensively, pamphlets and books which he thought likely to have a beneficial influence,—also embracing every opening which presented for pleading with the master, in christian love."—(To be Continued.)

AFRICAN COTTON.—The Royal Geographical Society publishes, in its proceedings, a letter from Dr. Irving, a missionary to Africa, who having been, in 1853, ordered on service to Abbeokuta, found the Yarubas "a population of nearly three millions, clothed entirely in cloths manufactured by themselves." Being greatly struck with the variety of objects which might lead to extensive and lucrative commerce, he took to England many samples of African productions, and the specimens of indigenous cotton "proved to be of the very quality required for manufacture." He has since been employed, on behalf of London Merchants, and with the sanction of Sir James Graham and Lord Clarendon, to examine the country.

The following Report was approved at the Annual Meeting of the Association, held the day following the date of the document. The Meeting, though not large, was interesting and satisfactory.

REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

In presenting their Annual Report to the Association, the managers would deem it unnecessary to insist upon the considerations heretofore frequently urged in support of the necessity and the importance of faithfully maintaining our tes-

timony against the iniquitous system of slavery, by abstaining from its products, as far as our necessary connection with the commerce of the country will admit, were it not a fact, too glaring to be overlooked, and of too much importance to be disregarded, that many, both in and out of our religious society, who are fully conscious of the evils of slavery, and sincerely desirous of seeing a practicable and efficient remedy applied, still appear indisposed to afford their influence and example in support of the free labor movement.

To us it appears too clear to admit of a doubt, or to require illustration, that the whole system of slavery, the foreign and international traffic included, with all their enormities and destruction of life, owes its vitality to the market for the products of servile toil. Hence, the inference appears undeniable, that in just such proportion as we voluntarily increase the demand for those products, we contribute our support of the system, and participate in the guilt; and so far as we contribute to replenish the market with the results of free and compensated labor, to the exclusion of those extracted from the compulsive drudgery of slaves, so far we weaken the system of slavery, and diminish the temptation to sustain it.

Certainly the events of the last few months, the undisguised, as well as more insidious attempts to extend the area and strengthen the influence of the slaveholding interest—the Legislation of the Federal government now trembling in the balance—and the avowed policy of the Executive in relation to the abolition of slavery in Cuba, furnish a very pathetic admonition to the advocates of justice and friends of our race to withdraw their support, as far as practicable, from a system so oppressive in its operations, so grasping and insatiable in its demands, and so deleterious in its results. We have, however, the satisfaction to believe that the number of those who are willing to manifest their abhorrence of slavery, by abstaining from its products, is rather increasing than diminishing, especially among some other denominations of Christians; but considerable discouragement has arisen from the difficulty of supplying the Free Labor store, kept by George W. Taylor, with the requisite variety of cotton fabrics to meet the demand. Hence has been suggested the expediency of establishing a manufactory of cotton goods, to be employed exclusively upon the products of free labor, and to be connected with the store. Our friend, George W. Taylor, is willing to undertake such an establishment, in case an amount of capital adequate to the indispensable expenditure can be placed at his disposal. The outlines of a plan for the manufacture of free cotton fabrics, with an estimate of the funds required for its establishment, will be herewith submitted. It appears highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that unless some method can be devised to keep up a more ample supply of the various articles, of which cotton is the principal ingredient, than

has been found practicable under existing arrangements, the attempt to keep up the store of free goods must be abandoned. Such a result must be greatly deplored, and could scarcely fail to prove extremely discouraging to the friends of the cause. The present, indeed, appears to be the time not to abandon, but to renew our exertions to increase the consumption of free-grown cotton.

The information recently thrown before the public, respecting the cultivation of cotton by the German settlers in Western Texas, may be hailed as one of the means for obtaining a supply of the raw material; a means provided to our hands, without trouble or foresight on our part. The production of a thousand bales, untouched by servile hands, within a small district of that fertile region, certainly gives encouragement to the belief, that with proper exertions a supply might be obtained more than equal to existing demands.

There is no reason why free cotton fabrics may not be supplied to the consumer, on as easy terms as those extracted from the labor of slaves; except what arises from the difficulty and consequent expense of preserving the raw material, free from mixture with slave-grown cotton, during its transit from the producer to the consumer; and this difficulty must diminish as the quantity produced in any locality is increased. And a factory, working altogether on free cotton, could unquestionably execute its work as well and as cheaply, as one supplied with the slave-grown material.

The plan proposed for the manufactory is, that the friends of the cause should raise, by subscription, a fund for the purchase of machinery, and one-half of a year's supply of cotton, requiring altogether about fifteen thousand dollars; G. W. Taylor to rent the machinery for a sum that will keep it insured against loss by fire, set aside yearly an adequate sum for needful repairs and depreciation by wear and tear, and pay annually to contributors 6 per cent.

The cotton is also to be kept insured, and to be furnished to him at cost, and all expenses, including 6 per cent. per annum interest for the contributors.

The fund to be applied and guarded by one or two Trustees, to be chosen by the contributors.

As it is very important to have the machinery ordered soon, and make other necessary arrangements for putting the mill in working order, it is hoped that there will be found friends of the cause enough to subscribe the required amount, within a month from this time. The money will not be needed till the machinery is ready for delivery, which will not probably be sooner than two months after an order shall be given for it. Address Geo. W. Taylor, Box 777 Post Office, Philadelphia.

Signed on behalf of the Board of Managers.

SAMUEL RHOADS, Sec'y.

Philadelphia 4mo. 18th, 1854.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 6.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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WILLIAM FORSTER.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "LAYS OF QUAKERDOM."

Laid to thy rest amid the mighty mountains
That, calm and stable, symbolize thy soul;
Sleeping in peace, where streams from living fountains
Types of thy spirit, in their clearness roll.

Leaving Life's labor for its full fruition,
Still bearing meekly in thy faithful hand
The high credentials of thy human mission,
Whose glorious ending is the better land.

Thine earnest pleading for the bound and broken,
Fullest like music on that other sphere;
Half on the Earth and half in Heaven 'twas spoken,
Bringing the bondsmen and the Angels near.

Slowly receding in thine act of pleading,
From the poor sufferers whom thou sought to save;
Their blessing resting on thy interceding,
Hangs like a halo o'er thy lonely grave.

And streaming inward through the narrow portal,
Breaks like the morning in the shadowy tomb,
Lifting the first steps of thy march immortal
To Joy and Triumph from the chill and gloom.

While from the verge of Earth, loved voices ringing
Far through the valley, luminous as day,
Herald thy coming to the angels singing,
Whose streams of welcome meet thee half the way.

There they shall greet thee, whom thy labors lifted
From the low places of their human life!
Who but for thee, o'er the wild seas had drifted
Outward afar, or perished in the strife.

The lone Pariah round the true Shekina
With the poor toilsman of thy native land,
The slavish serf, the slave of Carolina,
Waiting to meet thee in a shining band.

Passing in love and power, thy soul's transition
Is but ascension to a higher height,

Where all around thee in thy new condition
Life's mysteries open in celestial light.

Viewing forever in calm contemplation
The widening circles of each duty done;
And through all cycles of thy elevation,
Ascending nearer to the Heavenly One.

Passages from our Correspondence.

Continued from page 42.

CHELMSFORD—(Eng.) 5 Mo. 15th. "I look for extensive misery to many nations, and the subversion of thrones. We have one consolation in the midst of these murderous conflicts; the Almighty Ruler of the Universe can over-rule the wrath of man, to the advancement of His own blessed work of purification in the Earth, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain. To Him we must look, and to Him we must commit ourselves, abiding under the shadow of His wing till these calamities are overpast. England has a trying path to tread; for although, in mercy, we may be spared the horrors of war within our own shores, our men will die in battles abroad, our finances and commerce will become disturbed, and much home misery will ensue.—A rumor is afloat, which I believe to be true, that Spain has directed the Captain General of Cuba to emancipate the slaves of that Island at any time on his own authority, should he think it needful to resist any piratical expedition or hostilities of war from the United States. We hope soon to hear of the abolition of Slavery in the Dutch colonies."

RANDOLPH Co., N. CAROLINA. "I was pleased to see in the first No. of the present Vol. the proposition of purchasing a factory for the manufacture of free labor cotton goods. It revived a desire I have long cherished, that some of the advocates of freedom and the free labor system in the northern states, who have capital, may move hither. We have much water power, and many factories, and can raise the cotton. Were our population of the right kind increased, the cotton may be raised by free hands and a factory purchased and kept in operation in a part where the cotton grows well, and I have no doubt these goods could be sold as low as any other, and thus be placed completely within the reach of all. We have room, here in the middle and western part of this state for more than double our present population. Not half our land has yet been cleared. It stands, in its natural forest, in tracts of 100, 200, and 300 acres, and may be purchased at from \$1 to \$10 or \$12 per acre. We have few slaves here compared with the eastern part of this State or Virginia. The land is rolling, mostly clayey, with places mixed with sand. In the north and western part the timber is mostly oak and chestnut—the eastern or southern part are more sandy, with pine timber."

We wish that the views of our beloved friend may have due place. It has often moved us

deeply to hear of Friends and other conscientious persons emigrating from slave States where a testimony to the truth is needed, and where, perhaps, the Good Husbandman had planted them that they should bear it. Often on hearing of such removals, the words have thrilled in our mind, "then shall the righteous flee from the devoted city." But, how cheering would it be to those who remain faithful at their post, bearing their burden alone, and weeping for the for the oppression around them, if freemen who have faith in their principles, would settle among them, and in the very midst of Slavery practically demonstrate the dignity of labor, the beauty of philanthropy, the moral grandeur of consistency, the practicability of duty, and the expediency of right.

ERIE Co. N. Y. "Is it not an error to say that the north had shared in the profits of slavery? Would not cotton have been cheaper without slavery? The North has sunk hundreds of millions in southern bankruptcy."

We conceive that the north *has* shared, alike in the profit and the guilt of slavery, and has been on the whole, (as she richly deserves to be) greatly the loser, even in a financial view of the subject. In illustration of our correspondent's assertion respecting southern bankruptcies, we will state that losses from this cause, to the amount of three millions of dollars, were sustained in NEWARK, N. J., in the year 1840.

How far this was the result of a participation in the slaveholder's guilt, we have not the means of computing. But we remember, in this connection, that a young friend of ours, a zealous abolitionist, having heard of a manufactory in that city which supplied large quantities of slave whips, visited it, examined the goods, asked many questions and received explanations how a *nigger* might be knocked down with the heavy end. Having purchased a few specimens, he was asked respecting the sort of plantation for which the whips were wanted. Our friend replied, that he was an abolitionist—that he had heard of the establishment, but could scarcely believe that such could exist in N. Jersey, and that he wanted these samples to exhibit.

JUAN PLACIDO.—THE CUBAN POET.*

(Continued from page 42.)

The second event happened at Matanzas. My mistress sent me to get change of a gold doubloon at Don Juan de Torres. When I returned, she told me to put the change on a card-table, some time after she took it and put it into her pocket. As it was my business to dust all the furniture every half hour, whether it was dusty or not, when I came to this card-table, and put down one-half of it, down fell a peseta, which it seems got between the joints; at the sound of it she came from the next room, and asked me

* We have been questioned respecting the truth of this narrative. We believe it to be strictly true—otherwise we should not insert it.

about it, I told her how it came there, she then counted her change, and missed the peseta, which she took without saying a word the rest of the day; but next day about 10 o'clock, the mayoral of the Ingenio came, who fastened my arms behind me, and ordered me to go before his horse; telling me, at the same time, that my mistress suspected that I put the peseta myself between the joints of the table on purpose to keep it. This mayoral, whose name I do not remember, stopped before a tavern, dismounted, went in, and ordered breakfast for both; untied my arms, and kindly told me to make myself easy, and not be afraid. While I was eating, he was conversing with a man, and I heard him say, "he besought of him to pity me, he had some children of his own." After breakfast he mounted his horse, and made me ride behind him on the horse. When we arrived at the Ingenio, he invited me to dine with him, and at night put me under the care of an old negro woman; I remained in this way nine days, when I was sent for by my mistress. At the period I speak of, my father was then living, and used to question me about these things, and advising me to tell always the truth, and to be honest and faithful. As this was the first time that I had been at the Ingenio, and considering the good treatment I experienced, I think it was owing to my mistress's secret instructions.

The second time that I was at Matanzas, there never passed a day without bringing some trouble to me; no, I cannot relate the incredible hardships of my life, a life full of sorrows! My heart sickened through sufferings, once after having received many blows on the face, and that happened almost daily, my mistress said, "I will make an end of you before you are of age;" these words left such an impression on my mind, that I asked my mother the meaning of them, who quite astonished, and after making me repeat them twice over, said, "my son, God is more powerful than the devil." She said no more about it; but this and some hints I received from the old servants of the house, began to unfold the true meaning of her expressions. On another occasion, going to be chastised, for I do not remember what trifle, a gentleman, always kind to me, interceded for me; but my mistress said to him, "mind, Senor, this boy will be one day worse than Rousseau and Voltaire, remember my words." These strange names, and the way that my mistress expressed herself, made me very anxious to know what sort of bad people they were; but when I found out that they were enemies of God, I became more uneasy, for since my infancy I was taught to love and fear God, and my trust in him was such, that I employed always part of the night praying God to lighten my sufferings, and to preserve me from mischief on the following day, and if I did anything wrong, I attributed it to my lukewarmness in prayers, or that I might have forgotten

to pray; and I firmly believe that my prayers were heard, and to this I attribute the preservation of my life once, on occasion of my running away from Matanzas to Havana, as I will relate hereafter.

Although oppressed with so many sufferings, sometimes I gave way to the impulses of my naturally cheerful character. Whenever I went to Senor Estorino's house, I used to draw decorations on paper, figures on cards or pasteboard, and scenes from Chinese shades, then making frames of wild canes, for puppet shows, with a pen-knife, the puppets seemed to dance by themselves. I painted also portraits of the sons of Don Felix Llano, Don Manuel and Don Felix Puebla, Don Francisco Madruga, and many others; to see all this, there used to come several boys of the town, and on these occasions, I used to do my best to enliven these entertainments.

Some time after this, we went to Havana, where I was appointed to the service of young Don Nicolas, who esteemed me not as a slave, but as a son, notwithstanding his youth. In his company the sadness of my soul began to disappear, but soon after I contracted a disease in my chest, with a spasmodic cough, of which, with the assistance of Doctor Francisco Lubian, and with time and youth, I was perfectly cured. As I said before, I was now kindly treated, and never was without money in my pocket. My business was to take care of his wardrobe, to clean his shoes, and wait upon him: he only forbade me going out by myself, to go to the kitchen, and to have any intercourse with loose characters; and as he himself, though young, was very circumspect, so he wished every one about him to be; I never received any reprimand from him, and I loved him very much. As soon as day dawned, I used to get up, prepare his table, arm-chair, and books, and I adapted myself so well to his customs and manners, that I began to give myself up to study. From his books of rhetoric, I learnt by heart, a lesson every day, which I used to recite like a parrot, without knowing the meaning; but being tired of it, I determined to do something [more useful, and that was to learn to write: but here was a difficulty. I did not know how to begin, nor did I know how to mend a pen, and I would not touch any of my master's; however, I bought ink, pens, and penknife, and some very fine paper; then taking some of the bits of written paper thrown away by my master, I put a piece of them between one of my fine sheets, and traced the characters underneath, in order to accustom my hand to make letters; with stratagem, at the end of a month I could write almost the same hand as my master's. Extremely pleased with myself, I employed the hours from five to ten every evening, exercising my hand to write, and in day-time I used to copy the inscriptions at the bottom of pictures hung in the walls; by these

means, I could imitate the best hand writing. My master was told how I employed the evenings, and once he surprised me with all my writing apparatus, but he only advised me to drop that pastime, as not adapted to my situation in life, and that it would be more useful to me to employ my time in needle-work, a business that indeed at the same time I did not neglect. In vain was I forbidden to write, for when everybody went to bed, I used to light a piece of candle, and then at my leisure I copied the best verses, thinking that if I could imitate these, I would become a poet. Once, some of my sonnets fell into one of my friends' hands, and Doctor Coronado was the first to foretell, that I would be a great poet, notwithstanding all opposition; he was told how I had taught myself to write, and he encouraged me, saying, that many of the great poets began in the same way.

(To be Continued.)

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"BE NOT A PARTAKER OF OTHER MEN'S SINS."—1 TIM. 5: 22.

"The articles you make use of cannot be produced without some time and labor, be the quantity what it may. Allowing the labor of a slave six or twelve years, to produce all the various slave-grown products which you may use during the course of your life, would not he who was so occupied be in effect YOUR SLAVE, during the time he was thus employed?"

Do you not receive as much benefit from his oppression, as the individual who is his nominal owner, but in fact, for that length of time, only your AGENT? Will the circumstance of this portion of labor, being divided among many persons, create any difference? By paying another for the commission of a crime which you would not dare to commit yourself, are you not, for the time that is necessary to produce the articles you consume, YOURSELF A SLAVEHOLDER.—[Communicated.]

Conclusion of the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON's speech on taking the chair as President of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, in London, 6 mo. 12, 1840.

"My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of slavery from the whole world. Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more than two millions of their fellow creatures in the most cruel bondage. Now, we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty and oppression, and may be therefore said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore, expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at them so as to influence their conduct? There is one way; you must endeavor to make them feel their guilt in its consequences. You must endeavor by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavor, among other things, to have the produce of free tropical labor brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell them there; and if you can do this, your victory is sure. I have only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may He in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give His blessing upon your labors."

A SLAVEHOLDER'S VIEW OF THE TENDENCY OF SOUTHERN HABITS.

The blind pursuit of wealth, for the sake of hoarding is a species of insanity. There are

spirits, and not the least worthy, who, content with a humble mediocrity, leave the field of ambition open to more active, perhaps more guilty, competitors. Nothing can be more respectable than the independence that grows out of self-denial. The man who, by abridging his wants, can find time to devote to the cultivation of his mind, or the aid of his fellow creatures, is a being far above the plodding sons of industry and gain. This a spirit of the noblest order. But what shall we say to the drone, whom society is eager to "shake from her encumbered lap?"—who lounges from place to place, and spends more time in "Adonizing" his person, even in a morning, than would serve to earn his breakfast?—who is curious in his living, a connoisseur in wines, fastidious in his cookery; but who never knew the luxury of earning a single meal? Such a creature, *spunging* from house to house, and always on the borrow, may yet be found in Virginia.—One more generation, will I trust, put an end to them; and their posterity, if they have any, must work or steal *directly*.—*Letter of John Randolph of Roanoke.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 14, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

In pursuing this memoir, we continue to make extracts from the Letters of Wm. Forster to Joseph John Gurney. Being limited in space and anxious to present as speedily as possible an account of the labors of his latter years, we extract sparingly, though we are sure that our readers will value the insight thus afforded into his soul's recesses, more than a mere history of those actions which, performed publicly, are to some extent already known to them.

It will be understood that there were many interesting events of his life, of which we do not attempt to make a record. This task must devolve upon those to whom the privilege peculiarly belongs. His labors as a minister of the Gospel of Christ were almost without intermission. At different periods in the course of his ministry, he visited the various meetings in England, Scotland and Ireland, and was engaged in other more extended missions, which will be referred to in due course.

He returned from his first visit to the American Continent in the sixth Month, 1825. Shortly after this, his friend having placed in Wm. Forster's hands the manuscript of his Essays on Christianity, he thus expressed his appreciation of the work:

"I think of thee with great comfort, and much sweet hope in the Lord is present with me on thy behalf, my precious friend, in the remembrance of that faithful word of promise given by our Lord to His servants, His anointed ones of every generation, in Matt. xxviii, 20—in which

I trust it is given thee day by day to feel thou hast a most blessed interest. * * * The Lord is with thee—thy Saviour is thy Counselor and strength, and I doubt not He will do all things for thee. * * * Thou must allow me, in true brotherly love, to offer thee my warmest congratulations that thou hast been enabled to bring out thy Essays so much to thy relief of mind. By this term, I wish to convey something more than a mere rest from labor and perplexity, which I can easily believe must have been sufficient for the day, whilst thou wast conducting it through the press, but that it is permitted thee to enter into the rest of quietness and peace, and to rely upon the mercy and power of our Lord, for His blessing upon thy labors. I entertain a most lively and cheering hope of the usefulness of thy book: that in this cloudy and dark day, it will tend to the establishment of the wavering, to the fortifying of the feeble minded, and put to silence the cavils of many a proud and self sufficient gainsayer. And to the anxious inquirer after the truth as it is in Jesus, I firmly believe it will be rendered peculiarly helpful and valuable. In short, I cannot but look upon it as one of those labors of love that will be made to abound 'by many thanksgivings unto God.' It would be strange if I did not feel more than a common and passing interest in the work, for I think I never found myself, upon any occasion, so much anticipated. It gives utterance to my own views and feelings in such lucid and convincing language, and withal, it solves some of my difficulties so thoroughly and satisfactorily, that it will be likely to be most valuable to me for the purpose of Christian doctrine. I long to see it in its finished state, and shall be rather impatient till thy kind present arrive."

In a subsequent letter (written when confined by indisposition and whilst the MS. Essays were still in his possession,) he says: "thy book will be good company—it is so much like thyself—and I find it so thoroughly satisfactory, and on many points so very confirming to my own sentiments and principles. * * * The farther I go into thy Elementary Essays, the more I am interested by them, and I do most sincerely thank thee for the privilege of looking them over. I have marked a few passages on which I shall enjoy to converse with thee when we meet." Again: "I shall greatly enjoy having the remainder of thy book. The more I think of it, the more I feel its importance, and the more I am satisfied that though it may be met by some few doubts and fears at first, yet, that it will ultimately settle well on the minds of Friends, both in our own particular department and every other, of the true Church."

Bradpole, 12th Mo., 17th, 1826.

My dearest Joseph,

I have been sitting alone, since Willy went off to bed, in a serious and thoughtful mind, look-

ing over Wm. Edmundson's and John Fothergill's travels in America, as related in their respective Journals, and now, before I retire, I must, for my own satisfaction, try and write a line or two to thee, my beloved friend, which must, (as I increasingly feel all written communication does) fall very far short of expressing what I feel towards thee, and for all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

"There is a certain sort of pain, (and a pleasurable pain it is,) in feeling to what great degree Christian fellowship is an *inexpressible* enjoyment, and how hard it is to convey to our nearest friends, even to them by whom our individual phraseology is the best understood, our religious feeling and our spiritual views. I cannot but believe that the Apostles knew something of it, but in the unity of the Spirit they found a medium of intercourse opened to them, and for all who are seeking to walk in the Light, through which they could salute each other in the name of the Lord, and rejoice over one another's faith and love and fruitfulness. Their's was a measure according to their fullness of stature: and though ours may be according to our state of infancy in the new man, our infirmities, our remaining corruptions, the smallness of our faith, and the feebleness of our love, yet, through the goodness of the Lord, we are not strangers to that oneness of Spirit which is in the Truth,—that fellowship which is with the Father and with the Son. Much of this comforting and precious enjoyment has been with me of late in thinking of thee, and during my late journey I made two attempts to write thee, but I was not able to finish my letter. I regretted it the more because though I can scarcely be said to keep up a regular correspondence with any other of my friends, yet I do aim at something of the kind with thee, and thy letters are so very much one of my greatest enjoyments, I always feel the blank if I am long without hearing from thee. * * *

"I take comfort in thinking that perhaps thou art now permitted to rest for a little while upon thy oars, and art quietly yielding thyself to the current which is bearing thee onwards to a larger and more important field of Gospel labor. I am very much of the opinion that the *preparation* for the work, as well as the actual accomplishment of every religious service, is of the Lord; and that of ourselves we cannot effect the one any more than the other. There is such a vast and wonderful diversity in the means which God is pleased to employ for the accomplishment of His own purposes, both as it relates to different individuals and to the same person at different times, that it is not for us to say through what dispensations he may condescend to work, to bring his servants into a state of acceptable dedication before him, or through what instrumentality such baptisms of the Spirit may be administered, as may conduce to their fitness to receive the renewings of the holy anointing, or tend to

their religious usefulness among those to whom he may be pleased to send them. It is sometimes hard for us to believe that the temptations, the conflicts, the discouragements, and perplexities we have to endure, as they relate to others as well as to ourselves, can ever be so far sanctified as to be rendered instrumental to the good of those, for whom, under the influence of the love of Christ, we may be the most deeply interested. Yet so I do believe it is, and the more we are plunged into these depths, the more fully we are prepared to speak of those deliverances, and of that Redemption which constitutes the essence and is the very joy of the Gospel of Christ. And thus, whatever may be given us to bring forth from the treasury, whether they be things new or old, if it be but in the authority of His Power and Love, all will bear the evidence of the workmanship of His hand, and tend to the exaltation of His ever glorious name. It is under some such considerations as these, that I entertain a strong and cheering confidence for thee my dearest friend, that God will supply all thy need, that thy going will be in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ, and that, whatever may be the trials of the day, the Lord will be thy strength and thy shield. I have the nearest sympathy, and the most entire unity with thee in thy prospects towards Ireland, and I cannot but believe that the time as well as the concern, will be found to be of the Lord's appointment."

2 Mo. 1st, 1827. "Whether I have a right apprehension or not of Eccl. ix. 4, 'For to him that is joined to the living there is hope,'—I not only think it a great privilege, but I can take comfort for myself in believing that I may be allowed to regard it as a token for good, that I enjoy some little capacity for sympathy with those who, baptized of the Lord for the service to which he is pleased to appoint them, are sent forth in His name to proclaim the Gospel of His Son. There is a course of discipline, and there are plunges into suffering and conflict, peculiar to such exercise of faith, and possibly it may be no very large proportion of the believers in Christ who are fully apprized of the depth and strength of these conflicts. But there are those who have seen the 'works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep,' and who have cause to bless His holy name for the support which He has vouchsafed unto them, under those dispensations in which He may have seen meet to instruct them, to an understanding of the vanity of the help of man. Thus I believe it to have been with thee my beloved brother, and my joy and consolation in the Lord is very great on thy behalf, and very much is it to my strength and confirmation that I can entertain such confidence for thee in the aboundings of the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ towards thee, and through thee to His Church in those places to which He is about to send thee."

On another occasion, when Joseph John Gurney was about to leave home upon a religious engagement, Wm. Forster says, in a letter of Christian sympathy to his friend:

"I am often reminded of dear Priscilla's* words, *how she had found the gift to be distinct from herself*. To them who have once known this as she knew it, and as thou hast known it, nothing can be more satisfactory than to have it renewed and confirmed on every occasion. But how little is it that those whom the Lord has set apart as vessels for his own use, are able to believe that He is effecting this work within them by their baptisms into humiliation and suffering, almost unto death, and how much we are apt, in such seasons of trial, to think the dispensations under which we are made to suffer, unlike every thing we have known in earlier days. Could we discover exactly the same features in every baptism, they might not so fully answer the purpose. In the depth of our abasement we can comprehend neither the means nor the end.—'What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.' Thus it is that we are taught, first to trust, then to hope, and subsequently are made to rejoice, to give thanks, and to praise the name of OUR Redeemer, and to acknowledge to his mercy and truth, and power."

10 Mo. 8th, 1830. He wrote to his wife's brother:

"We had a very pleasant visit from the Chalmers' yesterday. The Doctor was very friendly and kind to me, and gave me a great deal of his mind on a variety of subjects: Nat. Theology—its bearings on Christianity—the external evidence of the Christian religion—Mechanics' Institutes, and their moral and religious tendency—the success of the forgery question, (with which he was delighted)—Brougham—Lushington—J. J. Gurney and his book, (both of which are in high favor)—Edinboro' and the University—&c., &c. I met him this morning in Town at an early breakfast; and did not fail to make the best use of my time. We had Geology and the harmlessness of the object, upon which it was quite a treat to hear him: and he opened very fully upon his favorite topic of the poor laws and the support of the poor. They seem much to have valued their intercourse with you, and their visit at Hampstead. In our intimate communication, which was in private, I had some opportunity of seeing the interior of his social mind, and I was quite delighted with his most kind feeling for his Brother—his deep-rooted humility, and thorough upright christian principle. * * *

"I should have been glad to have a little more time in Town to get further information respecting the poor *Van Deimaners*; but I have got things into such a train, that I shall be able to follow it up. At the office of the Van Dieman's Land Comp. in Broad street, I heard that the

* Priscilla Gurney,

Government had declared Martial Law against the natives; which I suppose is a sort of license to every Settler to kill every "Black Man."

In the subject of education, both religious and literary, his interest was deep and his views were liberal and just. "I am glad," (he writes in 1825 to J. J. G.), that thou and dear Samuel were at Ackworth. I should like very much to know thy impression, as to the general state of the Institution, and how far the mode of Scripture instruction continues to answer thy wishes. The education of our young people was never a subject of deeper interest to me, and I am glad to find that Friends are so much alive to a sense of its importance. I like the idea of Latin classes at Ackworth. I have taken dearest Willy's lessons in hand, and perhaps my mind is just now quite enough engrossed in his education. I wish, at some future leisure hour, thou wouldst have the kindness to give me thy ideas on the subject of *early* education, both literary and religious; and I am not sure whether, if thy views on the subject, were made more public, they might not be useful among Friends. We want something of the sort for our *own people*."

His solicitude respecting religious training is more fully developed, in various letters written to the same valued friend,—as also his desire for a general and enlightened appreciation of the sacred record which was graciously given to man by his Creator and his God, and which certainly claims from us our reverent, diligent, and studious attention. Whilst we thankfully acknowledge that the saving doctrines of our holy religion are so clearly set forth in the Scriptures of Truth, that the simple and unlearned, reading them with the blessed aid of the Spirit of Christ, will not fail to become wise unto salvation; it appears to us as strange as it is unreasonable, that christian men should deery in the gross, all commentaries upon the Bible. As if these persons, or any persons, could, without study, and without the help of the Biblical researches of others, obtain an insight into the stores of knowledge which lie hidden in many a sacred text, as if, indeed, the Scriptures which were given to us for our learning, comprise more than it is worth our while to seek to comprehend. We spare room for but one brief extract:

3 Mo. 25th, 1828. "I am much pleased by thy report of thy literary occupations. Thy critical dissertations, so far as they are in our mother tongue, will be very much to my taste. Every object connected with Scriptural study and research, is more than ever a matter of importance and interest with me."

In the same letter he says:

"I wonder what thou wilt say if I tell thee that I am trying my hand upon one or two little matters. I have been endeavoring to put together a few remarks on SLAVERY, as connected with the doctrines and practice of the early Christians. * * * My little piece, if ever

I finish it, (and it is more adapted to the opinion and feeling of the people in Carolina, Georgia, &c., than in this country,) and thou shouldst think it fit to see the light, I intend dubbing with the title of Philemon and Onesimus. And I have thought of trying to form something small and concise on the plan of a Biographical Dictionary of the New Testament. I think rather a pleasant and useful compendium of the sort might be made, which would not be altogether unacceptable to young people."

Whether he made much progress in this interesting engagement we are not advised. His compilation of two useful little volumes, *The Life of John the Baptist*, and *The Life of the Apostle Peter*, may have been the carrying out, in part, of this plan.

We have before us evidence that William Forster, as an enlightened christian patriot, took a comprehensive view of national and local matters, to which, as affecting the interests of his countrymen, he could not be indifferent. Yet being watchful unto prayer, of a Godly circumspection, and quick of apprehension in the fear of the Lord, he was preserved from the snares and the excitement through which too many wound their own peace. The following extract from a letter written on the eve of an election in 1834, illustrates his conscientiousness.

"We shall have no contest for the County of Dorset: and our part of the Parish of Bradpole not being included within the Borough of Bridport, I have no vote for the Town,—therefore I am happy to say that I am out of the way of the excitement and strife which seem so general on every hand. But I have not been backward in declaring my determination not to vote for any candidate, who will not come under engagement, both for himself and his Committee, not to open public houses, or give any strong drink on the occasion. The practice, I am sorry to say, is so general, that if I adhere to this resolution, it is very doubtful whether I shall ever exercise my right of suffrage again. If the friends of morality and good order would adopt the same course, I do not believe it would be long before something effectual would be done towards restraining the vice and intemperance which an election is almost sure to produce."

On receiving from Joseph John Gurney a copy of his beautiful and invaluable little work on the habitual exercise of love to God as a preparation for Heaven, he thus acknowledged it, 12 Mo., 22d, 1834.

"Many thanks for thy little book. I think it very valuable, and would encourage thee to a large and cheap edition. I am glad to see that while writing on the LOVE of GOD, thou hast been enabled to hold the balance with so much of an even hand, and hast not omitted all mention of his Justice and Holiness. The last chapter pleases me much. Couldst thou have given a distinct paragraph in thy clearest, strongest

language, on the guilt and hatefulness of War, I think it would have made it more to my mind. I see that the subject is hinted at in several places, but feeling as I do that we ought to leave no opportunity unemployed of entering our protest against this abomination, I should have been glad that in a work not professedly a *Friends Book*, it might have been made to appear that we need no other instrumentality than the application and following out of the principle of "Love to Man," as thou hast stated it, to bring to pass all the moral, social and political blessing, foreseen by the Prophets, and so decidedly spoken of by them, as constituting in part the glory of the latter days. Few subjects have lately had more of my deepest feeling and thoughtfulness: perhaps my views are crude and exaggerated—but, in thinking of it, as I often do, I am so much overwhelmed with a sense of the sinfulness of War, and its many contingencies, that it goes hard with me to reconcile myself to what appears to me the unchristian views that have been entertained by many good men on the subject. Oh! had we this love genuine from the inexhaustible Source of the Spirit's fulness, what would it not affect among us! what forbearance and perseverance in entreaty and persuasion, what forgiveness of injuries—what a carrying out of all the righteousness of the Lamb into our every day intercourse, our civil concerns, and national politics! What prayer would there be to God, that He would help us to settle our disputes without recourse to violent measures, and that he would preserve us from everything liable to interrupt the peaceable harmony of his government among men."

To be continued—

OUR GUILTY NATION.—The Infamous Nebraska Bill has become a Law. Its enactment was marked by bold wickedness on the part of some members of the National Legislature, and of cowardly wickedness on the part of others: by meanness on the part of all who supported the measure. Franklin Pierce has fully demonstrated his unworthiness of the office which he degrades. Were he and his fellow champions of human slavery, doomed to labor in the rice swamp and the cane or cotton field, and to wear the chain, to feel the whip, to bear the scar of the branding iron—to eat the coarse and often stunted food of the bondman, and to keep within prescribed limits at the peril of being hunted by blood hounds and by

"Men more savage far than they,"—

we should, (for they are human beings,) lament their cruel lot. How much more entitled to our earnest sympathy are those who *through these men* are held, or shall be held as—"chattels and things personal,"—and those who, outwearied with unbearable oppression, escape from bondage only to be re-captured, in the land of freedom, in the very midst of sympathizing hearts,

by men whose souls are degraded to the standard of an unrighteous law, and who can see no image or superscription but that of Caesar, upon the fellow immortal whom God created for happiness, for glory and for virtue, whom Christ, by a ransom of unapproachable value, hath made His own.

Franklin Pierce will not sleep sweetly, nor have innocent dreams. The gangrene of a deadly sin is a deeper wound than the domestic affliction which shaded the triumph of his election; and whenever he shall be driven home to his own soul, he will not find that the Son of Peace is there. The Senators and Representatives of the people who have committed this great iniquity, will go forth among their fellows, seeking to gloss over their crime. They will speak of black men as "niggers," whilst public opinion will apply to them a darker epithet. They will feel the curse of Cain heavy at their hearts. They will be strangers to the way of peace. They will bear about them a moral taint. Let all christian parents shield their children from intercourse with them, lest, like them and like a prominent character in Milton's glorious Poem, they learn to say, "Evil be thou my good!"

The Magnetic Telegraph has proclaimed their infamy in every direction, and our readers have already full accounts of this transaction and of the Boston excitement, and the rendition of Burns. We can give them no information, and, we feel little ability to comment upon the disgraceful and afflicting facts. Unhappy country! whose laws, thus adverse to humanity, involve horrible guilt in their execution, and so outrage the sympathies which lean to virtue, as to play upon man's sense of right till he is provoked into violence and wrong.

Never was there greater need for Christian watchfulness than now. Never more necessity to heed the injunction,—"Be ye angry and sin not." Let anti-slavery men every where, dwell under a deep sense of the perfect sovereignty of God, and neither dare to cater to a corrupt popular sentiment, nor to cower before the wrong, nor to falter in upholding the Right, nor presume to violate any precept of the Prince of Peace, under the presumptuous notion that the All-Powerful needs such helpers. "I will," (said one who long before had vainly thought by violent deeds to do God service,) "that men pray every where,—lifting up holy hands, without wrath." Of this we may be certain, that Jehovah has purposes of infinite wisdom, which He will perfect in His own time, and that no man by "doing evil that good may come of it," can hasten that "good time coming," which "God hath reserved in His own power." Let each one then, keep his own spirit, guard his own conduct, "looking unto Jesus"—giving no aid or countenance to wicked laws, and bearing for Christ's sake, the penalty, if any there be, of non-compliance. Who can compute the force

of such heroic non-compliance? Were all the northern men *thus* to testify against the rendition of slaves, we should need no *underground* railroad. The track to Canada might be in the light of day, with Telegraphs at every station, and the Mahos and Suttles might condole with one another about the locomotive tendencies of "chattels personal."

JOHN G. WHITTIER. A silly rumor being circulated during the excitement in Boston, that Whittier had proffered aid in "money or muscle," he addressed to the Editor of the Boston Times the following letter.

AMESBURY, 29th, 5th month, 1854

In thy paper of this morning I see a paragraph stating that at a meeting of colored citizens in Boston, a document was read from me tendering aid for the liberation of the new victim of the Fugitive Slave Law. As the paragraph stands, it might be inferred that I was in favor of the extreme measures said to have been proposed to the meeting; and I only notice it for the opportunity of saying that so far from counselling resistance, I have always and on all occasions deprecated it, and have, on the present occasion, most earnestly entreated my friends in Boston to abstain from even the appearance of it. That I feel indignant at this new outrage—that I look with horror upon the Fugitive Slave Law, and deeply sympathize with its victims I need not say. But I regard all violence as evil and self-destructive, and earnestly desire that the sons of freedom and humanity may be preserved from it; and if my voice could reach my colored friends especially, I would say—Be calm, be patient—God rules, and oppression cannot endure forever. J. G. WHITTIER.

OUR BELOVED FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION, JOSIAH FORSTER, JOHN CANDLER, AND WILLIAM HOLMES, after a pleasant and favorable voyage of 12 days, landed at Liverpool about 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th ult., where they were met, with a warm welcome and with deep emotion, by relatives and other dear friends. From several persons who were their fellow passengers on the steamer Atlantic, we learn that JOHN CANDLER gave the Ship's Company an address on the state of things in the West India Islands. It was well received, and interested the audience, which comprised several southern men, one of whom (from Louisiana) is said to claim ownership in 1500 fellow beings.

OUR BOOK TABLE.

We have been compelled to neglect this department for some months. The Report of the New York Free Produce Association of Friends, though dated 5 Mo 23d has reached us after this No. is in type.

STRUGGLES FOR LIFE; or the Autobiography of a dissenting minister, Phila. Lindsay & Blakiston, pp. 384.

We had marked passages to insert but cannot find or make room. It is a readable good book, and we are assured that it is a true narrative, although the writer's name is suppressed.

REPORT made to the Board of Controllers of Public Schools of the first School District of Penna., on the subject of PHONOGRAPHY, by a special Committee, &c., &c. Read April 11th, 1854.

This is an interesting and important document, from which we would be glad to extract. It demonstrates all that it attempts to prove. We commend it to the attention of all, and especially of the Youth of both sexes.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 7.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.

By the liberality of a few friends of the Free labor cause, sufficient funds have been offered to purchase the requisite amount of machinery for a small experimental mill. At a meeting of the contributors, Samuel Rhoads and Richard Richardson were appointed Trustees of the Fund. A Mill-building with water power, favorably situated, has been rented for five years, a manager engaged, and the machinery ordered. Some cotton has also been ordered. It has been suggested that the fund for supplying the mill with cotton be kept separate from the machinery fund. It is desirable that those who intend aiding the enterprise, and have not yet subscribed, will do so without delay, giving authority with their subscriptions, to the Trustees, to add their contributions to the cotton fund, in case it should not be needed for the machinery. The funds applied to the purchase of cotton, will be secured by stock on hand, and six per cent interest paid to the contributors, irrespective of the profit or loss on buying and holding the cotton. The contributors to this fund, can appoint the same or other individuals as Trustees of their fund. There will be no individual liability of the contributors to either fund, beyond the amount of money they respectively furnish. A part of the money will be needed by the middle of ninth month or earlier; and probably all by the first of the tenth month. Contributors will therefore please be in readiness.

GEO. W. TAYLOR, N. W. Corner of
5th and Cherry Sts. Phila.

JUAN PLACIDO—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 54.)

At this time my master was near contracting an alliance with Senorita Donna Teresa de H., and I was the messenger between them, an office very productive, since I had plenty of money given to me, so much that I did not know what to do with it; I bought a handsome inkstand, a rule, and a good provision of pens, ink, and paper; the rest of my money I sent to my mother. We went to Guanajay on a visit to Count de G., where my future young mistress resided. As the first needle-work my mistress made was dress-making, under the care of Senora Domingo, her dress-maker; I learned to make fine dresses, and I had the honor to make some dresses for my future mistress, in recompense for which I experienced all sorts of kindness; and when they were married I was their page, and as I was so punctual in attendance on them, I was treated more kindly from day to day.—But this happiness lasted only about three years, when my former mistress of Matanzas, hearing reports so favorable of me, resolved to take me into her own service again. At this time I was so punctual in attending sick people, though only eighteen years old, that whenever there was a person ill in the family, they asked permission of my mistress to let me attend upon them. One of them was Don Jose Maria P. who was very ill; I prepared for him his bath, administered the doctor's prescriptions in due time, helped him to rise from his bed, watched the whole of the night, with paper and ink before me, and put down, for the guidance of the doctor, the time that he slept, whether composedly or not, how many times he awoke, how many he coughed, if he snored, &c.; I was much praised for this by the doctors, Don Andres Terriltes, Don Nicolas Gutierrez, and others. While I was attending this gentleman, my former mistress arrived, and intimated very kindly to me her intention to take me back. I listened to her sorrowfully, for my heart became oppressed at the thoughts of returning to those places so memorable and sad to me. I was obliged to follow her to her sister's, the Countess of B. where she was on a visit for a few days; she forbade me to bid farewell to my young masters, but I stole away unperceived, and went to take leave of them. Don Nicolas, who since his childhood

was very partial to me, took leave of me weeping, as also his lady, both loading me with presents; the Senora gave me some Holland handkerchiefs and two gold doubloons; Don Nicolas all my clothes, including two new coats, and a gold doubloon besides. I left them so downcast and with such sad forebodings, that early next morning I ventured to ask for paper and ink, in order to advertise for a new master. This quite astonished my mistress, and saying that she took me back for my own sake, and that I had better stop with her till she made some other arrangements, and when she turned her back I was sorry for having given her this uneasiness. At dinner-time, she mentioned my boldness to her sister the Countess, and, with an angry tone, said to me before all the company, "this is the return you intend to make for all the care I took in your education; did I ever put my hands on you?" I was very near saying, yes, many a time, but thought better to say no. She then asked me if I remembered her mamma? and at my answering, yes; she said, "I occupy her place, mind that," here the conversation dropt. After prayers in the afternoon, I was sent for by the Countess and Donna Maria Pizarro, who both tried to persuade me to desist from my intention. I plainly told them, that I was afraid of my mistress's fiery temper; this conversation ended by the Countess advising me to stop with my mistress till she thought proper to give me my liberty.

Some time after this we left Matanzas, stopping at the Molino. Here they pointed out to me my new duties, and I acquitted myself so much to their satisfaction, that in a short time I was the head servant of the house. During all this time, after superintending the business of the house, and after breakfast, I used to employ myself at needlework. At the end of about two weeks after we were in town, in happened that one morning oversleeping myself, a cock found his way into my room, which was close to that of my mistress; the cock crew, I do not know how many times, I only heard him once, I started from my bed, and went about my business, and were it not for the interference of Don Thomas Gener, who, at my request, kindly interceded for me, I should not have escaped being sent to the Molino.

When I was about nineteen years of age, I had some pride in acquitting myself of my duties, so much to the satisfaction of my mistress, and never waited to be ordered twice; at this time I could not bear to be scolded at trifles; but the propensity to humble the self-love of those who are in the good graces of their masters, is a contagious disease in all rich families. Such was the case with a person, who without any cause or provocation on my part, began to treat me badly, calling me bad names, all of which I suffered, till he called my mother out of her name: then I retorted on him a similar expression, he gave

me a blow, which I could not avoid, and I returned it. My mistress was out, and I was to go after her at the house of the Senora. When we returned, she was told of what happened; I excused myself, saying, that I could not suffer my mother so bad a name; "So," said she, "if he repeats it again, you will not respect my house!" At the third day we went to breakfast to the Molino: meanwhile I was uneasy, I had before me all the vicissitudes of my life, and was apprehensive of what was to come.

Passages from our Correspondence.

Continued from page 50.

ERIE CO., N. Y., (with \$5 and 20 names.)

"As I have only spoken to a part of the inhabitants, it is probable that with a little exertion the list of subscribers will be much enlarged. Those whose names are appended, are anxious to have their papers immediately, with all the back numbers of the current volume. Some friends of the cause wish the Non-Slaveholder enlarged. Others, who have previously taken no interest in the subject, say that the paper is so small and cheap that they are willing to subscribe and examine for themselves."

The same diligent Friend writes, about two weeks later, (enclosing 8 subscriptions) "Having for many years felt a deep interest in the free-labor movement, and endeavored to clear my own hands from the gain of oppression, I have often attributed the indifference of many of my acquaintances to a want of proper information on the subject. I have therefore, taken pains to circulate the Non-Slaveholder, and some who expressed antipathy to what they called fanatical papers, are willing to read and judge for themselves of the free-labor system."

MARION CO., INDIANA. "I am much pleased with the contents of the Non-Slaveholder, and have used efforts for its circulation throughout our neighborhood and Monthly Meeting, and believe that it is doing good in this country."

CANADA WEST. I send \$1 for three subscriptions for the N. Slaveholder, also the postage to the lines. This is a small beginning, but I hope to do better. Hitherto the people of this country have been wrapped in apathy on the subject of slavery, feeling that they were, in great measure, clear of the sin. But the late atrocious acts of the American Congress in the Nebraska robbery, have roused the feelings of some, and already there is a strong under current of indignant feeling, which begins to manifest itself, and we want light diffused."

WESTERN NEW YORK. "The N. Slaveholder, always a welcome visitor, is additionally so since the publication of the memoir of dear W. Forster. Allow me to suggest that if the paper could be doubled in size for a few months, and the additional space devoted to this interesting and important subject, it would relieve a very justifiable impatience to see the whole history,

and perhaps obviate the necessity of an abbreviation which would be a source of regret to many. It is due to Friends in this country who are concerned for the abolition of slavery, to give them all that is known of this veteran in the cause of Freedom and of our Lord and Saviour."

[We have found it advisable to give occasional extracts from letters received, and should extend this department could we afford the room. Many of our correspondents wish the N. Slaveholder enlarged. Many others wish to receive it semi-monthly. To such Friends we answer, that altho' our number of readers is large, yet the subscription price is so low that the publication involves an annual loss. If the paper were doubled in size, we might readily present a far more valuable course of reading matter, in quality not less than in quantity, but to do this, an expense of at least \$400 would be incurred, and no one would wish, we presume, to add this burden to that already borne by our valued friend, the Publisher. Ed.]

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A SLAVEHOLDER AND AN ABOLITIONIST.

Slaveholder. What is your opinion in regard to slavery? I understand you are an abolitionist.

Abolitionist. You are quite correct. I have never shrunk from the open avowal of my sentiments on the subject, and I tell you plainly, I hold that the individual who deprives a human being of liberty, is guilty of the highest crime it is possible for man to commit, except it be wilfully taking the life of another.

S. Who is responsible for slavery?

A. The slaveholder of course. The voice of the whole civilized world condemns the iniquitous system.

S. What do you suppose is our motive in committing what you consider so great a sin?

A. The desire to realize large profits on the production of your staple commodities, cotton, sugar, and rice, for the sake of gain, you rob a man of himself, and if convenience requires, of his wife and children—you rob him of the fruits of his toil—blot out his intellectual existence, and reduce him to a beast of burden.

S. Who buys our cotton, sugar and rice?

A. (Hesitating) I suppose mostly, non-slaveholders.

S. Are they opposed to slavery, I would ask?

A. I have not thought of that, but of course most of them are.

S. Strange you do not see that those who purchase our goods and give us our profits, are in league with us; I have heard say, "the receiver is as bad as the thief." This is countenancing in action, what you so loudly condemn in words.

A. Well, yes, I suppose it must look a little so to you, but it is quite inconvenient to obtain free goods, and we could not now command a

full supply, then the demand for such goods is so small that they cost more.

S. Have we not quite as good an excuse for slavery? Would it not be much more inconvenient for us to do without our slaves, and in many cases to reduce ourselves to actual poverty? I say slavery is an evil, and a curse, but to get rid of it involves us in a thousand fold more difficulty and sacrifice, than you could possibly feel in abstaining from the luxuries produced by slavery. As you have just bought my sugar and molasses, I hold myself on the same level with you. We both see the evil of slavery, but neither of us is willing to sacrifice money or convenience to principle. Our motives are alike. I cannot afford to give up the slaves I have inherited, and you cannot afford to give up the luxuries I produce, or to take the trouble to obtain them from free men at a little greater cost.

A. I have never thought of this before.

S. Can you not see that the slaveholder, and the consumer of slave produce stand or fall together. If you at the north, who denounce slavery as a robbery and crime, would act as you profess, we would listen to you; but what robber was ever yet convinced of his sin, by those who paid him for doing the disagreeable part of the business, and shared in the spoil? At present I consider myself only your agent. You buy and sell at the north, while I manage my plantation south, arranging every year to meet your demand. You have far less excuse for your part of slavery, than we have for ours. I have heard some who raised the loudest cry against slaveholders, say they could not afford to pay a single cent difference in favor of a yard of free cotton.

A. I have always abhorred slavery as the worst of all robbery; the greatest crime against God and man. I have raised my voice against it, even in the face of persecution and personal danger. I had thought that I at least, was clear of the blood of the slave. If by refraining from the purchase of your slave-grown produce, I could in any way help to overthrow slavery, I would do it with all my heart; but as there is little probability that any considerable portion of the community—even the anti-slavery community, would do the same, I do not see that it is worth while for me to make so great a sacrifice unless it were likely to effect a greater good.

S. Exactly so, I agree with you precisely. Living as I do, in the midst of slavery, I know and feel its abominations, better than you can, for I have still a human heart not wholly hardened. Never have I ceased to cherish the sentiments of freedom and humanity taught me by my mother when a little child; but I have reasoned just as you do, I do not see that my individual example and influence would effect much: I should only reduce myself to poverty, and subject myself to persecution and ridicule. So I satisfy my conscience, which is sometimes a lit-

the troublesome, by considering that I am a kind and humane master, always abstaining from cruelty, and endeavoring to do the best I can for my servants *under the circumstances*. You see it would be folly in me as an individual, to stem the tide of opposition, or to attempt to abolish slavery through my efforts, just as it would be folly in you to refuse to purchase my produce. An individual can do but little you know.

A. And so you are willing to go on committing sin even in the face of light and knowledge, you refuse to do *your* duty because *others* will not do theirs, and because you cannot abolish slavery, you are content to uphold it by example and influence, and rob hundreds of our fellow creatures of their rights!

S. I am not a slaveholder by choice, but by inheritance, and to emancipate my slaves reduces me at once from affluence to poverty.

A. Is not honest poverty better than ill-gotten gain? O, why will you not be true to yourself, and at once let your example be felt on the side of freedom?

S. Ah! I see you wish to preach to me. Its easy to tell others what to do. "Easier to tell twenty the good that ought to be done, than to be one of the twenty to follow your own teaching." Hav'nt you just now acknowledged that you would not make even a small sacrifice *unless every body else would do the same*, and you were sure of a great good? I say I am as good as you. You cant find the difference for your life.

The long and the short of it is, we both hate slavery as far as *talking* goes, but when it comes to *acting*, we like ease, money, and convenience.

A. Well, I wonder I have not thought of this before. To be candid, there is much reason in what you say, and I think you will have to strike me off your list of customers.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

LOUISIANA, JUNE, 4th, 1854.

Esteemed Friend,—As respects the present prices of slaves, I would state that they are, and have been quite high for several months past. A No. one field hand, young, stout and active, will command from \$1400, to \$1600. A good mechanic, as a carpenter or blacksmith, will bring \$2000. Women do not sell so high; tho' a first rate cook may bring \$1500, but \$1250 is about the present price for "young and likely" women to work in the field. These prices are only paid for the "best of the lot," and they insured by the slave merchant for a limited time, generally three months. The insurance is against their having any acute or chronic disease at the time of sale, and sometimes against "vicious habits," foremost among which is reckoned the habit of running away. A slave is not unfrequently sold as sound, whom the trader knows not to beso. He is returned upon his hands, when he gives an inferior one in his place, or exacts \$100 or so to boot. Thus one negro may

be several times sold in the course of the season, and as frequently returned to the trader, who generally realizes from \$50 to \$150 by the operation. At the close of the business season, the trader wishing "to close out his stock," these unsound negroes, and any others that may be remaining on hand, are put up at public auction and sold to the highest bidder, generally without a warrantee, and the trader goes to the northern slave States to purchase another "gang." I do not know the exact number of slave markets in New Orleans. They are quite numerous: generally having a high board fence around the yard, and a large sign up, with the inscription,

SLAVES FOR SALE OR HIRE.

At the door will be three or four white men standing around, one at least having under his arm a large, heavy butted whip, of northern manufacture. Inside of the yard is a long frame building, having a bench on each side, on one of which, drest in their best attire, sit the women, on the other, the men who are offered for sale. As a stranger walks into the market, it is interesting to notice the anxious curiosity depicted on the countenances of its inmates. They are forming an opinion in regard to whether he will be a hard or an easy master, and in order to please their present owner, and anxious to know their fate, they assume a cheerfulness of manner to which the heart must not unfrequently, be a stranger.

I have occasionally heard it stated, (and my own observation convinces me of the truth of the statement) that at the present prices of negroes, slave labor is not generally profitable. The profit is in their increase, in the raising of slaves, either for the purpose of getting their labor on the home plantation, or in order to sell them to others. An active boy, if "good conditioned," will bring \$1000 at fifteen years of age, and the expense of raising them is but little, as on many plantations they go until ten years of age without clothes in the summer, and but a coarse cotton shirt or frock in the winter. The only feasible plan (if plan it can be called) by which to abolish slavery, is to *confine it within certain prescribed limits*, "saying unto it, hitherto shalt thou come but no further." Destroy the demand for slaves, and the institution will finally fall from its own inherent weakness and unprofitableness. But while you continue to admit new slave territory, thus furnishing fresh lands to supply the place of those which are impoverished by the exhausting system of slave labor, thus creating an increased demand for slaves, and keeping up the present high prices for them, so long will it continue. The intelligent portion of the south are not much elated with the passage of the Nebraska bill. They fear that it will make the acquisition of Cuba more difficult, and Cuba they intend to have by fair means or by foul. They also consider it as ominously esta-

blishing the fact that compromises may be repealed. I remain, &c.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DIALOGUE ON SLAVERY.

W. Well friend H. thou hast been residing at the South, and hast been brought into immediate contact with "the peculiar institution." Upon one point in particular, I should like to know thy testimony. The South complains that Northern papers mis-represent them, by publishing isolated cases of cruelty, and conveying the idea to the public that these are a fair representation of the whole system of Slavery. Now, I have no doubt that some of the Slaveholders treat their slaves with *comparative* kindness, but in addition to the fact of their reducing the image of God to a "chattel personal" (which I consider as an unwarrantable cruelty), hast thou not known of cases in which the slaves have been treated with a harshness amounting to barbarity?

H. I am sorry to say that such cases are not unfrequent. One immediately occurs to my mind, which I will relate, prefacing it by remarking that one of the greatest offences a negro can commit against his master, is that of running away. And this for obvious reasons, as it deprives his master of the income derived from his services. In the extreme Southern States, it is almost impossible for a "runaway nigger" ultimately to escape being captured.

W. Why not go to Canada?

H. Go to Canada! How could he get there? The whole country is to him as an armed camp of an enemy. If he is seen away from home he may be questioned by any white man that meets him, and if out of his immediate neighborhood, unless he has a pass, or other sufficient evidence of his master's consent, he may be lodged in the nearest jail, advertised, and if not called for in the legal time, sold to pay his jail fees. He remains out in the woods, generally in a cane-brake in the day-time, and at night goes to the plantations, (at the risk of being caught or torn by dogs), to get somewhat to eat. No ferryman would allow him to cross the river at his ferry, and any steamboat taking him on his way to freedom, though unknowingly, may be sued for damages, and the value of the negro received of the owners of the boat. Some men have what are called "nigger dogs," for the express purpose of hunting runaway negroes. One man named — living a few miles from me, had five dogs. He charged \$10 per day for himself and dogs, "catch or no catch," but would not go out on a hunt unless the owner of the runaway would give permission that the dogs should "take hold" of the negro when caught. This was to keep them in "good heart." At one time, the dogs having been for several hours on the trail of a negro, finally "brought him to bay" in a pond of water about three feet deep, in which the ne-

gro was endeavoring to conceal himself by squatting down, leaving only his face above water. The owner of the dogs coming up, riding his splendid horse, and with his rifle in his hand, called to the negro to come on shore, telling him that if he did not the dogs would drown him and "if you strike one of them, I will shoot you." The negro arose from his position, and as he arose the dogs seized him, and he came wading to the shore dragging five hounds by their teeth. By this time his master had arrived, and said to him, "now take your choice, either to have the dogs hold you for five minutes, or two hundred lashes to-morrow." As we generally prefer future evil to present pain, so in order to be released from his painful situation, the negro chose the to-morrow's flogging. The dogs were tied with ropes and one by one "choked off" of their prey, and tied to neighboring saplings, still rearing and plunging to get at their human game. On the morrow, the negro was tied up and received one hundred and fifty lashes, when he fainted and was taken down: his master declaring that he "would teach him how to run away again."

W. Horrible! His master must have been a naturally cruel man.

H. No more so than many others. Such cases are but the legitimate results of a system, which leads those educated under its influences to look with indifference upon pain or suffering, when he who endures it has a skin "not coloured like their own," in other words, is "nothing but a nigger."

W. Well I feel like doing what I can to clear myself from all participation in, or upholding of such an iniquitous and blood cemented system. I shall be glad to hear further from thee on this subject at a future time. H.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 22, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.*

In a letter written 9 mo. 10th, 1833 to Joseph John Gurney, on the decease of a near relative, we find some observations which the minds of many readers will feelingly adopt in reference to the writer:

"I was, to my own apprehension, very much with you in spirit, and thought that perhaps I had some perception, however feeble it might be, of those consolations with which I could not doubt that you were abundantly comforted of God, in being enabled, for a short time, to forget yourselves and the scenes of suffering and distress of body to which you had recently been witnesses, and with reverent thanksgiving to offer spiritual worship to Him who had redeemed to Himself our beloved friend, carried her safely through all her tribulations, and at length, as a

*Continued from page 55.

shock of corn fully ripe, gathered her to an everlasting abiding place in the presence of His glory. How exceedingly rich in all that constitutes the joy and excellency of our holy religion is that precious word of assurance "he shall go no more out!" To those who die in the Lord we may be very sure that there is no more falling away—no more of that under which the most advanced christian is at times made to groan 'being burdened;' but, delivered from the body in which we have to suffer under a sense of the evil and bitterness of sin, the children of the Lord, without intermission to their communion with Him, and without alloy to their peace and joy, are, in the Society of multitudes more numerous than man can number, happy and blessed as themselves, established before Him forever. Such gleams as these from the Sun of Righteousness, seldom as it is that they break upon us in the course of our pilgrimage, may be regarded as strong and conclusive evidence of the reality and divine origin of the doctrine of the New Testament, and are, in the abounding of that grace by which we are called to eternal life through Christ Jesus our Lord, vouchsafed in moments of peculiar favor for the strengthening of our faith and ought to have the effect of quickening us to more fervent aspirations for complete purification from sin, through the power of the Holy Ghost.

What dost thou think of our projected Association for bettering the condition of the liberated or apprenticed negroes. It is an object that I have very much at heart, and could wish that I were so circumstanced as to be able to devote to it the little energy I possess. I certainly think Friends have something to do, and from that sort of feeling which seemed to prevail at the opportunities of conference at which I was present, I should be inclined to argue that they will be enabled satisfactorily to discover their path of duty, and, entering willing hearted upon the service, I trust the Society will be brought to much of that experience so richly enjoyed by the Church in early days, that it is more blessed to give than to receive."

To J. J. Gurney—(then traveling in Scotland.)

HUNTINGDON, 10mo 8th, 1836.

My dearest Joseph,

I have been so much with thee in spirit, in true brotherly christian fellowship, in the course of my solitary journey to-day, that it will be something more than mere pleasure to write thee a line or two before I retire for the night. I must, in my poor way, try to tell thee that I have inexpressible comfort and rest and peace in believing, and in being persuaded that our gracious Lord and Saviour is with thee to order all thy steps in the counsel of His wisdom, to keep thee in all thy ways, to lay thee low when, for His own purposes, He is pleased to humble thee, so empty thee that thou mayst know in whom

is all thy fullness, to supply all thy need from the abundance of His overflowing and ever flowing Grace, to enlarge thy heart in His all-gathering love, and to give thee mouth and wisdom, such as even the adversaries of his blessed Truth shall not be able to gainsay or resist. * * * I trust thy dear companions in the work are sometimes brought within the skirts of those showers, with which I can well believe that you are plentifully watered from above. It is a precious word of promise, rich in the unction of the ever lasting gospel of the Grace of God,—“He shall come down as showers.”—Oh may it be given thee thus to rejoice in the Lord day by day, and to joy in the God of thy salvation: and yet more and more to praise his glorious name, for his goodness, power and love in Christ Jesus our Redeemer."

When the same much valued correspondent was faithfully laboring in a far distant land, W. Forster wrote to him; (5 mo., 1838.) "Yearly Meeting is now nearly at hand—How I shall miss thee. But perhaps not more than I do almost every day, both at home and abroad. I never seemed so much to need thy counsel and support: for I often feel that I have scarcely a friend left in life who has, equally with thyself, an understanding of me. But I will not repine." * * * "I have been reading thy letters, and am much interested by the history of thy family visit at Philadelphia, &c. Surely our Lord and Saviour must be with thee. With what confidence may we hope that his care and love will never be withdrawn from thee." A sentiment, the correctness of which was gloriously realized, and will be admitted by the true-hearted so long as the promise holds good: "The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance."

In the year 1846 William Forster was introduced into a service which, whilst calculated to stimulate him to unremitting efforts, could not fail to affect most painfully a mind so keenly sensitive to human distress. During that year, the almost total failure of the potato crop, together with a deficiency in the crop of oats, involved a loss computed at eighty millions of dollars, and reduced millions of persons to the prospect of absolute starvation. The emergency was too dreadful to be at first fully realized, and the sufferings which ensued, not only transcend our skill in description, but were far beyond the conception of those, who, daily partaking in abundance of the bounties of Providence, desired to extend across the deep a helping hand to those who were ready to perish. Our beloved friend found it to be his duty to make a journey through the distressed districts, and having conferred with his Friends, and obtained their unity he left his home, a messenger of mercy, on the 30th of 11th month, and spent an unusually inclement winter, subjected to great privations, and amidst scenes of distress, loathsomeness and horror, not

to be contemplated, even after the lapse of years without a shudder. In this labor of love and of faith he was accompanied, by turns, by Joseph Crossfield, James H. Tuke, George Alexander, Wm. Dillwyn Sims, and other friends by whom from time to time reports were published, and we had marked for insertion various thrilling extracts, but we find that they would involve the occupation of more space than we can devote to the subject, and the minutiae of details would too painfully harrow the feelings of our readers. But if these scenes were too revolting to be lightly touched upon in a journal like this, let us contemplate the suffering they must have occasioned to our dear Friend, who, though his sensibilities were so exquisitely keen that his heart strings were continually and painfully vibrating, thus dwelt in the midst of these horrors, acting the part of the good Samaritan, whilst from the Heaven of Heavens, the adorable Being, who, when incarnate, "went about doing good," looked down upon His follower thus conformed unto His likeness, and recognized these noble deeds as *done unto Him*. Who is there that can reflect upon these passages in William Forster's personal history, without making the acknowledgement

"not like thine is crucified
The spirit of our human pride.
And at the bondsman's tale of woe,
And for the outcast and forsaken,
Not warm like thine, but cold and slow
Our weaker sympathies awaken."

From the "Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends" we copy the following passage.

"The Committee observed that some of the earliest and most perplexing questions that presented themselves, were how to obtain trustworthy information as to the real state of the more remote districts, and through what agency to open suitable channels of relief. From this difficulty they were in part relieved, by finding that William Forster of Norwich, intended to come to this country, believing it to be his duty to undertake a journey through the most distressed districts, with the view of obtaining accurate information respecting the nature and amount of destitution, and of devising the best means of affording relief. The distressed condition of Ireland had attracted Wm. Forster's attention before he heard of the formation of our Committee, and he had conferred with his friends in London on the subject, who fully united in his views, and encouraged him to prosecute his proposed journey. He set out on the 30th of 11 mo. 1846, and was accompanied in different parts of this route by some friends from England and of this country, with whom he visited the Counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Longford, and Cavan. Most of the counties were closely inspected, and special attention was paid to the wild and desolate parts of each. It was not until the 14th of 4th mo. '47, that he completed his engagement: which had been prolonged greatly beyond the expectations at first entertained by himself and his friends, and which he prosecuted in the depth of a very inclement winter, deprived of many of the comforts to which he was accustomed, and his feelings often painfully excited by witnessing so much misery beyond his power to relieve. His examination disclosed a state of destitution and suffering far exceeding that which had been at first supposed.

The Committee believe that his visit was very useful in many respects. He stimulated the upper classes in the endeavor to relieve the distress around them. He encouraged those with whom he had intercourse, by the in-

formation he was able to give respecting the exertions made in other parts of the country, and by shewing them that he himself sympathized with the difficulties of their position and with the sufferings of the poor. He also afforded most important help to our Committee, by opening a correspondence with individuals and local bodies in those remote districts, and thus furnished us with many efficient and trustworthy agents for the distribution of the funds confided to us, in places far removed from the residence of any members of our own religious profession. Previously to his leaving Dublin, he had been requested to undertake the immediate distribution of relief, by advances of money in all cases in the course of his journey in which there appeared to him a propriety in doing so. This discretion he from time to time exercised."

"The full value of his services," says the *Norfolk News*, "can scarcely be calculated. He hardly allowed himself sufficient time for rest and sleep; and no atmospheric influences, however inauspicious, were allowed to damp his ardour or relax his exertions. Younger and more robust men quailed before the amount of labor through which his unflagging zeal sustained him; but there was little doubt that he overtaxed his strength in the prosecution of his arduous though self-imposed task. He was strongly and peculiarly affected by the harrowing scenes which he was called to witness, and which far exceeded in horror any which his imagination had pictured; and with the combined effect of grief on his tender spirit, and excessive fatigue on his physical system, he returned to England, with a constitution much debilitated by the severity of the exercise through which he had passed. It may be interesting to our readers to know that the total amount of relief in money and food placed at the disposal of the Central Committee of the Society of Friends at Dublin, during the visitation of the famine, was nearly £200,000. The supplies sent from America were on a scale of unparalleled liberality."—*To be Continued*.

We can scarcely take up a periodical which has any pretension to respectability or moral tone without finding strong condemnation of the late iniquity of our National Legislature, in the passage of the Nebraska Bill. Yet how few of those who thus denounce it are themselves free from the guilt! The Missouri Compromise was in the first place, a weak and wicked surrender of the right, at a time when manliness and virtue might have secured the blessing which was then vilely thrown away. From that time the nominal friends of Freedom, who are "as much opposed to Slavery as you are, but"—have been gradually pursuing the downward course of compromise and demoralization. We cannot pause to dwell upon the evidences of this, which saddened and disgusted us from year to year. In 1850 a crisis had arrived when public sentiment demanded an advance in the direction of Freedom, and representatives were sent to Washington to carry out the popular will. The South perceived this, expected fully to be compelled to make large concessions, and were ready, after a flourish of trumpets, to do it peaceably. The time was auspicious. The safety

of the Union, so far from being at hazzard, was enhanced,—and a more tranquil feeling on the Slave Question,—alike at the South and at the North, was at hand. Had Henry Clay and Daniel Webster been both quietly at their homes; or, being at Washington, had they both been destitute of all hope of the Presidency, the tide of Slavery propagandism would have receded, and the infamous Fugitive Bill would never have disgraced our statute books, or even have been devised. But the South had been accustomed to gain her points by bullying the North. She verily believed that the time had come when she could do so no longer, but, it could cost little to try the experiment once more, and would only be indulging, (perhaps for the last time) in a favorite habit. So the fist of the South was fiercely yet tremulously shaken in the face of the North,—and the North—false to its convictions—traitor to its trusts—recreant to virtue and humanity, shook in its shoes. The quick witted South took advantage of the first display of the white feather. They expected to be beaten, but they saw that they could strike a panic in the hosts of Freedom. They saw that by threatening the Union they could draw concessions from northern politicians, and they knew that if these dough faces, would, at the very moment when they might have made their own terms, yield a little "to save the Union," they could, by calling louder, scare them into conceding more. So that inhuman, base and unconstitutional Bill was presented, its passage was demanded,—and the sons of the North who were sent to do battle for Liberty, gave themselves to infamy, and "Covered down into Slaves when they might have stood MEN."

The degrading history of the subsequent years is lamentably fresh in our memory, and does not modify the sentiment at which we had arrived, that the most truckling people of ancient or modern time, are now to be found in the non-slaveholding States of this Union. TRUCKLING TO THE SOUTH—is the comprehensive phrase, by which we might characterize a large part of our legislation. The words afford a neat compendium of our history.

At present there seems to be something like a virtuous indignation pervading the country. We would endeavour to place some reliance upon it, only that we are weary of being duped. Politicians, in this as in other matters, will be ready with promises to carry out the popular will. But when they meet the Southern phalanx face to face, like Whittier's Statesman in the "hunting of men,"—

"doubting and fear shall prevail,

And the head of the steed take the place of the tail."

We have little heart, therefore, to chronicle the indignation meetings held in various sections, and sometimes addressed by Politicians, who, could Clay or Webster rise before them to warn them that "the Union is in danger" would leap

to their embrace, as NEY rushed from the head of his troops to the arms of Napoleon, when his old master called him "the bravest of the brave."

Yet, amid the sickening evidences that a true answer to the query,—“Shall he find faith on the earth?” must be a negative one,—we can at least place a guard upon our own conscience and our own example, and take heed lest we too, by the corrupting influences of sordid interest, sell our testimony and our integrity together, and become implicated in the greatest crime on Earth. And whilst it is much to keep our own conscience clear, it is by no means necessary that the results of our abstinence from Slave produce should stop here. Let all who abhor Slavery refrain from giving the motive, refuse to accept the bribe that blinds the eye, and the motive of self-interest would no longer operate in the North to the extent that it now does, to stifle the testimony, to influence the vote, to stimulate to high treason against God and Humanity. It would be a modest, unblamable mode of attack upon Slavery, and carrying with it evidences of sincerity, it would preach wordless, but convicting sermons, it would spread like a holy contagion among the honest hearted,

"And from yonder sunny vallies,
Southward in the distance lost,
Freedom yet should summon allies
Worthier than the North can boast.
With the evil by their hearth-stones grappling at severer cost."

SUGGESTED PRIZE ESSAY.—The Leeds (Eng.) Anti-Slavery Association proposes to raise a Fund and to offer a prize of 200 guineas for the best, and 100 guineas for the second best essay "on the Sinfulness of Slavery; the best mode of terminating it; and the benefits that would result therefrom."

Strong reasons for this movement are presented, prominent among which is placed the awakening of dormant energies, (as in the case of Clarkson), in the minds of those who compete for the prize. Immediate contributions are invited, and the following are the persons in America who are appointed to receive such subscriptions. George W. Taylor, *Cor. 5th and Cherry Sts., Philada.*,—Samuel J. May, *Boston*, James McCune Smith, *M. D., New York*,—Frederick Douglas, *Rochester*.

FREE LABOUR WAREHOUSE,
N. W. CORNER OF 5th AND CHERRY STS.
PHILADELPHIA.

THE Proprietor of this Establishment would call the attention of the friends and consumers of Free Labour Produce to the prospect of having a manufactory for making a variety of Staple Cotton and mixture of Cotton and Woollen fabrics in operation early next autumn, which it is believed will remove the main difficulties, which have been experienced in maintaining a supply of such goods. He has also a confidence in securing better arrangements for regular supplies of such goods as he shall prefer getting made in England. He is now expecting daily additional stock for the autumn demand.*

GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

*A part of this supply has this day arrived.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 8.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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JUAN PLACIDO—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 58.)

Soon after our arrival, I saw the mayoral coming towards the house; I escaped through the garden, and hid myself: in the afternoon I went to town, to the Count of G., who gave me shelter and protection; I was still uneasy, I wept bitterly when I remembered the kindness I was treated with by the other masters in Havana. Scarcely was I there five days, when, for a trifling fault, they sent for a commissary of police, who secured me with a rope, and took me to the public prison in the middle of the day; at four o'clock, there came a white man from the country, who demanded me, and I was delivered to him; he put on me the coarse linen dress, he tied my arms with a rope, and led me towards the Molino, which I desired never to see again, after having been so well treated by my former masters, being now also somewhat elated with the praises bestowed on my abilities, and a little proud of my acquaintance in the city with persons that knew how to reward services. At the Molino, Don Saturnino Carrias, the mayoral at this time, examined me, I told the truth, and he sent me to work at the fields without any chastisement or fetters. I was there about nine days when my mistress coming to the Molino to breakfast, sent for me, gave me a fine suit of clothes, and took me to town again in the volante. I was known at this time under the name of the Chinito, or the little Mulatto of the Marquesa.

About this time I went to the house of a lady of Senor Apodaca, a grandee of Havanna, where they were making some preparations for his reception. Senor Aparitio, a painter and decorator, was employed in painting some emblems allusive to a rose, as the name of the lady was Rosa: I helped the painter, and he gave me ten dollars for my work, and having by way of amusement painted some garlands, he saw that I might be useful to him, and asked my mistress to lend me to him, but she would not consent; at the conclusion of his work he gave me two dollars more, which money I kept with the intention to spend it at Havana. My mistress found out that the servants met together in a barn after midnight, to play at cards till the morning. The first thing she did on the following morning was to search my pockets, and finding that I had more money than she gave me, took me for an accomplice in their game; and notwithstanding my telling her how I came in possession of the money, she kept it, and sent me to the Molino, where I was received by the mayoral, and treated kindly, the same as before; at the end of three or four days my mistress sent for me, and I returned to town.

Some time past on without any novelty, when my mother died suddenly. I was made acquainted with this accident soon afterwards, when my mistress gave me three dollars to have prayers said for her. A few days after she gave me leave to go to the Molino, to see what my mother had left. The mayoral gave me the key of the house, where I only found a very large old box empty: as there was a secret in it, which I knew, I pulled the spring, and found there some trinkets of pure gold, but the most worthy were three ancient bracelets, near two inches broad and very thick, two strings of beads, one of gold, the other coral and gold: I found also a bundle of papers, in which were some accounts of debts due to us, one of 200 and odd dollars, another of 400, payable by my mistress, and some others for small sums. When I was born, my grandfather gave me a young mare, of a fine breed: she gave five colts, which my father purposed should be given to my brothers; after that she gave three more, making altogether eight colts. I returned to my mistress, and gave an account of what I found. At the end of five or six days, I asked her if she had examined the bills: she

answered calmly, "not yet;" and I went to inform the Creole, Rosa Brindiz, who had the care of my sister, Maria del Rosario. Rosa was continually urging me not to lose any opportunity of asking my mistress about it, as she wanted my sister's share, to repay herself the expenses of nursing and keeping her, and as I was the eldest, it was my duty, she said, to look after the money. Teased by her, I ventured to mention it again to my mistress; but what was my astonishment, when instead of money, she said, "You are in a great hurry for your inheritance, do you not know that I am the lawful heir of my slaves? if you speak to me again about it, I will send you where you will never see the sun nor the moon again; go and clean the furniture." The following day I made Rosa acquainted with this answer, and some days after she came herself to speak to my mistress, with whom she was a long time; when she came out I gave her two of the three bracelets, and all of the beads. My mistress, who was always watching me, came near us, and intimated to Rosa, that she disliked her to have any communication with me, or any of the servants, and Rosa went away, and never came there any more.

As for me, from the moment that I lost my hopes, I ceased to be a faithful slave; from an humble, submissive being, I turned the most discontented of mankind: I wished to have wings to fly from that place, and to go to Havana; and from that day my only thoughts were in planning how to escape and run away. Some days after I sold to a silver-smith the other bracelet, and for which he gave me seven dollars, and some reals, I gave the dollars to a priest, for prayers to be said for my poor mother. It was not long before my mistress knew of it, through the priest; she asked me where I had the money from, I told her, she wanted to know the name of the silver-smith, I said I did not know; she flew into a passion, "You will know then for what you are born, you cannot dispose of any thing without my consent." She then sent me to the Molino for the third time. Don Saturnino, the mayoral, inquired what I had done, I told him, very peevishly, and weeping, for I did not care for the consequences at that moment, but he pitied me, untied my arms, and sent me to his kitchen, with orders not to stir from there. At the end of ten days, he said to me, "As your mistress is coming to-morrow to breakfast here, to save appearances, I will put on you the fetters, and send you to work; but if she inquires whether you have been whipped, you must say, yes." Next morning, about nine, she sent for me, gave me a new suit of clothes; and when I went to him to deliver the coarse ones, with an angry tone, he said to me, "Now, mind what you are about; in less than two months you have been sent to me three times, and I have treated you kindly, endeavor to do your best not to come here again, if you do, you

shall be treated severely; go to your mistress, go, and beware."—*To be Continued.*

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WHO IS THE SLAVEHOLDER?

Suppose the readers of the Non-slaveholder should form a stock company and raise sufficient capital to purchase a plantation at the South and stock it with Slaves, and also to erect a manufactory at the North, and establish a Store at New York or Philadelphia. They employ A. to superintend the plantation and raise the cotton, B. to take charge of the manufactory, and C. the Store, the stockholders go to the Store for their supplies, and purchase and use all the goods.

After a time suppose A. B. and C. buy out the stockholders and continue to superintend and carry on the business as heretofore, and the stockholders continue to purchase and use all the goods.

We will suppose again that after some years, A. B. and C. dissolve partnership, and divide the property. A. takes the plantation and Slaves, B. the manufactory, and C. the Store, and conduct the business exactly as before, and the purchasers and consumers of the goods are the same.

Although there have been changes of ownership in the above supposed cases, the condition of the Slave remains the same. I will therefore enquire—Does the commercial change remove the sin of slaveholding from one party and place it on another? Are the original stockholders and consumers less responsible for the continuance of Slavery in the last case than the first.

While non-slaveholders continue to buy and use all the products of slave labor, can we expect Slavery to cease? Who, then is the Slaveholder? W.

FREE LABOR IN TEXAS.

A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, writing from Texas, gives a most interesting account of the settlement and operations of the Germans in that State. After stating their general repugnance to slavery, he says:—"In connexion with this subject, it should be mentioned that the inhabitants of New Braunfels have begun to raise cotton by their own personal labor. The trial, as may be expected, has first been made on a very small scale. After the first success in respect to climate and soil, which has been perfect, they have formed an association for that branch of agriculture, and this year they have produced 800 bales. The German settlers of other places have done the same, with the most satisfactory results. . . . If this movement continues, you will soon see, in this country, quite a number of small German farming communities raising southern staple produce by association."

Now this is very important indeed, and well worthy of the consideration of the friends of the Free Labour movement. Who cannot see what

would be the result, if a large number of these communities should plant themselves in Texas, or in any other slave State? Each would be a leavening centre and substance of freedom, besides the amount of free-labor products they would add to the stock now in market. Those Germans will soon come to vote, and their influence will be felt at the ballot-box in favor of freedom. If they can live and labor in Texas, they can do the same in Georgia or South Carolina.—*Bond of Brotherhood.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 19, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.*

Early in the 8th month 1844, William Forster sailed for France, on a religious mission to the cities and towns of Normandy, Brittany, and some of the more northerly parts of France and Belgium, first visiting the Channel Islands. In this service he was accompanied by Edmund Richards of Guernsey, and Henry Tuke.

His labors were most diligent, and, as we reverently believe, blessed to many souls. On the reading, in London Yearly Meeting, in 1845, of a minute of the Meeting for sufferings which brought this work of faith and labor of love into notice, Edmund Richards gave a succinct description thereof, respecting which the London FRIEND preserves the following record.

"He travelled much in parts remote from the great roads, amongst villages, in forests and fastnesses, whither the people, whose descendants still profess the reformed religion, fled in former times for shelter from the persecution of their Catholic neighbors. In some of these the life is not extinct, the seed still germinates and strives to burst through the incumbent mass of superstition. The profession, however, appears in many places to be a dead profession, nevertheless the door is open for the Christian laborer, and our Friends found themselves led in a remarkable manner, along the open way. Besides service of a purely religious nature, when in the towns they went from house to house, amongst the civic authorities, endeavoring to engage their minds on behalf of the abolition of slavery. These opportunities, in which they were always received with much urbanity, led sometimes to discourse upon our religious principles, and that again to communications in the line of the ministry. This visit is one of great importance, and of the deepest interest. That there exists in the secluded parts of France, a number of seeking persons, ready to welcome true spiritual religion, is a very encouraging circumstance; nor must we overlook the ground which has been gained on the subject of slavery."

At London Yearly Meeting of 1845, (just referred to,) a deep feeling was entertained relating to a difference which existed among Friends in Indiana, respecting the proper mode of action in reference to slavery, which had resulted in a secession, and the establishment of an organization by the name of "*Anti-Slavery Friends.*" A weight of religious exercise pervaded the meeting, which led to the adoption of an exhortatory address to the seceding individuals, and it was believed to be right "that it should be entrusted to a deputation from the Yearly Meeting,

* Continued from page 63.

who should attend the next Yearly Meeting of Indiana, and afterwards proceed in disposing of the address, as in the wisdom of Truth should seem best." Our departed friend and several others signified to the committee upon the subject their willingness to yield themselves to this arduous service, and the London Friend thus records their appointment:

"The meeting was brought into tender sympathy with the dear Friends who have offered themselves to become peace-makers in the body, and the Church laid her hands upon them, under the persuasion that it was the will of the Lord that they should be separated for this service; we believe we may add that the contriving, cementing influence of His presence and love was experienced, to the admiration of the meeting."

William Forster having retained possession of the certificate granted to him for religious service on the continent, and being still impressed with a sense of duty to return thither, crossed the channel to Calais, 6 mo. 21st, 1845,—again accompanied by his friend Edmund Richards, and was joined in a few days by Edward Backhouse, Jr. He accomplished his visit to the cities of the northern departments of France, holding many meetings, making religious family visits, visiting prisons, and various establishments both Papal and Protestant, being courteously received by the authorities and by influential individuals, although at Maubert Fontain, the gendarmes made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the distribution of Scripture books. In this tour, our Friends circulated a large number of treatises on the unlawfulness of war, anti-slavery pamphlets, Friends' Tracts, and selections from the holy Scriptures. Among the persons of note who gave them a cordial reception were the Archbishops of Rheims and of Cambray, who showed great interest in the anti-slavery question, and most politely received books and tracts illustrative of the religious views of Friends. The former expressed his desire for the total abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, and declared himself a man of peace, quoting the Psalmist's words: "Scatter thou the people who delight in war."

They returned to England on the 31st of seventh month, and on the 23d of 8th month, William Forster embarked at Liverpool in the steamer *Great Western*, to bear the olive-branch across the mighty deep. His associates in this important mission to Indiana were our beloved and honored friends, Josiah Forster, George Stacey, and John Allen, of Liskeard.

The members of this christian embassy attended Indiana Yearly meeting, which convened on the 30th of the 9th month, where they were received with cordial sympathy and unity, a committee being appointed to give them any required information or assistance. They however proceeded alone to their work, in an inclement season of the year, visiting the objects of their solicitude in their settlements, in various parts of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa, convening the families in places where they came,

and reading to them the Yearly Meeting Epistle, and adding such remarks as appeared at the time to be suitable. They visited many at their own houses, leaving copies of the Epistle with the heads of the families, but confining the circulation entirely to those to whom it was addressed. Amidst many hardships they were sustained by a holy confidence in the arm which led them forth, *knowing this, that their labor was not in vain in the Lord.* Following with a single eye their Divine Guide, turning not aside at the invitation or suggestion of any, they pursued their single object of christian charity in a manner so exemplary that they have left a safe and salutary example to any who may hereafter be engaged in similar mediatorial missions. Their christian circumspection throughout this engagement, and subsequently in reference to it, plainly evinced that they had sought availingly the wisdom which cometh from above. They were abundantly convinced that the course pursued was the only one which could in wisdom have been adopted, and they returned to their native land "with a renewed and deepened persuasion of the evils of division, and of the blessed effects of that unity in which our religious Society has so largely participated." Their labors of love, and the beautiful fruits thereof, will not be forgotten.

A minute of Indiana Yearly Meeting, expressive of Christian regard, sympathy and unity, with these dear friends, also certifies that the Gospel ministry, among them, of William Forster had been sound and edifying.

In the eighth month 1846, we find him engaged in a religious tour in Scotland.

In this and the following year William Forster performed the arduous and painful services in Ireland, of which we have already given a brief and inadequate account.

In 1849 the Yearly Meeting of London was deeply impressed with a religious concern (originating we believe in the mind of W. Forster,) to address upon the subject of Slavery the rulers and people of the nations professing Christianity. This remarkable and memorable document, drafted by our dear friend, was adopted by the Yearly Meeting, "the reading of it being accompanied with feelings of lively sympathy and of christian love towards all mankind." When the question arose as to the means which should be taken to present and circulate the Address, William Forster with much feeling offered himself as the Society's messenger in Europe, which offer received the cordial unity of Friends and was accepted with thankfulness. On the 19th of 7th month he left London upon this important undertaking, accompanied by our valued friends Josiah Forster and Peter Bedford. At different times, and accompanied by different Friends, he proceeded to deliver the address to nearly all the Sovereigns and governments of Europe, it being translated into the continental languages, and

widely circulated among those in authority. How diligently he laboured,—with what earnest and persuasive eloquence he pleaded with the mighty ones of Earth on behalf of the down-trodden slave,—with what favor he was received,—and how remarkably his way was made for him, could be far better related by some of those faithful disciples who were his partners in the work, and who will, we trust, make contributions towards his fitting biography.

In the Spring of 1850 a rather unusual concern rested upon his mind,—which was, to hold meetings in the love of the Gospel with the various persons connected with the London Theatres of all descriptions. Although this engagement was a trial of faith, *in prospect*, both to William Forster and to his friends, yet it was satisfactorily accomplished, and the meetings were well attended, and were held in the power and to the honor of Truth.

About the close of the year 1851, we find W. Forster engaged in a religious visit to the meetings composing the general meeting of Dorset and Hants, and those of the Monthly Meetings of Somerset; and in the 7th month of the ensuing year he obtained the sanction of his Monthly Meeting to visit in the love of the Gospel the descendants of the Vaudois, in the valleys and on the mountains of Piedmont. In this journey he was accompanied by his valued and faithful friend William Holmes of Alton. The service was a toilsome one, our friend sometimes riding on mules, at other times walking for miles over the rugged mountains, that he might see the simple peasants in their humble cottage homes, when the plain but clear and powerful gospel message, delivered in the earnestness of Truth, often brought tears of tenderness and contrition to his deeply interested and attentive auditory.

"Like Paul he went from house to house,
And boldly preached the Word—
And many souls accepting it
Were added to the Lord.
While from his lips and from his heart
As onward he would pass,
Fell gentle benedictions
As showers upon the grass."

Of this journey the following interesting passages have been kindly contributed by our esteemed friend who accompanied him.

"Our late dear friend William Forster left England on the 1st of the 10th Month, 1852, proceeded by way of Paris, Sens, Lyons, Geneva, and Turin, towards the valleys of Piedmont, where the Waldenses are located. At Sens, and Lyons, Wm. Forster sought out persons connected with the small Protestant congregations, and held a religious meeting with small companies of serious persons in each of these places. At Geneva he called on many serious persons, and an opportunity was afforded for an interview with the students of the Evangelical College, most of whom were intended for the ministry: our dear friend was much interested on behalf

of these young men, and addressed them in a very impressive manner on the importance of living up to the principles which they professed.

"At Lyons, Wm. Forster and his companion were joined by a Friend from the South of France, who acted as an interpreter. On the 20th of 10th month the little party left Geneva and proceeded by the pass of Mount Cervin into Italy. It was a long and painful journey, but our dear Friend bore with it with much composure, although greatly tried for want of sufficient accommodation in the public conveyance in which they travelled. W. F. had provided many books for distribution which were taken possession of on our entering the dominions of the King of Sardinia, with an understanding that they would be sent to Turin; he had some difficulty in regaining them, and only by undertaking that they should not be distributed to Catholics, which proved rather a source of trial to him, his benevolent intention regarding them being in degree frustrated. After a stay of about a week at Turin, which time was much occupied in obtaining information respecting the Vallies, we proceeded to La Tour, the principal Town in the Vaudois Parishes; it contains about 3000 inhabitants, one half of whom are Protestants: here the little party engaged rooms at the Hotel. A few days were occupied in making the acquaintance of the Moderator and the Professor of the College, and in obtaining information as to the best mode of proceeding with the concern of our dear friend who was received with much openness, and on the 1st day, the 31st of 10th Month he had his first meeting among this interesting people; the use of a school-room in La Tour was kindly allowed, and was well filled: the Moderator acted as Interpreter; he performed his office faithfully, though on some points views were set forth differing from his own.—The season having pretty far advanced, it was thought best to proceed towards the most distant parishes, which are in the Valley of St. Martin. One of the Professors of the College accompanied us to Pignerol to negotiate with a person for the printing of some little books in Italian. "The Lock and Key," "Life of John the Baptist," extracted from Scripture, and a Text Book; of each of these W. F. had a large addition struck off in the hope of getting them into circulation where he felt restricted from giving those books which he had a difficulty in passing at Turin.

"There were a few of the Vaudois living in and around Pignerol with whom a meeting was obtained; they assembled to the number of about 30 in our apartment at the Hotel, which was kept by one of their members. From this place we proceeded to Perosa, and soon called on the Pastor of Pomaret, who was very kind and well disposed to assist our dear Friend in the object of his visit. The next parish was distant about 4 or 5 miles; having hired a mule and mountain cart to take our baggage, we set out on foot, and

reached the house of the Pastor at Clos, where we took a little refreshment and then ascended the mountain side to the parish school, where we met an interesting company of persons, and our dear Friend was enabled to deliver his Gospel message to the comfort of some present—it was a solid meeting.

"The approach to this meeting house was very difficult and extremely toilsome. W. F.'s nervous fear of a precipice was so great as to render the exertion extreme, the peasants looked on with astonishment, repeatedly telling him, there was no danger, the mountain path being to them no more than the side walk to us. Our dear Friend's mind felt drawn to have a meeting on the next first day at a meeting house, high up on the opposite mountain, which our kind friends did not seem to encourage; we learned afterwards that W. F.'s state of timidity made them fearful—he however seemed decided, and here commenced the custom which was invariably adopted afterwards, his companions going before to survey the road, and to judge of the possibility of W. F.'s accomplishing it. Our opinion was that he could get to this spot, and we fixed for a meeting at 3 o'clock.

"The place was reached, but only by extreme exertion. It was truly instructive to see how our dear Friend toiled to fulfil the requirements of his Divine Master.

"When we arrived, almost bathed in perspiration, we found the room was extremely damp, with a mud floor, and no glass in the windows, yet hot and fatigued as we were, we were preserved from taking cold. The meeting was attended by about 100 persons to whom the Gospel message was delivered. There are four Parishes further up the valley of St. Martin, about which W. F.'s mind became much exercised; it was a trial to him to give them up, but from information obtained, it did not appear safe to attempt them, the way being extremely precipitous, almost amounting to dangerous; we therefore retraced our steps our steps to Pomaret, and fixed to have a meeting there at 3 o'clock on 3d day the 9th of the 11th mo., which was pretty well attended, and proved a good meeting. The pastor of this parish was from home, and did not return till next day, when we called upon him and had a family sitting to much satisfaction. Our dear friend had similar service in nearly all the families of the Pastors which we were in, and many of these opportunities were tendering seasons. On leaving Pomaret we bent our way to St. Germain, where we met a large congregation of nearly 300 on the evening of the 11th, many serious persons were present, and our dear friend in an impressive manner invited them to a life of devotedness to Christ.

"At this place we were at the foot of the mountain where is the parish of Promolles, very high up, said to be the highest settlement of the Van-

dois. We explored the road, and though long and difficult, concluded to encourage our dear friend to make the attempt to reach it, and therefore fixed with the dear old Pastor for a meeting the next evening at seven. We set out for Promolles in the morning, and after a toilsome ascent of 2½ hours, our dear friend reached the village much fatigued, but he was most kindly cared for by our host and hostess, and after some refreshment and rest was quite equal to the meeting, which was well attended. Before leaving this interesting elderly couple, he had a very touching family opportunity with them and their interesting son, and we parted from them in much tenderness of feeling, proceeding thence on the 7th day morning to Pignerole, and on to La Tour in the evening. This little town was principally our head quarters during the remainder of our stay, going out occasionally for a night or two to visit the various parishes around. By the time we had been nearly six weeks in the vallies, visits to those parishes considered accessible had been paid. He had held meetings with the inhabitants of 11 out of the 15 parishes, yet the work assigned him did not seem wholly accomplished without attempting family visits to some of the most influential of the residents in La Tour and neighborhood. Much to his relief, there was great openness manifested to receive him, and very many sittings we had with such as his mind appeared drawn to; it was remarkable to see how the way opened for this service; in almost all instances we could not have experienced greater facilities for the service, had we been amongst the members of our own society.

"These visits closed this part of his engagement, but our dear friend did not leave without taking an opportunity which presented to meet a number of the Pastors of different Parishes, to express the interest he felt in the welfare of this people; he had much open conversation with them on the subject of education, and manifested great feeling in regard to their poor, contributing towards the relief of some who were expected to suffer during the approaching winter. He felt much for the orphan children, and used considerable exertion to interest the Pastors in the establishment of a home for the destitute of this description, and through his representations a sum was raised in London for this object, and it is gratifying to know that an establishment now exists for this interesting class.

"We have reason to believe that our dear friend left a savor behind him, which will not soon be lost; his labors amongst this people were on the broad principles of Christianity. He appeared concerned to impress upon them the great importance of experimental religion. It will not do, he said, to depend on what our fathers were, and how much they suffered for the truth; we are called upon to show to those by whom we are surrounded, that Christ does real-

ly reign in our hearts, and that we are guided by His Spirit.

"He took much interest in a normal class attached to the College; some of these were very poor youths under training for teachers, he invited them to take a meal at the Hotel; and after this extension of hospitality, he counselled them, and encouraged them in their praiseworthy efforts to obtain an education, and very kindly aided the poorest by a gift of clothing. They are obliged to live hard; their parents are able to afford them very little help. The Vaudois have two hospitals for the sick, these also claimed a share of our friend's interest and watchful care; he extended the word of caution or encouragement as he passed through them.

"Impressed with the importance of furnishing the young people with suitable reading, much of his time towards the close of the visit, was occupied in selecting and making up packets of books for each of the District Schools, and some to add to their Parish Libraries.

"Our dear friend left the Vallies on 4th day the 15th of 12th mo: and proceeded to Turin, where he made some stay, and returned home by Genoa and the south of France, arriving in England about the middle of the 2d month."

(To be Continued.)

FRUIT OF THE SYSTEM.—SLAVE PIRACY CASE.—A large demand existing for the produce of Slave labor, men of principle according to their interest of course are induced to obtain slaves. Some breed them from their own loins, and among this number rank sundry Statesmen of renown—others purchase their neighbors' children, some kidnap the free citizens of Pennsylvania, Ohio, or other States, but Captain Donald, late of the Ship Grey Eagle, furling his sails and made direct for Africa, constructed a Slave deck on his outward passage, and at an African Port called Cajuda, took on board (for the accommodation of the consumers of slave grown Sugar, Cotton, &c.) 604 negroes, 250 of whom were women. Fifteen of these died on the voyage and a number of recruits were born on board. Under the protection of a bribed police they were landed on Terra Firma, (for the benefit of some of our readers,) and the crew, after having been concealed awhile in a sugar loft, were each paid \$450—besides their regular wages. Captain Donald has since been subjected to a pretty severe trial of his faith and patience by some of the individuals who were zealous promoters of other modes of obtaining slaves, and (what makes his case still harder) by some of the class (i.e. slave produce consumers) whose convenience he hazarded his life and soiled his soul to advance. He has been committed, to take his trial in tenth month next. His offence is a capital one by the laws of the same body which enacted the Fugitive Bill. Consumers of Slave Produce,—lend your sympathy to a martyr in

your cause! Did he brave the perils of the sea and the burning sun of Africa? It was for you he did it. Did he chattelize 604 of God's children? It was for you. Did he sneak into ambush to escape detection? He did it as your representative. Did he quail before Marshals and Deputy Marshals, whose mode of catching slaves is so dissimilar? It was all for your sakes.—Will he be suspended from the gallows, as the law directs? He will hang there as your substitute, and you will read the account of his execution, with his last speech and dying confession, cased perhaps from head to foot in the conveniences which he has cheapened for you, and as you stir the sugar in your coffee, you will comment upon the laudable activity of Marshal Wynkoop and others, who exposed and brought to punishment an *uncommissioned* sinner, who in such a wholesale manner attempted to compete with them in the business of catching negroes.

DON'T VOTE RECKLESSLY.—The time is at hand when millions of professed republicans will give their votes for men to carry on in their name the machinery of government. But there will be a few preliminaries. First, in the various localities, a few dictators of the respective parties meet in caucus and agree upon a plan by which their private wishes may obtain a popular air and seem to be the will of the party. Then a public primary meeting is held, in a tavern, and a ticket is formed of persons who, it is thought, will *run well*. Run well with whom? With the quiet, orderly exemplary citizens who rarely attend these meetings? No indeed. The votes of these men are regarded as secure,—it will be easy to convince them that *our ticket* is not so bad as that of the other party, and that it is their duty to "choose the least of two evils." The ticket must be made up with men who will *run well* among the border savages who may be bought over to either party by personal influences, by hopes of patronage, or by rum. The ticket being thus formed of men unfit to wield the responsibilities of office,—as a general rule, the best men of the respective parties vote the tickets *solid*, and the worst men select from each ticket the men most like themselves, and the latter turn the scale.

When the election is over and the successful candidates enter upon their duties, or, rather, upon their *avocations*, their consideration is, not—*How shall we best promote the public interests?*—but,—*How shall we best promote the success of our party, and our own re-election next year?* And thus the perpetual aim is, to please and to cater to the class of citizens whose moral sense is the least developed.

At the coming election, the Temperance idea ought to be prominent with all patriots. It is essential to the public weal to have legislators favorable to Prohibitory Law,—Judges and Magistrates who have sense and principle enough

to carry it out. Sheriffs, Constables, and other subordinate officers, ought to be right upon this subject, both in theory and in practice. The man who votes for candidates who will help to perpetuate the Rum Traffic, has no right to expect his son or his son-in-law to be a sober man, and he will pray with less unction to his Father in Heaven, for the reformation of drunkards.

LITERARY NOTICES.

MEMOIRS OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE. EDITED BY JOSEPH BEVAN BRAITHWAITE. Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 2 vols.

"The memory of the just is blessed." These were the first words we ever heard from the lips of that truly great and good man, and they often recur to us when his idea is presented. His was a most extraordinary character. A man of high worldly connections with all the circumstances at hand that could give access to the fleeting glories of time and the allurements of earthly ambition, he meekly and righteously renounced the pomps and vanities of a wicked world, and chose the good part which could not be taken from him. Endowed by his Creator with high intellectual powers, he dedicated them unreservedly, to the service of his Lord. A man of high learning, and, as Lord Morpeth said of him, "authority upon any subject," he continued to the last a learner in the School of Christ: not considering himself to have apprehended, but pressing forward toward the mark, counting all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord. A man of large wealth—he trusted not in his riches—but as a good steward of the manifold gifts of God, the cause which he knew not, he searched out, he was a friend to the friendless, a father to the orphan—he made the heart of many a widow leap for joy. Honoring the Lord with his substance, and abundantly faithful in the "unrighteous mammon," he whose hand is full of blessings and who giveth gifts unto men, entrusted to him the true riches, and eminently commissioned him, as a minister of Christ, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.

Like Daniel of old, he was a "man greatly beloved," and in a large measure of the spirit of one greater than Daniel, he "went about doing good." He abounded in good works—yet, after he had done all, in the depth of humility he made the just acknowledgment that he was an unprofitable servant,—for although, like the apostle, he could do all things through Christ strengthening him, yet he knew that he had no power of his own, that all merit resides in the Saviour, to whom he ascribed all the glory of his own works, and at whose feet he laid every crown,—saying

"Take the kingdom, it is thine.
King of Kings, and Lord of Lords!"

Rarely, if ever, have we known of one whose faith was more complete, or who was more "free from the tendency of narrow minds to hold the truth in parts." It is not surprising that some with less enlightened views, whilst he was endeavoring to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made him free, should unjustly charge him with being an inconsistent member of a Church, which, while it is peculiarly restricted by the limitations of Truth, affords ample scope for the full development of the christian character, and for the exercise of all those gifts which God bestows upon chosen instruments for purposes of His own glory. The spirit of Quakerism is not sectarian; sectarianism is a direct violation of it. There are sectaries however, on the list of its members, (such as, in every church organization, pervert the right way of the Lord) and some of these shot at him and sorely grieved him—but his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the Mighty God of Jacob. And thus were developed the most beautiful perfections of his character. Not rendering railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing, he maintained unfaltering love to those who by illogical and false criticisms of his voluminous and invaluable writings, sought to father upon him doctrinal views which he did not hold, and to deny his belief in the doctrines which were dear to his heart, and which he set forth and advocated with remarkable clearness in the demonstration of the spirit and with power. Joseph John Gurney was a sound Quaker from thorough conviction, and is recognized as such by the great body of the Society of Friends. From none of the fifteen propositions of Barclay (which comprise the whole code of our Society's belief) did he dissent, and the leading points of Quakerism he has expounded and demonstrated so ably, that a debt of gratitude is due to his Master and Inspirer for the service thus rendered to his people.

But whilst he was truly a Quaker, he was in the fullest sense, an enlightened member of the universal Church, and extended the right hand of fellowship to christians, of every denomination, who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

The biography of this extraordinary man is on our table, and it is before the world. We purposely abstain at the present time from analyzing its pages—but we heartily commend it to the perusal of all our readers.

The text on the title page is one which Joseph John Gurney had himself selected as a motto for some of the earlier volumes of his Journal. Of its peculiar applicability no one can doubt, who had the privilege of his intimate acquaintance.

"Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." Acts xxiv. 16.

BURRITT'S BOND OF BROTHERHOOD.

We have often marked passages which we desired to extract from this excellent Monthly, but they have generally been crowded out. It is a periodical which we would like everybody to subscribe for and peruse, who can appreciate those things which are pure, lovely, and of good report. It is permeated with a heavenly spirit. It is dedicated to the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. THE BOND OF BROTHERHOOD! How suggestive is the name of ideas which we ought to take to our hearts and cherish there! In the highest and true sense, this BOND is the Peace secured by the "unity of the Spirit," among those who, are "joined unto the Lord," and who because "the love of the Father" is in them, love, with pure hearts, fervently, their brother also. "I know," said the Apostle, "that I have passed from death unto life, because I love the brethren." And when we see among religionists, schisms, divisions, jealousies, shyness, party spirit,—whatever may be the alledged pretexts or points of difference, we feel assured that the *bond of brotherhood* is wanting—that there is a melancholy and a culpable deficiency in love to the Father and love to the brethren. Let all who find themselves deficient in this true and essential charity, although they may give their goods to feed the poor—though they may be sound in theological faith—though they may have a redundancy of zeal which would "give the body to be burned"—betake themselves to prayer—they are yet in their sins—they have not passed from death unto life.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE, MAKES HIS BROTHER'S SIN HIS OWN."*

I wear an easy garment,
O'er it no toiling Slave
Wept tears of hopeless anguish,
On his passage to the grave.
And from its ample folds
Shall rise no cry to God,
Upon its warp and woof shall be
No stain of tears and blood.
Oh, lightly shall it press my form,
Unladen with a sigh,
I shall not 'mid its rustling hear,
Some sad despairing cry.
This fabric is too light to bear
The weight of bondsmen's tears,
I shall not on its texture trace
The agony of years.
Too light to bear a smother'd sigh,
From some lorn woman's heart,
Whose only wreath of household love
Is rudely torn apart.
Then lightly shall it press my form,
Unburden'd by a sigh;
And from its seams and folds shall rise,
No voice to pierce the sky,
And witness at the throne of God,
In language deep and strong,
That I have nerv'd Oppression's hand,
For deeds of guilt and wrong.

FRANCIS ELLEN WATKINS.

*These lines were written for us, almost impromptu, by a poetess of African descent.—Ed.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 9.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

Of the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting.

It is not without feelings of encouragement, that the labors of our Association have not been in vain, that the Managers again bring forward their annual report. The past year has been marked by evidences of greater advancement, among honest and serious minded persons, of our testimony against the use of the products of Slavery, than many which have preceded it.

Your Board has not been idle, but has, with one exception, met monthly, as will be seen by the minutes; and labored as way opened and means were afforded, for the furtherance of correct views on the interesting objects for which we are associated; and it is with peculiar satisfaction we record, that from time to time, we have been cheered by the appearance in the field of new and earnest advocates of the cause we have felt it our duty to espouse.

The Non-Slaveholder, which we in accordance with the recommendation of the annual meeting two years ago, aided in reviving, still labours in our cause; and, although it is to be regretted that its pages are not more exclusively devoted to the objects of our Association,* yet it contains many excellent and powerful articles on the sub-

* Whether this "is to be regretted" is decided quite differently by other Judges. The N. S. has been quite as much devoted to the important and sacred object of the said Association, as its Editor ever intended, or ever gave his subscribers reason to expect. His intention was explicitly set forth in the first No. of each volume, and upon no other terms would he even have taken into con-

ject, and we rejoice to say, has obtained a respectable circulation. The Board subscribed for 40 copies, and directed them forwarded to persons in different parts of the country, where we thought they would be servicable to the cause.

We have also printed and circulated 5000 small tracts of a single leaf each, and a few cards, and have now printed for distribution 15,000 pages of tracts, which had been previously stereotyped. We are also gratified to learn, that our friends at Salem have re-printed and circulated about 5000 of our leaves. It has also been gratifying to notice, that Friends' Review, the Oberlin Evangelist, and the Columbian, of Columbus, Ohio, have each published some excellent articles in favor of abstinence from the gain of oppression, and in support of a clean and consistent testimony against Slavery. Through the Oberlin Evangelist the arguments contained on our published leaves have obtained a wide circulation, and have been responded to by the correspondents of that paper with approbation, being characterized as *incontrovertible*: and a determination expressed, "God being their help-or, never to taste or wear any more of the sugar or cotton, in the production of which Slaves have wept, groaned, and been scourged." We are cheered by the fact, that in the Oberlin Collegiate Institute this testimony has been embraced by most of the faculty and students, and will thus be disseminated throughout the land, by the most extensive, earnest, and powerful agency. We have recently received through that medium the gratifying intelligence, that a meeting has just been held in the City of New York—to consider the propriety of organizing a National Free Produce Association.—Of the result of that meeting we are not yet informed.

Several English periodicals have also been considered the request that he should edit the Journal. In every number the non-participant idea has been prominently presented, and the variety which has been blended has served to carry the principles of the Free Produce Associations to the minds of many, who would not have been readers of an exclusively one-idea paper. We are glad of the laudable efforts of our Ohio Friends to increase the circulation of the Non-Slaveholder,—simply because in so doing they have promoted the cause of Philanthropy, (our pecuniary interests have been in no sense advanced thereby) and with a subscription list more than three times as large as the N. Slaveholder ever before enjoyed, we shall continue, during the short time we may be willing to wield the editorial pen, to listen respectfully to reasonable suggestions, whilst we must retain our prerogative of an independent judgment.—Ed.

found advocating correct views on this subject, and our indefatigable advocate of Peace, Elihu Burritt, is giving it increased attention.

It is much encouragement to us, that we are not laboring alone, but that our sister Associations in Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, and one within the limits of Indiana Yearly Meeting, are still actively engaged for the advancement of the same laudable object.

It is also a satisfaction to us, that Friends generally within our own Yearly Meeting, are feeling more and more interest in, and sympathy with this testimony; and throughout the very large Yearly Meeting of Indiana, embracing Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and a great part of Ohio, a very large portion of Friends are becoming deeply interested, and would be glad of an opportunity to abstain from the sin-polluted commodities, which are the fruits of unrequited toil.

On the other hand it is a matter of deep regret, that so many Friends, especially in the more Eastern States, where they are more intimately connected with the system of Slavery by commerce and manufactures, are so blinded by interest and prejudice, that they are unable to see that their orders to the Southern States for Cotton, Sugar and Rice, are only so many stimulants to the cruel and remorseless task-master, to renewed energy in extorting from the sorrowing and helpless slave, writhing under the gory lash, to produce at the lowest possible rate, the articles necessary to fill those orders.

Notwithstanding the force of custom and the power of prejudice, we find but few sincere, honest hearted christians, willing to acknowledge, when the subject is fairly presented and pressed home to them, that there is a direct connexion between Slavery and the proceeds of Slave labor; that an active market for the productions of the system stimulates the producers, and hence those who purchase these productions are to a greater or less extent, accountable for the existence of Slavery, and responsible for all the barbarities inseparably connected with the system.

A difficulty has heretofore been found in procuring a suitable supply of Free Labor Goods. This difficulty will doubtless, in some measure continue, as the demand for such goods is rapidly increasing, particularly in the west—but it is with peculiar satisfaction that we recur to the fact that through the instrumentality of the friends of Free Labor in Philadelphia, funds have been obtained to enable G. W. Taylor to fit up a factory, to manufacture exclusively Free Labor goods; and that it is the intention to use the machinery a part of the time, in manufacturing the finer goods made of wool and cotton, which have heretofore not been in the market.

We rejoice too that the western Free Produce manufacturing company at Cincinnati, have also machinery in operation producing the heavier articles of cotton goods.

The high tariff on foreign sugar is much in

the way of producing that article at the price of the slave grown product. While it becomes the friends of free labor to endeavor to have that difficulty removed, the difference in price should by no means deter them from wholly abstaining from that which is the price of blood.

The difference in the price of the articles is a bribe offered to buy us to the side of the oppressor,—“Let every honest person spurn the bribe.”

We record with pleasure the abolition of Slavery in the Republic of Venezuela, by which a large portion of the population was liberated from bondage, and placed in immediate possession of the rights of citizenship. As that large and fertile country includes among its staples, coffee, cotton and Indigo, another facility is thus added to the means of supplying ourselves, with articles in daily use, upon which the markets have been mainly dependent upon countries where Slavery exists.

On the other hand it is with sorrow we refer to the repeal by the American Congress of the Act excluding Slavery from the North Western territory. This concession to the power of Slavery, made in the middle of the nineteenth century, by a nation claiming to stand in the front ranks of Christianity and civilization, is indeed cause for the deepest regret and humiliation. Yet even this deed, however sinful in itself, may, by the overruling Providence of God, be made to hasten the downfall of that system of wickedness it was designed to support and extend. Accordingly we find it has already aroused and deepened the Anti-Slavery feeling throughout the nation; even conservatism, which was formerly enlisted on the side of oppression, has by this act been thrown in opposition, and thousands of those who were for “letting Slavery alone,” when they see the system extending and strengthening itself over the land consecrated to freedom, will no longer remain idle, but will unite with the tried friends of the Slave for the overthrow of Slavery, and the elevation of our colored brethren to their proper rights as citizens. Hence we see that the Legislature of Connecticut has already by a large majority granted to her colored citizens the right to be heard through the ballot-box—and a very large proportion of the political press throughout the country has spoken out boldly, and arrayed itself firmly in opposition to the extension of Slavery.

These indignant feelings are again deepened and strengthened by the workings of the Act known as the “Fugitive Slave Law.” These wicked acts of our national Legislature will undoubtedly be the means of arraying hundreds of thousands, permanently on the side of Liberty and Justice to the whole human family; thereby furnishing another instance of the manner in which the Ruler of rulers, can “make the wrath of man to praise Him.”

While the sad truths, that deeds of sore oppression are doing in our land, that all of suffering

and degradation we would dread to share, and all we abhor in a life of tyranny and sin, continue to mark our history with such deep wrong and fearful iniquity—fall with oppressive weight upon our spirits, shall we fail to do what it is the duty of every enlightened accountable being to do, endeavoring to lessen human suffering and to advance the cause of “truth and righteousness in the earth.” Were our own beloved ones, for whose happiness we cherish the most tender desires and solicitude, bound in Slavery’s dread chains, should we then have any time to spend inactively. Should we then be *indifferent* to the exercise of tyrant power, or to what may appear to be even the most humble course of action, which may have a bearing and influence upon the existence and force of that power?—But wrong whether done to those we know not, or to those of our own household or kindred band, whether perpetrated against those of a lighter or darker complexion is the same. Why then should we not be enlisted with all our powers in efforts for the amelioration of the sufferings of Africa’s pleading children—how can we endure the thought of a *participation* in the cause of their enslavement? “There must be something wrong,” while we deem we may pass along the way of life “at ease in our full possessions,” without regarding the Lord’s suffering poor; when our exertions are not put forth to rescue the slave from the deep pit of degradation into which he is sunk:—deprived by force of all the pleasant things of life—deprived of the Bible—of all the high privileges of intellectual enjoyment—in short of all things in which we so much delight. Let us remember it is said, “he that shuteth his ears from the cry of the poor and needy, shall cry himself, and shall not be heard.”

In conclusion, let us, dear friends, exhort one another to more faithfulness; let us endeavor, if possible, to labor with clean hands—let our example correspond with our profession—let us not be a stumbling block to others, and above all, let us remember that in all our labor for down-trodden humanity, we are but unprofitable servants—but instruments which the Lord may be pleased to make use of, for the furtherance of His holy designs, and that we have no cause for uncharitable feelings towards those who do not appreciate our labors. But let us labor in the Lord’s time, for it is His work, and He alone is able to bless our efforts, and enable us to labor acceptably in His vineyard.

JUAN PLACIDO—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 65.)

I went to my mistress, and threw myself at her feet, she bade me get up, and ordered a good breakfast for me; but I could not eat anything, my heart was uneasy; Havana, with all the happy days I enjoyed there, was continually in my mind, and my only wish was to go

thither. My mistress observed with wonder my not eating breakfast, particularly of some nice stew she ordered for me: the truth is, that she could not do without me for a length of time, and this was the reason that my journeys to the Molino never exceeded nine or ten days, and although she struck me so often, and degraded me, calling me always the worst of all the Creoles born in the Molino; I was still attached to her, and shall never forget the care she had taken on my education.

After this she treated me with more kindness: she allowed me to go a fishing, which was my most pleasant amusement. Next morning my mistress went to the house of the Senora Gomez, where they played at cards, and it was my duty to stand behind her chair all the time: if she was a winner I carried home the money bag, and when I delivered it to her she put her hand into it and gave me some. She was much pleased, when she saw me making myself a pair of trousers, which I learned myself; for since the idea of freedom took possession of my mind, I endeavored to learn every thing useful to me: I invented many fancy things in my leisure hours, though these were few, I took sheets of paper, and doubling them in different shapes and forms, I turned them into various shapes as flowers, pine-apples, shells, fans, epaulettes, and many more things, for which I was praised by everybody. As my mistress treated me with a little more kindness, I insensibly began to be more calm, my heart more composed, and to forget her late harsh behaviour towards me. I began to be as comfortable as ever; in a word, I thought myself already free, and waited only to be of age; this hope encouraged me to learn many useful things, so that if I should not be a slave I should earn an honest livelihood. At this time I wrote a great many sonnets. Poetry requires an object, but I had none to enflame my breast, this was the cause of my verses being nothing else than poor imitations. I was very anxious to read every book or paper that fell in my way, either at home or in the streets, and if I met with any poetry I learnt it by heart, in consequence of this, I could recite many things in poetry. Besides, when my mistress had company at dinner, and that was almost every day, she had always some poet invited who recited verses and composed sonnets extempore; I had in a corner of the room some ink in an egg-shell and a pen, and while the company applauded and filled their glasses with wine, away I went to my corner, and wrote as many verses as I could remember.

Three or four months after this, as my mistress was unwell, she was advised to go to a bathing town of Madruga to bathe; with her complaint she turned cross and peevish; she reproached my having disposed of my mother’s trinkets, having five brothers, and that that was robbery, and that if I was put in possession of

of the inheritance, I soon would lose it in gambling, and she was continually threatening me with the Molino and with Don Saturnino, whose last words were imprinted on my heart, and I had no wish to pay him another visit. With the belief that if I could go to Havana I would have my liberty, I inquired the distance and was told twelve leagues, which I could not reach on foot in one night; I then dropt for the present that idea, waiting for a better opportunity. It was my custom to clean myself and change twice a week, and one day before dressing I went to bathe in a bath, thirty yards distant; while in the bath my mistress called me, in an instant I dressed myself and was before her, "What were you doing in the bath? Who gave you liberty to go? Why did you go?" were her angry inquiries, and with her fist she made my nostrils bleed profusely; all this happened at the street-door, and before all the people, but what confused me more was, that there lived a young mulatto girl, of my own age, the first who inspired me with love, a thing I did not feel before; or rather I loved her as a sister, and our intercourse was kept up by some little presents from one to another, and I told her that I was free. About ten o'clock, my mistress ordered my shoes to be taken off and my head shaved, after which I was commanded to carry water for the use of the house, with a large barrel upon my head; the brook was distant thirty yards with a declivity towards it from the side of the house; I went, filled the barrel, and with some help I put it upon my head, I was returning up the little hill, when my foot missed, and down I went upon my knee, the barrel falling a little forward came rolling down, struck against my chest, and down both tumbled in the brook. My mistress said, "that is a trick of yours to evade work," she threatened me with the Molino and Don Saturnino, which name had a magic effect upon me, and I began to think seriously about escaping to Havana. The following morning when all the people were at church, a free servant called me aside, and in a whisper said to me, "my friend, if you suffer it is your fault; you are treated worse than the meanest slave; make your escape, and present yourself before the Captain-General at Havana, state your ill treatment to him, and he will do you justice;" at the same time showing me the road to Havana.

At eleven o'clock, I saw Don Saturnino arrive at the house; from this moment my heart beat violently, my blood was agitated, and I could not rest, I trembled like a leaf, my only comfort at that moment was the solitude of my room, there I went; and there I heard the servants talking together, one was inquiring of the other the reason of the coming of Don Saturnino. "Why," said the other, "to take away Juan F." This was more than I could endure, a general trembling took possession of my limbs, and my head ached very much. I fancied myself already in

the hands of Don Saturnino, leading me away tied like the greatest criminal—from this moment I determined on my escape. I left my room with this determination, when I met again the same servant, who said to me, "Man take that horse from the stable, and leave him outside, for fear that Don Saturnino may want him in the night, you will make too much noise, and will disturb your mistress—here are the spurs, take them, and there is the saddle, and so you will know where to find every thing." And then he gave me such a look as quite convinced me that, he advised me to take the opportunity, and not lose it. I was hesitating, yet I did not like to leave behind me my brothers, and then I was afraid to travel a whole night through roads unknown to me, and alone, and in danger of falling in with any commissary of police; but what was my surprise, when after supper, as I was sitting on a bench by myself, meditating about what to do, Don Saturnino came to me, and asked, "Where do you sleep?" I pointed to him the place and he went away; this entirely determined me to make my escape—he might have made the inquiry with a good intention, but I could not consider it but with great suspicion. I remembered at that moment the fate of one of my uncles, who in a case like mine, took the same determination of escaping to Havana, to Don Nicolas, Don Manuel, and the Senor Marques and was brought back again like a wild beast—but for all that I resolved to venture on my escape, and in case of detection, to suffer for something. I waited till twelve o'clock. That night everybody retired early, it being very cold and rainy. I saddled the horse for the first time in my life, put on the bridle, but with such trembling that I hardly knew what I was about, after that I knelt down, said a prayer, and mounted the horse. When I was going away, I heard the sound of a voice saying, "God bless you, make haste." I thought that nobody saw me, but as I knew afterwards, I was seen by several of the negroes, but nobody offered any impediment to my flight.—*To be Continued.*

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DIALOGUE ON SLAVERY.

(Continued.)

W. As far as thou hast noticed, do the slaves have any religious instruction?

H. In some portions of the extreme Southern States, the planters encourage missionaries to visit their negroes. This they do, not with a particular regard to the spiritual welfare of their slaves, but under an impression that judicious missionary labor, is calculated to make them better servants, by inculcating the doctrine of obedience. And really one might suppose from the way in which this doctrine is dwelt upon, and enforced, and from the frequent allusions to the injunction, "Servants be obedient unto your masters," that it would have this ten-

deney. The missionary, or stationed minister, (as the case may be,) preaches submission to the negroes, gives them to understand that slavery is sanctioned by the book of books, and then sits down with his patron to a table groaning beneath the avails of unrequited labor; after which he goes home to enquire how his own negroes have behaved in his absence. I knew of one preacher, who was married to his third wife, from whom it was reported that he had separated. This, however, proved not to be the fact. He had not parted from his wife, but had merely quarrelled with her, about the treatment of some of her negroes. He whipped them severely, and then put pepper and salt upon their raw backs. To the latter operation she demurred, and this caused the difficulty between them.

Negroes are permitted to join the Church under the supervision of their white bretheren. Upon being received into the society, it is customary for the members to give them the hand of fellowship, and on such occasions the "black brother" (or sister,) receives from most of the church members, the first and last shake of the hand, with which he is ever favored by them.

The minister to whom I have alluded, upon taking a negro into the water to baptize him, would raise his eyes towards heaven, stretch forth his arm, and with a sanctimonious tone of voice exclaim, "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand to God." Had he known the full force and meaning of those words, had he understood that in the dispensation of him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, Ethiopia was even now stretching forth her hands to God, he would have paused ere he used them.—Yes—Ethiopia, down-trodden, her face in the dust, and her limbs in chains, is stretching forth her hands to God, exclaiming in agony, "How long? oh, Lord, how long?" And so surely as he is a prayer hearing God, so surely the day of her redemption draweth nigh. Human vision may not perceive it. The clouds which loom up in the horizon of freedom, may so darken the prospect, that at times the star of hope seems hid from the view; but he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, will yet break the bonds and let the oppressed go free.

AMERICAN SLAVERY, ITS CAUSE AND THE REMEDY.—No. 2.

Having in a former communication (page 12,) endeavored to show that purchasers and consumers of the productions of Slavery, are in a great measure accountable for the system on account of the demand which they create for those productions, I propose now further to examine the support thereof, and see what other classes will appear accountable.

It is generally conceded that Slavery is contrary to the principles of justice, and to the common law which is founded thereon—that it is

therefore, necessarily upheld and supported by law. Hence law-makers are accountable—but who are the law-makers? "What we do by another we do ourselves." Then the sovereign people in this democratic country are the law-makers. Although we do not make the law ourselves, we make them by agents, whom we select by our votes. Hence all those who vote for Slaveholders, or for persons who use their influence in support of any law upholding Slavery, or making any distinction in regard to color, are, to a greater or lesser extent, accountable for this national crime.

But there is another power even stronger than law, which supports both Slavery and law. I allude to PUBLIC OPINION. Public opinion must generally coincide with law, or the law will become a dead letter on the statute book. This is abundantly proven by the fact, that there are many laws on our statute books that are seldom or never enforced. Public opinion indeed makes law, both by controlling the ballot-box, and by encouraging those who are chosen as Legislators. Hence public opinion is accountable for Slavery. But what makes public opinion? In a Christian community, the professors of Christianity give direction to it—in short the religion of a country forms its public opinion.

In America there are undoubtedly two millions of persons who know Slavery to be wrong, and who desire its discontinuance. This would have a great effect upon public opinion, if in all their actions they lived in opposition to Slavery, but these professed friends of freedom, whilst they are talking against Slavery, are at the same time directly giving support thereto, by purchasing and using its products—thus in a great measure neutralizing or counteracting the effect they wish, and ought to produce upon public opinion. Here we find them accountable for the continuance of Slavery, inasmuch as they fail to give proper direction to public opinion.

There are also a great number of professors, who, being accustomed to look upon Slavery in its milder forms, feel but little opposition to it—indeed, rather look upon it as a necessary evil; they have their influence in forming public opinion, and are in a great measure accountable.

There is another class of citizens to which I wish to call especial attention, as being accountable for the position of the last mentioned class, and as forming one of the strong bulwarks of Slavery, and one which is overlooked by many. I allude to the pious Slaveholders—those who treat their slaves well—many of whom are much concerned for their own and their slaves' temporal and spiritual welfare. It is, in my opinion, the example of these otherwise perhaps, pious, consistent Christians, that prevents the public opinion of community from being immediately aroused in earnest opposition to Slavery. These Slaveholders—many of whom doubtless desire to do their best, are forming a connecting link

between Slavery in its worst and natural character, and liberty, in such a manner as to withdraw the attention of a large portion of the Christian community from the legitimate fruits of Slavery. If all Slaveholders were of the most wicked character, public opinion would not long tolerate Slavery in our nation.

It is just so with drunkenness—moderate drinkers encourage the drunkard, and withdraw public attention from the evil. If there were no moderate drinkers public opinion would not long tolerate the evils of drunkenness.

There is usually in a community, a portion who have to be restrained from crime by the arm of law. This law is made by public opinion. Our aim should be to set public opinion right. But these pious Slaveholders, by their example hold a veil that prevents people generally from seeing the real character of Slavery. Hence the mild—the kind—the *Christian* slaveholders are in a very great measure accountable for Slavery in its worst forms and most cruel practices.

The remedy then would seem to be to hold a faithful mirror before this class, that they may see the real position they occupy; and the same benevolent feeling which prompts their kindness towards the Slaves, will in due time induce them to cease to be Slaveholders. Then will the veil be withdrawn, and Slavery in her naked loathsomeness can be seen by the whole Christian community, and public opinion will tolerate it no longer in our land.

The foregoing remarks are not made with a censorious feeling—but with a sincere desire, that we may all candidly and earnestly examine which way our influence tends. Whether we are each of us doing our part in behalf of suffering humanity, and whether, in endeavoring to remove Slavery, we are directing our attention to its real supports.

HUMANITAS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ENDORSEMENTS OF SOUTHERN PAPER.

Many people who apparently mean well, seem to estimate the character of Slavery by its public approval; others from the sanction of long practice, others from its supposed promotion of their convenience and interest—others again in their estimate are governed by educational influences, and others by the law of the land. Hence the man who is robbed of his most sacred rights, and even of himself, has few advocates, as few are disposed to consider and espouse the Slave's cause on its own merits.

The odious unjust enslavement of the colored man, and his posterity in the United States, has long been deemed legal, yet this imparts not a particle of justice to the outrage, and such law entitled to no weight in favour of the system of Slavery, especially when the same government has solemnly enumerated among the inalienable rights of all men, "life, liberty, and the

pursuit of happiness," and has declared that the end and aim of the government was to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty—not Slavery.)

Why then should not Slavery be, by good men and Christians, spoken against and detested with the same abhorrence as if practiced contrary to law? It should—but this is far from being the case. The law is a powerful shield against the reprobation of the system. For example, suppose an American to be kidnapped by the Arabs, and when once in possession, their laws should recognize him and his posterity as their slaves—would the legality of the act, produce any abatement of its detestation by us? Not in the least! Law cannot alienate inalienable rights, and as it is impossible for the law to impair the slaves rights, so it is with public approval, custom, education, interest and the like;—however powerful,—they cannot impart the least justice to the act, and with the impartial these things cannot tend to give the system countenance or support.

The law tolerating Slavery in many respects, has had a binding influence upon the moral perception of the People—for, in a legal point of view, Slavery cannot be called man-stealing, robbery, invasion of rights, oppression, tyranny, &c. These acts in the eye of the law are criminal, and to them severe penalties are attached. Were the system placed on our statute books in its appropriate category, in agreement with its hideous character, the name, even, would be repulsive to the feelings of most people:—but the system has been denominated "Slavery," and over this dress has recently been thrown the less offensive term, "peculiar institution." These expressions, only indicate to many minds, the existence of a system of legalized servitude, of a certain class or race of men, very much suited to their condition, and ignorance, which will only be removed when this adaptation shall cease to exist from their improved condition. Thus we see the base act of chattelizing a man, and treating him as a beast of burden, is considered as only one of the imperfections of society, and demanding no more notice, if as much, as any little infringement upon the political or property rights of any of the white inhabitants. Let the claim of property in man be stripped of the false coloring, and clothing, with which it is invested by popularity, pride, prejudice, covetousness, and the government, and who would be willing to stoop so low as to give countenance or aid, to an act clearly seen to be worse than highway robbery? Certainly, not the humane, good, and wise. And it may be remarked, that these false colorings, have least influence upon those, in whose hearts the elements of goodness and wisdom least exist.

The Slave's claim to liberty is a valid one, at all times and places—consequently his Master's claim upon him is spurious. Now, does not the

man, who knowingly, without necessity, purchases directly, or indirectly of the Master, the produce of his slave's labor, make the most practical and valid endorsement of the Master's right to his slave? And who has a capacity to estimate the sum of these endorsements, and their amount of countenance and aid given to Slavery, even by those who would despise the idea of holding a slave.

Quaker Hill, 15th of 8th Mo., 1854. D. I.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 19, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.—Continued.

There have been few persons, perhaps, more remarkable than William Forster for remembering those in bonds as bound with them. His anti-slavery feeling was both deep and abiding. It was not the result of popular agitation, but of a heartfelt recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. As Channing said of the highest angelic intelligences, so we may say of him: he "recognized his own nature, his own rights, in the humblest human being." Nay, more than this,—he recognized in the most down-trodden bondman, one for whom the blood of the covenant was shed—one for whose soul a ransom has been paid of such amazing and unspeakable magnitude, that love and sympathy for such was a necessary result of his fidelity and adoring love to his Divine Redeemer who purchased him also, and washed him in His blood, and made him meet for an inheritance with the saints of light. His testimony against Slavery was a Christian, a consistent, a continual testimony,—and borne as it was with faithfulness and humility, it was much more felt than seen. Those who worked with him on committees and in conventions, knew how ready he was to undergo arduous labor for the cause sake, and to yield to others the post of prominence when popular eclat was to be attained. Of this, the records of the World's Convention in 1840 afford an illustration.

We omitted to mention, in the order of time, that in 1833 he was one of many delegates who went to London to press upon the ministers of the Crown the passage of the Emancipation Act. These delegates prepared a noble and powerful address,* which was adopted at a meeting in Exeter Hall and read, with great effect before the ministers, by Samuel Gurney; and which ended with a declaration that they would not cease to use all legitimate means for the accomplishment of their great object, until it should be fully attained. The appearance of this august delegation, in Exeter Hall and in Downing Street, was more impressive than our American readers will readily appreciate.—Through them the moral and religious influence

*It was written by J. J. Gurney.

of the kingdom was brought to bear, and, in a moral sense, the measure might be said to be forced upon a Government which does not move in the direction of Mercy in advance of popular demand. Nor was his work in behalf of the Slaves confined to those efforts which can be seen by men. He bore their wrongs upon his heart. He carried them to the place of prayer, and spread them before the Judge of all the Earth—and

"When for the sighing of the poor
And for the needy, God had risen,
And chains were breaking, and a door
Was opened for the souls in prison,"

not the enfranchized slave himself, when standing in triumph upon the banks of deliverance, could send Heavenward a gush of purer thanksgiving than did this steadfast lover of mankind.

At the Yearly Meeting of London following the successful issue of the struggle for the abolition of the Apprenticeship System in the West Indies, William Forster, in a very weighty and impressive manner, proposed that the meeting should settle down in solemn quiet, in order that, if it might be permitted them, a feeling of reverent thankfulness might arise to the All-Wise Disposer of events, that he had been pleased to bless the efforts which had been employed for this end.

The meeting at once settled down, under a remarkably solemn, tendering, contriting feeling, which spread from mind to mind, and continued for a considerable period.

On the 18th of 5th month, 1853, commenced the last session of the London Yearly Meeting which our beloved friend attended. In the first sitting, the editor of the London Friend records that: "William Forster offered up a solemn supplication for all present, concluding with,—and above all, that we may all know our sins to be forgiven us, and our iniquities to be blotted out, for the sake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." On the 20th, Josiah Forster having called the attention of the Yearly Meeting to the "importance of what he might call the distinguishing principle of our religious Society, our belief in the immediate and perceptible influences of the Holy Spirit,"

"William Forster near the close of this sitting, recurred most impressively to this subject in connection with some remarks on the position of those of our members whose lot was cast far from any meeting of their Friends, to whom the advantages of Christian fellowship were comparatively unknown, and who felt the privation deeply on their own account, and still more deeply, on account of their beloved children. He had recently been himself much separated from his brethren, and in wandering up and down in a foreign country, he thought he had been peculiarly prepared to sympathize with those to whom he had referred. And in mingling with those whose profession was far different from ours, some of whom, though being in countries where superstition was darkest, were yet alive to what true godliness consisted in, he had often felt, and had often been constrained to communicate the feeling that they sustained great loss from being strangers practically to the principle which induced us to sit down in silence together, and without depending upon human ministry, to wait upon the Lord. He desired that we

ers. They are chiefly worked by Slaves, "and the mortality of the mines is very great."

"The present superintendent of the mines has a high character for humanity and kindness. Still, we have the startling fact before us, that Englishmen are slaveholders, and work their slaves in unhealthy mines for the paltry love of gold; they obtain 10 per cent. per annum and often much more, for the capital they employ; but the sinews of their servants are in the mean time shrinking, their bodily powers decay, and a fearful rate of mortality goes on! Had the slaves whom the Company now hold been purchased by it since the passing of Lord Brougham's Act, in 1843, instead of before that period, every individual share-holder, we presume, might be looked upon by law as a felon, and be liable to a prosecution in our criminal courts. But every share-holder is a slave-holder now; and if slave-holding be a crime, where is the difference, *in foro conscientia*, between having slaves purchased before a given date, or after it? The subject is a national reproach: and all who possess a share in the capital of the Company, may adopt the language of Scripture,—"We are verily guilty concerning our brother."

Our friends in various instances evinced their fidelity and efficiency. Having heard in England of some English boys reduced in Brazil to a state of semi-slavery, they investigated the matter. "The minister for Foreign Affairs, at Rio, as soon as the complaint was made, issued a commission of inquiry, and on the proofs adduced of harsh treatment to these poor boys, ordered instant reparation."

The favorable reception of our friends by those whose interests were arrayed against the mission, and by the various functionaries is a good token of their fitness for this labor of love. On leaving Rio for Bahia they had the satisfaction that their passports of leaving, which were liable to a fee of \$60, were sent to them free of charge.

At Bahia, an opportunity presented of witnessing the superstition of the negroes.

"In walking the street on one of the Saints' days, we saw rockets in the air and heard the sound of loud crackers. We asked what the rejoicing meant: 'The host is lifted up in the church, and the people outside send up the rockets to let the Saint know, and to beg his prayers.' A short time since, after a long period of dry weather, the people began to be uneasy, and asked the priests what they could do to obtain rain. After serious consultation, it was agreed that there should be an exchange of Saints: the images of two of the churches should be removed and take each other's places; and there should be music, and rockets, and a long procession. The day came: men and women of every class, in holiday attire, attended by priests in their paraphernalia, with long black gowns, and broad black hats, moved slowly along from one church to the other, to assist in the ceremonies. The work was accomplished: rain fell, and priests and people proclaimed a miracle of Grace! 'And do you really think,' said our friend Baines, to an intelligent priest, 'that the changing of these images has brought these showers?' 'Indeed I do,' was his reply; as soon as the work was done, it began to rain: what else could it be? With a religion of this sort, and with occasional holidays of mirth, the poor slaves are taught to believe that they may become happy here and hereafter. The fetters, however, that bind the limbs of some of them are felt to be galling, even in the cities. The newspapers abound in advertisements of runaway servants, with offers of large rewards for their apprehension. They

are sold by public auction, with other chattels, and are separated from their families, and sent under slave-drivers to be sold to the plantations. The lot of the slaves in Bahia is alleviated by their concentration and immense number, and the bold front they exhibit of strong forms and physical power, which silently says to their masters, 'It is better to treat us well;' but still, slavery is, and must be, a bitter draught, even in that city; and though many are made to drink of it, it is not the less bitter on that account."

We propose to finish our notice of this narrative in our next number.

Notice to the Friends of Free Labor.

THE Proprietor of the Free Labor Warehouse in this city deems it proper to inform the friends of the free labor movement in this country, that he continues his efforts to provide a variety of articles of DRY GOODS and GROCERIES, which may be relied on as strictly free from the stain of Slavery.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties constantly to be encountered, he has been able to present every year, to the acceptance of his customers an increased variety, with the quality of many articles considerably improved.

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Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 10.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 34)

It has been some time since we have afforded space for this department.

A beloved correspondent, in a letter not intended for publication, after speaking of a recent journey, writes as follows:

9 month 19th, 1853.

It took something from the buoyancy of our pleasurable feelings on reaching home, to learn that dear friends, and you of the number, had been to visit us during our absence. "Iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend." Engaged in a common moral conflict, with much (even from very friends) to deter us in our up-hill reformatory work, we need this brightening to make the path of duty joyous. As we journeyed onward we sat down to splendidly furnished tables, where, with the sacrifices made to luxury, were doubtless mingled, in the eye of true philosophy, the blood of our fellow men. Enough remained to us, not so commixed, for health and enjoyment. When, my friend, shall the time be, that, rightly regulating "our daily bread," we shall see a blow struck at Slavery greater than all declamation, however eloquent, can wield? It would be painful to believe that, in the increase of the government of the Prince of Peace, that time shall not arrive, when the products of all violence done to God's image shall by pure Christendom be held to be forbidden fruits: and it would be difficult to suppose that, in that happier era, their use, when such violence has the infliction of death as its frequent concomitant, will be regarded as much short of the crime of the Fejee Islander.

We had one morning among our stage companions, a politician of the "Silver Gray Stripe," who without being called to it by any remark of others, volunteered a defence of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the social and personal duty of enforcing it. This led to an hour's debate, in which our politician averred that he would himself drive back to his master "the panting fugitive" at the point of the bayonet, should occa-

sion require. I remarked that I would pay him the compliment to disbelieve his assertion. Rather did I suppose he would imitate "Senator Burr," or, failing to secure the escape of the fugitive, would say, "come, neighbors, let us raise a purse, and save this our brother from the wretched doom which awaits him." But he had to be informed who "Senator Burr" was, and had yet to read the admirable story of Uncle Tom's Cabin! Driven by the argument into a close corner, where a cute down-Easter helped to put him, he made his escape from the obligations which the higher law of Heaven imposed, by affirming that all religion was priestcraft. A sick Clergyman, till then a silent listener, raised himself from his reclining position, and feebly yet earnestly remarked: "Did you ever see, Sir, a vindicator of Slavery, whose views at bottom were not tinged by Infidelity?"

Not to inflict our diary on thee,—in returning homeward we fell in with a gentleman whose fine personal appearance at once prepossessed us in his favor ere a word had been exchanged with him. ***

He announced himself as — the rescuer from a twelve year's Slavery of Solomon Northup, a free and intelligent colored man, seduced at Saratoga Springs into the temporary employ of two men going to Washington City, and where, being drugged, he was put whilst insensible, into a Slave pen, in that representative city of our nation's glory, and thence transferred as a slave to the Bayou Boeuf, Louisiana.

Referring me to the published account of Solomon's capture, bondage and escape—the accuracy of which he held to be unquestionable, and the interest in reading which he thought would in my view be next absorbing to "Mrs. Stowe's work," he gave me an affecting statement of a visit to a slave pen in Washington City, and other incidents of Slavery which had come under his own observation since commencing the work of effecting Solomon's liberation, confirmatory of all that is spoken of as evil in the vile system, and involving in their terrible influences women as fair and beautiful, and having minds probably as feeling, as any lady in the saloon of the steam boat then carrying us. The favorable impression which the narrator had made on my mind, lost none of its force in his telling me of a recent visit to the man of Peterboro, and enthusiastically describing him as one of God's noblemen. On my arrival at Philadelphia, I had to make, ere proceeding further homeward, a detour from my direct course, to get the book spoken of. Having promptly read it, and with no abatement of the expected interest, I must say to every friend of the Slave, to every one who for any cause feels an interest in knowing what Slavery is:—Go, and buy, and read, without delay, the "Narrative of Solomon Northup, a citizen of New York, kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and rescued in 1853 from a cotton plantation near the Red river in Louisiana."

Another correspondent says:

I have read with exquisite delight the poem now publishing in successive parts in thy journal: ("An appeal for the bondwoman") and I feel impelled to invite to it the especial attention of all lovers of fine poetry. There are some of the finest chords in the soul's lyre which are not to be moved by argument, but will vibrate to such touches as those of E. L. Jr. And notwithstanding the sentiment of Dr. Johnson, which thou hast half endorsed, (page 72) that "there

half of his kindred and his fellows, his adoption of Patrick Henry's watchword—"Give me liberty or give me death"—should be judged of by the same rules which we would apply to a Brutus, a Washington, a Cromwell, or a Bolivar.

The sequel of his career we give in Whittier's words, which we extract from "*The Stranger in Lowell*."

"The disastrous result of the late insurrection of the slaves in Cuba is well known. Betrayed, and driven into premature collision with their oppressors, the wronged and maddened bondmen were speedily crushed into subjection. Placido was arrested, and after a long hearing, was condemned to be executed, and consigned to the 'Chapel of the condemned.'"

How far Placido was implicated in the insurrectionary movement, it is now perhaps impossible to ascertain. The popular voice at Havana pronounced him its leader and projector; and as such he was condemned. His own bitter wrongs; the terrible recollections of his life of servitude; the sad condition of his relatives and race, exposed to scorn, contumely, and the heavy hand of violence; the impunity with which the most dreadful outrages upon the persons of slaves were inflicted,—acting upon a mind fully capable of appreciating the beauty and dignity of Freedom, furnished abundant incentives to an effort for the redemption of his race, and the humiliation of his oppressors. The *Heraldo*, of Madrid, speaks of him as "the celebrated poet, a man of great natural genius, and beloved and appreciated by the most respectable young men of Havana." It accuses him of wild and ambitious projects, and states that he was intended to be the chief of the black race after they had thrown off the yoke of bondage.

He was executed at Havana in the 7th month, 1844.—According to the custom in Cuba with condemned criminals, he was conducted from prison to the "Chapel of the Doomed." He passed thither with singular composure, amidst a great concourse of people, gracefully saluting his numerous acquaintances. The chapel was hung with black cloth, dimly lighted. Placido was seated beside his coffin. Priests in long black robes stood around him, chanting in sepulchral voices the service of the dead. It is an ordeal under which the stoutest-hearted and most resolute have been found to sink. After enduring it for twenty-four hours he was led out to execution. Placido came forth calm and undismayed; holding a crucifix in his hand, he recited in a loud, clear voice a solemn prayer in verse, which he had composed amidst the horrors of the "Chapel." It thrilled upon the hearts of all who heard it. I am indebted to a friend for assistance in rendering this remarkable prayer into English verse:

PRAYER OF PLACIDO.

God of unbounded love and power eternal!
To Thee I turn in darkness and despair,
Stretch forth Thine arm, and from the brow infernal
Of Calumny the veil of Justice tear!
And from the forehead of my honest fame
Pluck the world's brand of infamy and shame!
O King of kings!—my father's God—who only
Art strong to save, by whom is all controlled,
Who giv'st the sea its waves, the dark and lonely
Abyss of heaven its light, the North its cold,
The air its currents, the warm sun its beams,
Life to the flowers, and motion to the streams;
All things obey Thee; dying or reviving
As thou commandest; all, apart from Thee,
From Thee alone their power and life deriving,
Sink and are lost in vast eternity!
Yet doth the void obey Thee; since from nought
This marvellous being by Thy hand was wrought.
O merciful God!—I cannot shun Thy presence,
For through its veil of flesh Thy piercing eye
Looketh upon my spirit's unsoiled essence,
As through the pure transparency of the sky;
Let not the oppressor clap his bloody hands,
As o'er my prostrate innocence he stands!

But, if alas, it seemeth good unto Thee
That I should perish as the guilty die;
That, a cold mangled corpse, my foes should view me
With hateful malice and exulting eyes,
Speak Thou the word, and bid them shed my blood,
Fully in me Thy will be done, O, God!

On arriving at the fatal spot, he sat down as ordered, on a bench with his back to the soldiers. The multitude recollected, that in some affecting lines, written by the conspirator in prison, he had said that it would be useless to seek to kill him by shooting his body—that his heart must be pierced ere it would cease its throbbings. At the last moment, just as the soldiers were about to fire, he rose up and gazed for an instant around and above him, on the beautiful capital of his native land, and its sail-decked bay, on the dense clouds about him, the blue mountains in the distance, and the sky glorious with the summer sunshine. "Adios mundo!" (Farewell world!) he said calmly, and sat down. The word was given, and five balls entered his body. Then it was, that amidst the groans and murmurs of the horror-stricken spectators, he rose up once more and turned his head to the shuddering soldiers, his face wearing an expression of superhuman courage. "Will no one pity me?" he said laying his hand over his heart. "Here, fire here!" While he yet spake, two balls entered his heart and he fell dead. Thus perished the hero poet of Cuba. He has not fallen in vain. His genius, and his heroic death, will doubtless be regarded by his race as precious legacies. To the great names of L'Ouverture and Pélion the colored man can now add that of Juan Placido.

Of his Poetical writings, we regret that we have only room for a few passages, which we offer as fair specimens of his verse. From the following passage in his Apostrophe to DEATH, we infer that he was a married man and happy in his connection.

"I only beg thou wilt not ask of me
This gift of life which God was pleased to give,
While passion's spell is on my heart—nor yet
While angry feelings rankle in my breast,
Nor when remembrance ever is beset
With wrongs that men despair to see redressed.
Oh, yet not while I feel this bosom rise
With tender transports, when the partner dear
Of all my cares, with bright and beaming eyes
Smiles in my face—and Eden's joys seem here.
But let it be when thou dost see me yield,
Give my whole heart and soul to God above;
To him who gave me life, nay more, revealed
The truths of life eternal and of love!"

What the Bard of Amesbury declares to be his "best and noblest production," having "all the grandeur and stateliness of the old Spanish muse," is an ode "To Cuba," written on the departure of Dr. Madden from that Slavery-cursed Isle, thus majestically commences:

"Cuba!—of what avail that thou art fair!
Pearl of the Seas!—The pride of the Antilles!
If thy poor sons have still to see thee share
The pangs of bondage and its thousand ills?
Of what avail the verdure of thy hills?
The purple bloom thy coffee plain displays?
The cane's luxuriant growth, whose culture fills
More graves than famine, or the sword finds ways
To glut with victims calmly as it slays?"

Of what avail that thy clear streams abound
With precious ore, if wealth there's none to buy
Thy children's rights, and not one grain is found
For Learning's shrine, or for the altar high
Of poor, forsaken, downcast Liberty?
Of what avail the riches of thy port,
Forests of masts, and ships from every sea,
If Trade alone is free, and man, the sport
And spoil of Trade, bears wrongs of every sort!

Cuba! O Cuba!—when men call thee fair,
And rich, and beautiful, the Queen of Isles,
Star of the West, and Ocean's gem most rare,
O, say to those who mock thee with such wiles:
Take off these flowers, and view the lifeless spoils
Which wait the worm, behold their hues beneath
The pale, cold cheek; and seek for living smiles
Where Beauty lies not in the arms of Death,
And Bondage taints not with its poison breath!"

An Ode on RELIGION, is not only fraught with devotional feeling, but is finely poetic. It opens in an elevated strain, which is well sustained throughout.

Yes, tho' in gloom and sadness I may rise,
One blessed strain can soothe my troubled mind,
No sooner wakened than with streaming eyes,
Upward I look, and there I seek my goal.
Soaring in spirit o'er the things of earth,
The spark imprisoned bursts its bonds of clay,
I feel delight above all human mirth.
And wrapt in love, I live but then to pray;
To thee, dear Father!—mighty and supreme!
Immense! eternal! infinite! and blest!
Oh, how the grandeur of the theme doth seem
To enlarge my thoughts, and to inflame my breast.

Alluding to the early Christian Martyrs, subjected to tyranny

"That fitting agent of a spirit's aim,
Indocile ever to the God of Love,"

he says,

"Thousands of martyrs fell beneath its sway:
Still in that cradle purpled with their blood
The infant faith waxed stronger day by day."

Some passages in this poem evince a degree of appreciation of the Divine legacy which is given "not as the world gives:"

"Oh when the mantle of thy peace descends,
How the soul then exults in her attire!
The garb of Grace to every thought extends,
And wraps reflection in seraphic fire."

With the concluding passages of this Ode we close our memoir, trusting that the space it has filled has not been inappropriately occupied, as it demonstrates the wickedness of slavery, the unfitness of man to be trusted with irresponsible power, and the high capabilities which may lie dormant in a despised, maltreated, chattelized bondman.

"In thee, I find all purity and peace,
All truth and goodness, wisdom far above
All worldly wisdom, might beyond increase,
And yet surpassing these, unbounded love.
Oh, that its light were shed on those whose deeds
Belle the doctrines of the church they claim;
Whose impious tongues profane their fathers' creeds,
And sanction wrong, e'en in religion's name."

Oh, God of mercy, throned in glory high,
O'er earth and all its miseries, look down!
Behold the wretched, hear the captives' cry.
And call thy exiled children round thy throne!
There would I fain in contemplation gaze,
On thy eternal beauty, and would make
Of love one lasting canticle of praise,
And ev'ry theme but that, henceforth forsake."—[Ed.]

For the Non-Slaveholder.

T. Shillitoe in speaking on the subject of Temperance, says,—“So far as we are deficient in using our influence and authority to remedy these and other evils that abound, we become parties thereto in the Divine sight.”*

* Frds Library, vol. 3, p. 128.

Is not Slavery one of the "other evils"? and are we using our best endeavors to do away with that iniquitous system, while we are constantly demanding fresh supplies of Slave grown articles, to yield which, in sufficient quantities, the slaveholder resorts to extreme severity, in order to exact the greatest amount of labor from his helpless victims? Who is the cause of this suffering? those who produce, or those who will consume these blood-stained articles? C.

From Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood.

THE CHRISTIAN BRAVE.

We had the pleasure, some months since, of introducing to our readers, under the above title, a true peace hero. Many will, we think, recall with lively interest the narrative which we presented of the devoted and self-denying labours of this good man among the Pawnee Indians; his journey of 1,700 miles, performed on foot, to the far-west; his residence among the tribe; and the hardships he endured in sustaining his self-appointed mission and his own existence by the labours of his own hands. It will be remembered that his faithful maintenance of the principles of Christian non resistance exposed him, at first, to great difficulty and obloquy with his Indian neighbors, who, regarding a refusal to fight as indicative only of cowardice, gave him the name of "Woman," as the most contemptuous epithet they could bestow upon a man.—When, however, the enemy approached, and the white man alone appeared unperturbed and without alarm, going with his spade to his daily labour, unmoved by the warnings of danger, and the entreaties to hide if he would not fight, contempt was changed into admiration, and the Pawnees ever afterward distinguished their white friend and benefactor by the highest title of honour bestowed upon their heroes—he was called "A BRAVE!"

It is now our privilege to number this good man among our personal friends, and we are sure that our readers will gladly trace with us some further and recent scenes in his useful and adventurous career. His life presents a most remarkable instance of the true apostolic spirit.—Feeling himself called to labour in distant parts of the globe, he has travelled, in simple, trustful faith, and with earnest singleness of purpose, over a large extent of the North American continent and Southern Europe, laboring always without fee or reward, sometimes accepting the hospitality of friends, but ever ready to work at the roughest manual employment to support himself. He entered our office in London some months since. A remarkably tall man, somewhat stooping, indeed, from overgrowth; dressed in a suit of snuff-brown home-spun cloth; his clothes cut after the primitive fashion; wearing no neckcloth, but with the collar of his shirt buttoned closely and neatly round his neck. He wore a somewhat broad-brimmed hat, and, but

for the collar to his coat, would have been taken for a "ministering Friend," come up from some remote country district to attend yearly meeting.

The countenance was a true index of the man, and the tones of his voice were modulated by a heart full of love and gentleness. As we took that large hand into our own, felt its quiet, fraternal grasp, looked up at the giant frame that stood before us, and towered above us, and then then listened to the child-like gentleness of the stranger's greeting, we felt that we were in the presence of no ordinary character, of one whom it would be safe to love and trust at first sight.

He told us many interesting particulars of his experience in his native country; of his efforts to instruct and evangelize the Indians; following their occupations, living, and at times almost starving, as they do; and of the love they bore him for his service among them; then of his mission to California; of his sympathy for the sick and dying who were overtaken by the pestilence upon the Isthmus of Panama, among whom he halted for some months, acting as nurse and pastor to hundreds of poor, deserted, or friendless emigrants, stopped on their way to the gold regions. We must not pause to recount his career among the diggers; his labours to suppress gambling and intemperance, nor of his success in procuring the erection of a hospital in San Francisco, by which the life of many a friendless, fever-struck stranger was saved, and the sufferings of the sick immigrants greatly alleviated. Our immediate purpose is to speak of his present mission in Europe, and to notice the remarkable leadings of Providence by which his footsteps have been directed to the East, and a way opened for him through difficulties and obstacles which, humanly speaking, were of the most hopeless and insurmountable character.

Imagine our friend sitting in his lonely, humble lodging in New York; his heart full of grateful remembrances connected with his recent travels, and the blessing which had been permitted to attend his labors. And now a new call of duty arises in his heart; he has dealt with varied phases of sin and suffering and heathenism in his own country; but a drawing sympathy begins to develop itself for those who are the victims of ignorance and superstition in the Papal States of Europe. He has read of the once imperial Rome, and of the present abject and humiliating condition of her people. The thought takes possession of his soul, that if a poor laboring man like himself could get to Rome, and were to make his dwelling among the Roman poor, learning their language, joining with them in their daily labour, finding his way, as opportunities offered, to the sick and suffering, and sorrowful, winning, by patient acts of kindness, forbearance, and good will, their confidence and affection, that then he might present to many hearts, in a quiet conversational manner, the pure simple truths of the Gospel. It was not

his purpose to denounce Popery, but to breathe, as it were, a New Testament influence upon all to whom he could gain access. Amongst those who knew and loved him, of his kindred and friends, there was not one to approve or encourage this new enterprise. Its difficulties and dangers were patent to all. Every one was ready to warn and deter, but no one could muster the courage or the faith to say—"If it must be so now, do this, and the Almighty give thee mercy before the man." Our friend, however, was not to be daunted; human sympathy he greatly valued and enjoyed when it came, but his dependence was never placed upon it. He sought counsel and encouragement at a higher source, and walked in the guidance of a wisdom which he had learned to trust with implicit and child-like faith.

He labored hard as a woodcutter, and saved a few dollars—enough to pay his passage to England. With these he took a steerage berth, and made his way to our shores, landing an entire stranger in Great Britain, without a spare sovereign for his maintenance, and with very slight introductions to procure him a personal welcome. That welcome, however, he found with a humble minister, actively engaged in ministering to the spiritual necessities of a poor, but very populous outskirt of London; and here, as our friend expressed it, he soon found that the Lord had some work for him to do. The guest at once became the invaluable helper, not as a preacher, for he modestly disclaimed all qualifications for the public ministry; but in many a garret home, and by many a sick bedside, he was a welcome visitor, ever ready to pour in the consolations of the Gospel. He loved to act as a wayside missionary, and was fond of joining groups of street-loiterers; and his kind words of counsel and invitation, or his proffered tract, generally met with a respectful acceptance, for his manner, and the very tones of his voice, seemed peculiarly adapted to please and conciliate the hardest and most rugged natures. He was a constant visitor, too, at the schools, where his genial, pleasant talk was a source of great joy to the children. His zeal in the temperance cause was great, and he labored unceasingly to win converts to the practice of total abstinence.

In the midst of these varied and useful labors, which extended over several months, he never lost sight of the great object of his voyage to the old world. His heart was ever set to go to Rome, whenever the Lord should seem to prepare a path for his feet. He talked with us frequently of his hopes and plans. He also made known his prospects at the office of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of one or two of the leading missionary societies. The authorities there listened kindly to his statements, but could not venture to encourage what seemed so hopeless an undertaking. They represented, in the strongest colors, the difficulties and dangers of

such a mission:—the jealous vigilance of the Papal authorities, their dread of popular instruction, the terror of their dungeons, and, possibly, even the peril of life itself. The simple reply to this was—"I have nothing to do with consequences. If I counted liberty or life in the matter, I should not have been thus far on my way. To Rome I intend to go!"

"And how do you propose to travel? What funds have you for the journey?"

"None. I intend to walk."

"But how shall you subsist by the way?"

"My heavenly Father has never yet withheld my daily bread, and I can trust Him still."

At this juncture it occurred to a friend to make inquiry for some vessel bound for one of the Italian ports, and to ascertain on what terms a passage could be secured. On application to the Messrs. Fox at Falmouth, the case was met in the kindest and most generous spirit, and a free passage was proffered to Leghorn in a schooner, bound from one of the Cornish ports with a cargo of fish. This unexpected opening, together with a free railway journey to the west, kindly furnished by one or two friends unknown to the recipient, removed all obstacles, and within eight hours from the receipt of the summons, the traveller was in the mail-train, on his way to Plymouth. A note of introduction procured him a cordial and truly fraternal greeting from a friend in that town, by whom he was passed on to the small port of Mevagissey, in Cornwall. Here he found a schooner chartered by Messrs. Fox, commanded by a good, kind-hearted Christian man (Captain Fishwick), who had most generously consented to convey him to Leghorn free of all expense, but who now speaks as though he were the obliged party in having such a passenger.—The voyage was a season of mutual satisfaction and spiritual enjoyment to both, the only drawback that occurred being the protracted suffering of our friend from sea-sickness. Notwithstanding this, however, he endeared himself greatly to all on board by the interest which he manifested in their spiritual welfare, and his happy and affectionate manner in imparting religious instruction. His counsel appeared to be specially blessed to the mind of the captain's son, who was serving as mate on board. Arrived at Leghorn, the friends were in no haste to part, and an ample field of labor was at once presented among the shipping in that great port. It is interesting to hear Captain Fishwick speak of the labors of his guest at this period. From ship to ship he made his way; at first shunned and repulsed, but never disheartened; overcoming by degrees all opposition, and winning at last the confidence and warm affection of the various crews by which they were surrounded. They would gather round him in groups, on the deck, or down in the fore-castle of their ships, listening eagerly as he read to them the Holy Scriptures, and expounded to them the living truths of

Christianity. Religion, taught by such an exemplar, melted many a stubborn heart; and the captain of a large American ship, who had been a most profane character, acknowledged to Captain Fishwick, with tearful emotion, that it was a blessed day for him which laid the schooner alongside his ship, and brought such a visitor on board. The Bethel Flag flew frequently from the schooner's masthead; prayer meetings were held, and Captain Fishwick himself preached regularly every Sabbath-day.—(To be Continued.)

For the Non-Slaveholder. A WORD TO ABOLITIONISTS.

Can we innocently share the gain of Oppression?

What good will it do? is a question often proposed to the advocates of Free Produce. "If all would abstain something might be done, but what can individuals accomplish in this way against the giant sin of slavery?" It is probable that multitudes of slaveholders theoretically opposed to slavery, reason in the same manner, and with quite as good grounds. We would answer you, as we answer them, even if you can see no direct or immediate good it will do, *wash your own hands of all voluntary participation in the sin you condemn.* Let your action be consistent if you would have your influence felt; and because you cannot do all, do not refuse to do all you have power to do. Anti-slavery men have often quoted the noble sentiment, "Actions are ours, events are God's," they have never admitted that we were free to refuse to do any duty, till we had stipulated that a reward should be given in the success of our works.

But we believe it would be impossible to estimate the amount of good resulting to the cause of liberty in this country and throughout the world, by a consistent course of action in this respect on the part of the anti-slavery community. It would at once place us on a high moral elevation from which we could command a clear view of slavery. It would give immense force to professions, the sincerity of which might otherwise be justly questioned. It would promote anti-slavery feeling, by constantly reminding us of the actual existence of slavery. It would lead to much enquiry—and enquiry on the side of truth and right is ever productive of good. It would be an appeal to the heart of the slaveholder of great moral power. *It would strike at the root of slavery.* It would cause the oppressor to tremble, and be an earnest to the crushed and sorrowing bondman that the day of his redemption drew nigh.

From Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood.

BAGGING WIDOWS' MITES AT THE TREASURY.—The true-hearted devotion of the poor widow in Scripture, who cast into the treasury her whole substance, made her two-mite gift a richer donation in the Saviour's eyes than the ostentatious offerings which the rich Pharisees poured in from their stores. There are thousands of poor widows and orphans in this country, who, with hearts full of faith and love, bring their little money-mites to the Lord's treasury, to contribute to the spread of His Gospel of grace and salvation in pagan regions, and in dark places at home. And there is the richest Government in the world, that, with a bag under its cloak containing twenty millions of dollars of surplus revenue, and a hooked excise knife in its right hand, follows these widows and orphans stealthily to the altar of their loving sacrifice, and cuts their mite-offering in two, dropping the largest halves into his own treasures, to chink feebly between its solid ingots of

gold. What a charge! Prove it if you can. We will, by two or three simple facts. A short time ago, a poor missionary among the pagan tribes of Africa, labouring, like his Master, with hardly a place to lay his head, and living on the food of almost savages, sent across the sea a packet of letters directed to different friends in America. It reached New York via England, charged with *Five Dollars and Seventy-five Cents postage* (£1 4s.!) Of course, "The American Missionary Association," to whose care it was directed, paid this charge, and took it from the office; for they recognized the handwriting of a faithful laborer. But this heavy postage was to be paid out of the little gifts dropped into the treasury of this Christian mission. Here are three items that helped to make up the amount. A poor young woman, in the State of Massachusetts, sent a pair of silver sleeve-buttons, left by her grandfather, who had worn them sixty years or so. These were the only two mites of the remnant of his fortune, and she thought it would be his wish in heaven that they should go for the Gospel to the heathen. The goldsmith valued them at *twenty-five cents* (1s.) The second gift was a dollar from an old man above ninety years of age, in Vermont, who sent it as the last offering he could ever make on earth. Then an afflicted woman in Maine, who had been confined to her couch for years, sent the proceeds of her needlework, at which her lean fingers had plied for twelve months, in the uncertain moments of less acute suffering. And these amounted to *three dollars*—a gift which it gladdened her heart with gratitude to bestow on the cause she loved. Here, then, there were four dollars and twenty-five cents, contributed in a spirit which the Saviour saw and commended in the widow's donation of two mites. How precious in His sight must have been the thousand thoughts of love and faith associated with these three contributions! The whole sum came almost within a dollar of paying the postage which a Government, with a bag of twenty millions of dollars surplus revenue under its cloak, and a hooked excise-knife in its right hand, charged upon the letters of the shoeless missionary of the Gospel in Africa to his friends in America!!! Perhaps some decrepid old woman, with dim eyes and palsied hands, pared and dried apples, or collected mustard seed, enough to make up the full amount demanded at the post-office for the little packet he sent across the sea. The American Board for Foreign Missions pay nearly three thousand dollars a year for ocean postage on their correspondence with various missionary stations and persons abroad. Think how many hundreds of little gifts, like to those described, are yearly swallowed up by this heavy postal charge on missionary intelligence. Let every one, then, who loves the cause of missions, ask for an *Ocean Penny Postage*.

THE NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 19. 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.—The conclusion of our notice of this beloved Friend is crowded out of the present number.

PROSPECTIVE CHANGE.—We are gratified in announcing an expected change in the Editor, in the name, and in the size of this Journal; a change so complete, that our readers may be ready to conclude that there will be no identity left. But the *objects* will still be retained, and we trust the subscribers also, with large addition. "BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD," the *Prospectus* of which will be found on another page, ought to have an extensive circulation, and a hearty welcome to the home of every philanthropist. When, about two years ago, it was believed to be necessary to resuscitate the Non-Slaverholder, we yielded to the request of our friends, reluctantly, and because there was a duty to perform which we saw no one else prepared to undertake. But now we learn that the beloved ELIHU BURRITT, with his great heart and vast mind, is willing to become once more an American Editor, and it is with no ordinary glow of satisfaction that we rise to proffer him our chair, and to pass over into such hands the advocacy of the Free Labor doctrines, confident that these and other principles which we have endeavored to promote, will be more ably advocated by him. The first number of the "Citizen of the World" will be issued at the beginning of the year 1855, and we invite our friends, for the love of truth and humanity, to make themselves acquainted with the terms, to constitute themselves voluntary agents, and at an early date to send in to the Publisher lists of subscribers, always remembering the necessity of pre-payment.

We are assured that the testimony against the use of the products of Slave Labor will be continually and prominently upheld, whilst the variety of other matter, and the great ability of the distinguished Editor, will carry a presentation of this important principle to numbers of persons who would not be likely to see a paper which was chiefly restricted to that one subject.

COTTON FUND AND FREE LABOR FACTORY.—

We are pleased and encouraged by the fact that the machinery is now in course of delivery and fitting up in the new Mill. A few more contributions to the Free Labor Cotton Fund are now really wanted. Why should there be any supineness respecting this effort? In every cotton growing state there are many producers of the free article, and these are regarded with contempt and shorn of their influence for good, in consequence of their working with their own hands to "provide things honest in the sight of all men." Extend, then, the Free cotton effort.

Seek out these honest producers. Show to their haughty neighbors that they are persons of some importance. Go to them, through your agents, money in hand, and talk to them, not of slavery or of abolition, but of FREE GROWN COTTON. Let Commerce be the missionary of liberty—let her preach the anti-slavery evangel. As you purchase your cotton, you will show to the Southerners that you believe in your principles. This will set them to thinking over their own private creed, and they will find that they believe them too.

FREE LABOR IN THE MIDST OF SLAVERY.—

A correspondent of the A. S. Standard, during a tour in Virginia, visited an agriculturist, with whom, and with his wife and son, he had free converse respecting the "peculiar institution." They agreed in the testimony which we have from many witnesses, "that poor people in the state are looked down upon by the slaveocracy as if they belonged to an inferior race;"—and the old farmer assured him "that the majority of the non-human-property-holders of Virginia are secret abolitionists." That this is the case in other slave states we have not a doubt. The idea that one human being can be the *property* of another human being, is not one which suggests itself to the instinct or to the reason of man. There is no rational being who does not possess light enough to reject such idea the moment that the tables should be turned and he himself claimed as a "chattel and thing personal." The small farmers and the whole industrial class of the south, must regard with disfavor, a system which not only outrages humanity in the persons of the slaves, but also makes them in a certain sense its victims, causing them to be despised for that which, next to religion, is the highest dignity of man, which at once keeps him out of satan's service, and renders him useful to his species—to wit, honest productive labor.

Upon which of the two classes in Virginia, would God and the angels look down with most approval,—the large planter of thousands of acres, worked by unrequited bondmen, or the honest but poor farmer who has a claim against the whole world to the product of his own labor? "The highest intelligences," says Channing, "recognize their own nature, their own rights, in the humblest human being," and wherever, in all infinity, God's Kingdom is perfected, and purity reigns, the former of these two classes would be regarded with profound displeasure, and the latter, so far as this question is concerned, with approval. Could we suppose, for the presentation of our argument, that the holy angels should become incarnate, and have material wants, can any one believe that they would satisfy those wants by accepting the results of the coerced and unrequited toil, and the iniquitous oppression of the chil-

dren of their own glorious Father? And if these holy intelligences have attained to perfection, are not we, equally with them, *called to be perfect*? Ought not our standard to be as high and pure as theirs? Ought not our love for the slave, and for his oppressor, and our filial allegiance to the God and father of them both, to induce us to withhold the motive for the one to sin against the other?

The state of sentiment in the South which is indicated by the old Farmer's testimony, suggests various considerations. There is a large production in the Slave States, of articles untainted (or nearly so,) by Slave labor, and a systemized effort might select and bring it into the market, and thus depress the system of slavery, elevate the laboring class, correct, in measure, the unhealthful prejudice against labor, and plant successfully a testimony against slavery in the monster's most impregnable strong holds. *This the anti-slavery people might do, and a responsibility rests upon them for neglecting it.* By such a course, Non-Slaverholders would be rapidly elevated into influence, and in those states where they already form a majority, would soon show, in their election returns, in their Educational establishments, in the elevated tone of general public sentiment, that virtuous liberty is the parent of prosperity, and that to "cease to do evil" is to secure the favor and the blessing of Deity. We may reflect too, that the haughty blusterers at Washington, at whose feet Daniel Webster and a majority of our northern representatives ignominiously, like whipped spaniels, laid down manliness, consistency, and honor, by no means represent the principles of the entire South, but that there is a vast population whose interests are violated by slavery, and who cannot sympathize with the threats of disunion for its support.

In fact, we may learn, and it is "devoutly to be wished" that we may learn, that it is a policy as mistaken as it is unmanly and wrong, to concede sacred truth and right from a fear of agitation and excitement. The North has lost much, and has gained nothing, by every concession she has made, and we fully believe that in all cases, the sacrifice of principle involves the sacrifice of interest. A manly, firm, conscientious maintenance of the right, is the best specific against the aggressions of the wrong,—and the philosophy of pusillanimity is the surest prelude to defeat and disgrace—to the contempt of adversaries and the loss of self-respect.

INDIANA YEARLY MEETING.—By the report addressed to this Yearly Meeting on the 30th ult by its "committee on the concerns of the people of color," we are pleased to notice that from all the quarterly meetings, save one exhibits had been received of their labors for the benefit of the colored people in their respective limits. Twenty Schools for children of these people have

been sustained during the past year, in which a large number have received instruction. "In most of these School all the common branches of an English Education have been taught, and in nearly all of them by colored persons, some quite competent and efficient teachers. A considerable number of children have received instruction in the Schools of Friends, where they have not been in settlements so that Schools of their own could be had." It also appears that the christian care of Friends has extended to advising and assisting the poor and destitute of the colored population. Attention is called to the superior advantages which they possess in country situations, where they more frequently become useful and moral citizens than in cities and villages.

TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITORY MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.—A very deep interest upon the Temperance question pervades the moralists of Great Britain, and our favorite project of a PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW is in high favor among England's best and wisest men. It is no unimportant illustration of this, that *The Edinburgh Review*, in a long and able article, strenuously vindicates the Maine Law. Among about half a million petitioners to the House of Commons during its last session, asking for the closing of public houses on the first day of the week, were many ministers of religion, and attached to one of the petitions presented in 6th month last we notice the names of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Archdeacon Sinclair, &c. An advance step has been taken in the *Beer Act* which evinces that a concession to public sentiment was found to be necessary. On the great "Licensing day" in last month, many licenses were prevented by the remonstrances presented to the several Courts. Among the petitioners, we are happy to state, were many Episcopal Clergymen. At ASHTON, Lancashire, five ministers of the Church of England, six dissenting ministers, and 272 superintendents and teachers in Sabbath Schools, successfully protested against the granting of any new licenses. At BRADFORD, Yorkshire, 27 ministers of the gospel, the Vicar of the place, 3 Bankers, 200 Burgesses, &c., petitioned, and though 25 applications for license were made, only two were granted. At LEEDS ten Episcopal Clergymen, including the vicar Dr. Hook, a large number of dissenting ministers, and 105 other respectable inhabitants petitioned against an increase of public houses. We might considerably add to our list of cases illustrative of the same feeling. *Punch* in view of the absurd plea of the necessity of intoxicating liquor for the accommodation of the travelling community thus defines the word *Traveller*: "Any person who wants anything to drink." Our English Exchanges give numerous and revolting cases of crime and misery resulting from drunkenness. But, alas,—we need not import transatlantic testimony to prove the necessity for Prohibitory Law.

MORE GUILTY THAN THIEVES AND BURGLARS.—The "HON WM. JAY" speaking of the Nebraska and Kansas law, says: "The northern members of Congress who voted for that law, in my opinion incurred in the sight of God a deeper moral guilt than that of most of the thieves and burglars in our penitentiaries, for they sinned against clearer light and more abundant knowledge, and with a more deliberate contempt for truth, justice, liberty and human happiness than their imprisoned fellow criminals." This is plain but truthful and temperate language, and the sentiment of Wm. Jay carries weight.

THE LATE GOVERNOR BIGLER.—It gives us satisfaction to announce that William Bigler is soon to be relieved from responsibilities for the discharge of which he had not the requisite virtue. A dissatisfaction on the part of the people with his pro-slavery servility, is understood to have been a prominent cause of his defeat at the late election. So may all who insult the majesty of Heaven by violating the rights of our common Father's sable children, be removed from those official stations which ought always to be occupied by true men.

The present number has been kept back by a disappointment in the expected supply of paper.

BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.
A Magazine of 16 pages of about the size of CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL,* will be published monthly, by George W. Taylor, Philadelphia, commencing with First Month, (Jan.) 1855, under the title of the "CITIZEN OF THE WORLD," edited by ELIHU BURRITT. Terms FIFTY CENTS per annum, to be paid invariably in advance.

"The Citizen of the World" will endeavor to merit its designation, by viewing from the elevated standpoint of human brotherhood, all principles, policies, events, institutions and enterprises which affect the peace, prosperity, social intercourse and common welfare of the nations as a family, and the rights, duty and dignity of man as an individual being. Whilst it regards these with an impartial eye and records them with an impartial pen, it will glean and present all hopeful signs of progress; all honest homage to truth, right duty and Christian charity; and all the onward steps of governments and communities in the path prescribed by a righteous policy and the precepts of the Christian religion. With all this variety of topics, the "Citizen of the World," it is confidently believed, will be a welcome and useful visitor to the different members of every family that admits it to its social circle. Its pages will be filled with articles from the editor's pen, giving his personal observations and experiences in Europe, and with communications from correspondents in different parts of the world. For the young it will serve up many a little truthful story, and teaching illustration of the law of kindness and Christian love. For the Sabbath, it will have its page of religious instruction, selected by paragraphs from the most eminent Christian writers of different countries. For every occupation, and for every age, it will seek to present something interesting and useful.

All communications relating to the "Citizen of the World," should be addressed, post paid, to GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Box 777, Philadelphia.

* In other words—double the present size of the Non-Slaveholder—the page being the same.—[Ed.]

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 11.]

To Sovereigns and those in authority in the Nations of Europe, and in other parts of the World where the Christian Religion is professed.

From the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends of Great Britain and Ireland, held in London, 1849.

It having pleased the Lord to bring our fathers to a sense of the cruelty and wickedness of the African Slave Trade, and of the injustice of holding their fellow men in Slavery, they were strengthened to act upon the conviction wrought on their minds: they set at liberty those they held in bondage, and in their faithfulness they enjoyed the answer of a good conscience towards God. In that love which comes from Him, their hearts were enlarged in love to their neighbor, and they could not rest without endeavoring to bring others to that sense of justice and mercy to which the Lord had brought them. From that time to the present day we have felt it to be laid upon us as a church to bear a testimony against the sin of Slavery.

We have believed it to be our Christian duty to represent the wrongs inflicted upon the people of Africa, and repeatedly to plead the cause of the Slave in addresses to our own Government. We rejoice and are thankful at the progress which has been made in this country and in other nations in this cause of righteousness. Hundreds of thousands of slaves have been restored to liberty, and many of the nations of the civilized world are now, to a large extent, delivered from the guilt of the African Slave Trade,—a trade which the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, pronounced to be "a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe and afflicts humanity," and for the suppression of which laws have been enacted. But our hearts are sorrowful in the consideration that this traffic is still carried on to a large extent, and that a vast amount of the population of the western world is still subject to the cruelty and the wrong of Slavery. We desire to cherish this sympathy, and that we may behold the increase of it amongst all men everywhere.

One God is the Creator of us all, his eyes are in every place beholding the evil and the good. He will bring every work to judgment, and every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil. The families of the earth are all of one blood; all partakers of the same corrupt nature

consequent upon the fall of man; all are alike subject to infirmity, disease, and death, and all amenable to the same judgment after death. In the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ there is no respect for persons; He tasted death for every man; all distinctions of country, tongue and color are merged in the immensity of that love in which the Father has sent his son to be the Saviour of the world. Wherever the religion of the Gospel of Christ obtains its proper place within us, it softens our hearts; it brings man into fellow-feeling with his fellow man; it brings him to regard every man as a brother, and to look upon the nations of the earth as all of one family. Amongst the millions of mankind there is not one beneath the notice of our Father who is in Heaven; if we be partakers of his love, it leads us into pity for the forlorn, the helpless and the oppressed; and it constrains us to do what we can to mitigate the pain and to assuage the sorrows of those who are in suffering; to befriend the friendless, and to labor for the improvement of the condition of the most degraded of our race.

We are now assembled in our Yearly Meeting for the promotion of charity and godliness amongst ourselves, and, according to our measure, for the spreading of truth and righteousness upon the earth. The condition of the natives of Africa, as affected by the continuance of the Slave Trade, and that of the Slaves in North and South America, and on the islands adjacent to that continent, have again awakened our sympathy. We submit to the consideration of all those in authority in the nations which take upon them the name of Christ, the utter incompatibility of Slavery with the divine law. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them;" these were the precepts of our Lord. He spoke as never man spoke, and of his words He declared, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away;" they are the law of God's righteousness to all generations. We submit whether, without breaking this law, it be possible for man to hold or claim a right to property in the person of his fellow man: whether, admitting the supreme authority of this law, man can buy or sell his brother: whether he can withhold from those who labour for him that which is just and equal; whether the forced and uncompensated labor of

the Negro slave be not the breaking of this law; in short, whether any man or any of the nations of men can, in any one of these things, violate the law of the Lord and be guiltless.

For the space of three hundred years, the trade in slaves has been carried on from Africa to the opposite shores of the Atlantic; and this traffic in the persons of men is still prosecuted with unrelenting and unmitigated cruelty; year by year countless multitudes are torn from all that they hold dear in life, to pass their days in toil and misery. Men are still to be found so hardened in heart, so bent upon the gain of oppression, and so devoid of all that we deem the common feelings of humanity, as to spend their time and talents in pursuit of this criminal commerce. We forbear to enter in detail upon the large variety of human suffering, inseparable from this complicated iniquity. But we trust we do not take too much upon ourselves, in asking those whom we now address, to open their ears to the groaning of the oppressed, and to give themselves to sympathy with their sufferings; to think upon the war, the rapine, and bloodshed, attendant upon the capture of slaves in the interior of Africa—upon what they are made to endure in their transit to the coast and in their passage across the ocean; and not to shrink from making themselves acquainted with the horrors and loathsomeness of the Slave-ship, to follow the poor, helpless, unoffending Negro, if he survives the suffering of the voyage, and to think upon his condition when landed upon a foreign shore, and entered upon a life of hard and hopeless servitude—it may be—to be worked to death in his early manhood, or to live to behold his children subjected to the same degradation and oppression as himself.

Blessed is the man that considereth the poor. The blessing of the Lord resteth upon him, who, knowing the evil which attends his neighbor's lot in life, is stretching forth his hand for the relief of his poverty and distress, and his blessing is upon those who, like the Patriarch of old, are inquiring into the sorrows and hardship of the poor, the fatherless, and those that have none to help them. "The cause which I knew not, I searched out."

Our sympathies are awakened, not for the native African alone, and the victims of the African Slave Trade, but we feel for those who are living and laboring in a state of Slavery, who were born in Slavery, and possibly may die subject to its privation and its hardships. In those countries in which this system is upheld by law, man is degraded to the condition of a beast of burthen, and regarded as an article of merchandise. The slave has nothing in life that he can call his own; his physical powers, the limbs of his body, belong to another; it can scarcely be said that the faculties of his mind are his own. All that distinguishes him as a rational creature is, by the law of the State, treated as the proper-

ty of another. He may be a man fearing God, and desiring to approve himself a disciple of Christ—we believe that there are such. Whatever the consistency of his character as a Christian, and however advanced in the cultivation of his mind, all avails him nothing, he is still a slave, and the law allows him nothing to look to in life but hopeless, helpless, friendless Slavery. Endowed by his Maker with capacity for enjoyment like other men, he has his social affections, he may be honorably married, and in married life surrounded by offspring dear to him as his own flesh; but he knows not the day nor the hour in which he may be torn from his wife, or in which his children, at their tender age, may be snatched away, sold to the man-trader, and carried into far distant captivity. So long as Slavery is upheld by law we can have no security for the extinction of a trade in slaves. Such are the contingencies of the system under every modification of which it is capable, that until slavery be abolished, men, women and children will, we fear, be imported from Africa, and be bought and sold like the cattle of the field, and the barbarities of the Slave-market will continue to pollute the towns and villages of those islands in the West Indies in which Slavery exists, and in the Slave-holding countries of America.

The subject is so vast and of such manifold atrocity, we think, that even the history of the whole world does not furnish a parallel to its crime. We deem it scarcely possible for a man of the most comprehensive mind fully to possess himself of the extent of the evil. The Lord alone doth know: none but the Infinite Mind can comprehend the individual and the aggregate sufferings of those subjected to these enormities. God alone can reach the heart and awaken the conscience. It is our strong desire,—we speak with reverence and fear,—it is our prayer, that He may bring every one to a sense of his own share in the guilt, and that, ceasing from his iniquity, the condemnation resting upon the man-stealer, and upon those who trade in the persons of men, may no longer attach itself to any one bearing the name of Christian; and that the Slave-holder, whether he be more or less involved in the sin of oppression, may be brought to act in obedience to the law of impartial and uncompromising equity, and, without hesitation and without delay, restore to immediate and unconditional freedom every slave he holds in bondage.

The Gospel of Christ is precious to us. Through the mercy of God to our souls we trust we are prepared in some degree, to appreciate the means which, in his wisdom and love, He has provided for the redemption of the world, and the reconciling of man to Himself. In the word of ancient prophecy, Christ was promised that in Him all the families of the earth might be blessed. We cannot but entertain the opinion that the enlightenment of multitudes of the inhabitants of Africa, and their participation in the privileges and

the consolation of the Christian Religion, have been much retarded by the evil deeds of many who have gone among them; and especially that the cruelty and wickedness of the Slave-Trade have done much to keep them in ignorance of Him who died for them. In that love which extends over sea and land, and seeks the happiness of the whole human race, we make our appeal to those with whom it lies, and respectfully press upon them to take their part, in accordance with the peaceable religion of Christ, in removing every impediment out of the way, that, through the grace of God, the African, of every tribe and every tongue, may be brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

May it please the Lord Almighty to bless those who reign, and those who are in authority, in every nation in which Christianity is acknowledged. May his wisdom preside in all their councils, and the law of his righteousness be the rule of their actions. May the Prince of Peace, Christ Jesus our Saviour, be honored wherever his name is known. May his holy religion obtain its rightful influence in the earth, and the people become prepared to offer praise to God in the language uttered by the Heavenly Host—"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting.

GEORGE STACEY,

Clerk to the Meeting this year.

From Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood.

THE CHRISTIAN BRAVE.

(Continued from page 85.)

It was impossible that labours so devoted and successful should pass without observation and remark, especially in a country where spiritual light and knowledge are regarded as the greatest elements of danger to the powers that be. The Papal authorities were speedily in possession of the alarming fact, that a simple-hearted Christian man, without ecclesiastical authority, without fee or reward, influenced solely by the love which he bore for the ignorant and the perishing, was at work in their city; that he was gladly and gratefully welcomed by those among whom he labored; and that many were beginning to inquire the way of salvation.

The alarm of the Leghorn judicials and priests, and their difficulty in dealing with this dangerous innovator, would have been greatly mitigated, if the weapons of his spiritual warfare had been those of ordinary mould and temper. Had he laboured to detach men as sedulously from creeds as from sin; had he included Satan and the Pope in the same breath of denunciation; had he evinced an aggressive determination to make men proselytes, instead of simply inviting them to become Christians, he would easily have been disposed of as a violator of the law, and might have caused no greater trouble, perhaps, than a consular remonstrance, and an

early removal from the country. The heavenly armour however, in which he went about "*doing good*," left him invulnerable in the midst of enemies who watched with ceaseless vigilance his every movement, but sought in vain an occasion of offence against "the meek and quiet spirit" of the Christian Brave.

True, they confined his operations almost exclusively to the shipping in the port; drawing around the quays and wharves of Leghorn a cordon of police inspection, which never permitted him to enter the dwelling of a Invonese without the company of a priest or a policeman. Although he continued thus strictly watched during his stay in the city, no complaint could be fastened upon him either by the civil or ecclesiastical authorities. They were not ignorant of the influence he succeeded in establishing over the minds of the sailors, but their authority did not extend to the decks of English and American vessels, and they were obliged to content themselves with damming off from the minds of their own countrymen any possible streamlet of truth that might flow to them through the lips of an apostolic stranger.

The time at length arrived when our friend felt that his long-cherished prospect of visiting Rome must be carried into effect, and the parting scene on board the little schooner which had borne him to the shores of Italy, was one of deep and touching interest. At his request, the Captain assembled all the crew, with his own family, in the cabin, where their beloved guest read to them the twentieth chapter of the Acts, and when he came to the three concluding verses all hearts were melted; and the language which so vividly portrays the separation of Paul from his friends, became precisely descriptive of what took place, for "*when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more.*"

And now, his services in Leghorn closed, his last friendly words of Christian sympathy exchanged, the last farewell uttered, he set out on his solitary way, among a people with whose language he was yet unfamiliar, and whose habits, prejudices, and principles were all strange to him. We may well conceive the sense of utter loneliness which would at times steal over his soul, and which would assuredly have daunted any heart less truly brave, or less reliant upon that "*perfect love which casteth out fear*," and with what emotion must he have gazed, for the first time, from some mountain path, upon the seven hilled city, towards which his loving, yearning sympathies had been so long directed. Here was the great seat and centre of that spiritual darkness and corruption over whose unhappy fruits he had so long mourned. The ignorance, the superstition, the prostration of the Roman people, with all their physical suffering

and social degradation, he was now to encounter face to face; and he had come from his transatlantic home with the hope and purpose that a way might be opened up for him to introduce, if it might be but a ray of pure simple Gospel truth and love, among those whom he longed to enlighten and to cheer.

How often had the streets of imperial Rome witnessed the entry of brave men—the mightiest conquerors on the page of history—when, amid the tumult of popular applause, they came bearing with them the triumphs and spoils of Roman victory; but never had the Coliseum and the Capitol looked down upon a truer hero than the pilgrim stranger whose feet now trod the ways where once walked the Cæsars. He was not insensible to the difficulty and danger of his task; he knew that the authorities of Rome had been advised of his coming, and would be little disposed to tolerate his mission; but he came willing to risk all in the service of the Master whom he loved.

He was not left long in suspense as to the light in which his character was viewed. He was at once placed under the strictest surveillance of the police, and was never allowed to quit his lodging without having a soldier or a priest at his elbow. He remained for more than a month a sort of prisoner at large; his patience and gentleness preserving him from giving any occasion of arrest, but an effectual barrier being put to his contemplated sphere of labor. Finding that it was hopeless to attempt any direct access to the minds of the Italian people, it occurred to him that he might, perhaps, indirectly scatter the seeds of truth, by stationing himself at some port, under British rule, where he could visit and talk with Italian sailors; and for this purpose he found that the island of Malta was peculiarly adapted, the intercourse between Valetta and the various Italian ports being more frequent than any other station in the Mediterranean. To Malta accordingly he repaired, leaving behind him the following characteristic note, addressed to the tribunal of Roman police; a document which, for its honesty and fearlessness, has probably few parallels in archives of that body:—

"To the Roman Police."

"Sirs,—I have now been in Rome forty days, and I have not spoken to the people, nor troubled any one. The people have been civil and kind, therefore the blessing of the Lord is with the people; but the priests, police, and soldiers have annoyed me much from day to day. Your priests are proselyting in the United States with perfect freedom, yet I have not done so here; and why do you imagine evil against me? Let him that is without sin first cast a stone. You may say, our craft is in danger, and great is Diana of the Ephesians; but I say, God is greater, and there is one God, and one Mediator be-

tween God and men—the man Christ Jesus; and other foundation can no man lay than that is laid. Verily, there is a fault among you that there are so many beggars in the streets. Let them be taken out of the streets, and let work be provided for them—there are uncultivated lands enough for them all; and break off your sins by showing mercy to the poor: and the priests, to avoid fornication, let them marry. To the soldiers I say, do violence to no man; and follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. The kingdom of Christ consists in righteousness, peace, and true holiness, not a wicked soldiery to defend it. Your trust should be in God, and not in soldiers and ceremonies. My prayer to God for you is, that you may look to God for grace to guide you in all your affairs; that the blessing of God may be with you, and God be glorified in you.

"My best wishes to you, and much love to the people.
A. ROBERTS."

We had requested our friend when he left London to write to us occasionally, that we might know how he was prospering. He told us that he was no great penman, and could not promise much in that way. However, he found time to write us a few lines from Malta, so characteristic of the man, that we append them to this short narrative, merely adding, that intelligence has reached us, through a mutual friend, that Mr. Robert's services in Malta were eminently valuable and successful. He became endeared to many Christian people there, and so highly were his services among the sailors appreciated by some of the leading merchants, that very liberal offers were made to him to settle down as a sailors' missionary for the port. Every offer, however, of remuneration was respectfully declined. He felt that having freely received of the grace of God, freely he must impart it; and he continued, therefore, a voluntary in his Saviour's service. After some months' active labour, he resolved to visit Constantinople, believing that the Lord would have work for him to do among the scenes of suffering and violence incident upon the outbreak of war. Our last accounts left him at Constantinople, and we can readily imagine that among the dead and dying, on the battle-field, in the camp, the hospital, and the bivouac, those hands will minister to the wants of the wounded, and that voice will whisper hope and consolation to many who may be led to cry, in the agony of impending death, "What must I do to be saved?"

May He who was with Peter in his dungeon, and with Paul in all his journeyings, direct the path and prosper the work of the Christian Brave.
E. F.

(Malta, May 23d, 1853.)

"Dear Friend,—To you grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied. When I left you I promised

you nothing, so if I send you only a few words you will not be much disappointed. I had a very good passage to Leghorn, and found Captain Fishwick a warm-hearted Christian. I remained on board his vessel nearly two months after our arrival at Leghorn, employing my time in distributing the Scriptures and tracts amongst English and American seamen, and visiting the sick at the hospital. A goodly number became abstainers from the use of intoxicating drinks, and some began to pray. Here I was closely watched by the police, while drunkards could go with liberty.

"I arrived at Rome on the 21st of December. Here also I was beset on all sides by priests and police, but I let them alone forty days, and then asked for my passport, and wrote a letter to the police, stating to them the treatment which I had received. A copy of the letter I send you. Popery is cruel, and its days are numbered.—Since my arrival at Malta, I have been engaged in distributing the Scriptures amongst Italian seamen; I find no people more ready to receive the Word than they.

"The blessing of God has attended me; goodness and mercy have followed me. My wants have been supplied. I do not forget the kindness of those friends that helped me in England. I thank God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for all his mercies, and why was this grace given to me in such abundance? To God be all the glory, Amen.
"A. R."

From Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood.

A SLAVE MOTHER.

Slavery has no line of limitation in North America, except the St. Lawrence. It goes wheresoever it listeth, with its sleuth-hounds and its shackles. The slave-mother, with her child folded to her breast, threaded the dismal swamps, where the snakes hissed at her, as she came near the nests where their slimy young lay coiled, and where the tangled bushes tore her flesh; and she toiled through the mazes of the forest, where the cougar glared at her as she passed, till at last she reached the town of Ripley, on the borders of Lake Erie. But the town of Ripley offered her neither rest nor refuge.—The hunters of her race were close upon her, and they seized her on the very brink of the water which lay between her and Canadian shore. The Roman father saved his daughter from slavery (which comprehends every imaginable outrage to womanhood) by slaying her; this American mother, raised above herself by her maternal instincts, no sooner found herself a slave again, than she threw her infant on the ground and refused to own it. When taken before a magistrate, and presented with her babe, she shut her eyes and turned away her head from it. "That is not my child," she exclaimed, "I have no child; that child belongs to freedom, not to me."

"And to whom do you belong?" said the magistrate, his lips trembling with emotion as he spoke.

"To me," said one of the captors; "she belongs to me."

"Where is your title to her?" said the Northern justice sternly.

The slaveholder fumbled in his pockets, and in his portemonnaie, but could find no record of his ownership and the girl's bondage. "Let the woman go," said the magistrate. "Who dares to hold her here without a warrant?"

With a scream of delight the young mother sprang towards her child, and laid it once more on her bosom. With a wild shout of triumph, the stout boatmen of Ripley carried her and her child to the lake, and four stout rowers bent to their oars with right good will, and sent the impatient shallop over the water to Canada. The baffled slaveholders begged, threatened, and offered bribes of gold to the men on shore, if they would unmoor their skiffs and carry them in pursuit; but the seamen whistled in their faces and smiled, and stoutly refused to touch either helm or oar. The heroic slave-mother was saved.

If I could write an epic, like some of the bards of old, I would not choose a soldier for my hero, I would glorify my song with the deeds of this great-souled mother, who preferred to make her maternal breast desolate rather than allow her child to become a slave.
J. B. S.

AN OLIVE LEAF FOR THE PEOPLE.

BY ELIHU BURRITT.

The Safety of Arbitration.—Perhaps you plead the uncertainties of arbitration. But are these to be compared with the evils inseparable from war? Is the latter more certain in its results than the former? Should you draw the sword, can you after all be sure of gaining your point? Well does an able writer say, "We can scarcely anticipate any future national difference which it would not be more safe and prudent to submit to arbitration than to the chances of war. However just may be our cause, however united our people, we cannot foresee the issue of the conflict, nor tell what new enemies we may be called to encounter, what sacrifices to bear, what concessions to make." But do you doubt whether such pledges of mutual reference would be kept by nations? "It is readily admitted," says a worthy son of the immortal Jay, "that if the only guarantee for their faithful performance consisted in the virtue and integrity of statesmen and politicians, the confidence to be reposed in them would be but faint. Happily, however, we have a far stronger guarantee in national interest, and in public opinion. Every Government that felt disposed to violate such a treaty, would be conscious that, by doing so, it would be sacrificing substantial interests for precarious advantages, exchanging the blessings of contin-

ued peace for the hazards and calamities of war. It would, indeed, require some very powerful temptation to induce a people to forego the peace, security, and exemptions from military burdens, conferred by such a treaty. Public opinion, moreover, would unite with self-interest in preserving these treaties inviolate. A Government, who for the purpose of avoiding war had pledged its faith to abide by the award of umpires, would, by going to war in defiance of that award, and in palpable violation of its solemn engagements, shock the moral sense of mankind, and would probably disgust even its own subjects. At the present day, all Governments are more or less controlled by public opinion; and the progress of education, and the power of the press enable every individual to sit in judgment on the conduct of his rulers. Such a war would be odious, because it would be felt by all to be unjust and dishonorable. It would also be reprobated by the umpires whose decisions would thus be contemned, and by every nation which had entered into a similar treaty. It ought, also, to be remembered, that each new treaty would tend to secure the observance of all the preceding ones, as each nation would feel that the value of its own treaty would greatly depend on the faithful performance of all the others; since, if one were violated with impunity, the power of the others to preserve peace would necessarily be weakened.

AN IMPORTANT CAUTION.

The close connection and intimate intercourse which are maintained between the different sections of our common country, may, unless we are very watchful, blunt our sensibilities to the cruelties of slavery, and diminish our abhorrence of its injustice.—*Minute of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 25, 1854.

VALUABLE TESTIMONY.—The American Bible Society have issued a work entitled "Testimony of Distinguished Laymen to the Value of the Sacred Scriptures," containing the opinions of such men as Grotius, Newton, Erskine, Clay, Webster, Everett, Silliman, and others.—*Ledger.*

In our view, the practical evidence given by the sincere life of one converted soul, is a far more valuable testimony to the value of the Holy Scriptures, and the wondrous mercy of Him of whom they testify, than the "opinions" of a host of great men, who, like Clay and Webster, denied in their deeds the truths to which their lips and their intellects assented. God does not need such witnesses to vindicate his name, and, if they be summoned, they should not be ranged with Christians such as Newton, Grotius, and Silliman, whose pious sayings are worthy to be preserved as "apples of gold in baskets of silver," but rather with that man who in the Capernaum Synagogue confessed per-force "I know thee

who thou art—the Holy One of God!" Such confession must eventually be uttered by every soul in the Universe, and the record may serve a purpose,—but our Lord plants a better testimony in the heart and in the mouth of the simple and unlearned, but sincere and obedient Christian. Again and again, when we have heard the "opinions" of the Marshfield propagandist of a policy which he knew to be unholy adduced as important auxiliaries to the pure doctrines of the blessed Redeemer, we have recurred to the spectacle we once beheld, of a poor, aged, unlettered, blind negro, who, being asked to describe the gift of Divine Grace, turned upwards his sightless orbs, and, with an extatic delight, exclaimed, or rather shouted, "Oh sir, its unspeakable and full of glory—it lightens all de mind widin!"—

We would not derogate from the just fame of Daniel Webster. His mighty intellect, (no merit of his own but a God given endowment,) has scarcely been surpassed among men. But for the verity of Christian truth we want a better evidence than that of a perverted understanding which may be right upon that point,—and, thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift, he has not left us without a far more conclusive witness. "The Word is very nigh thee, even in thy heart and in thy mouth." Every one who will come to Jesus Christ in faith, may have a testimony in himself, accordant with that of Holy Scripture and of all converted souls, and will not need, for the expounding of the saints' faith, the "opinions" of compromising Lawyers and Statesmen who have converted the free North into a human hunting ground. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"—We have not seen the book referred to, but the above announcement suggests the query,—Why is the testimony of such men in this case of value?—Because of their great talents?—What then shall we do with the "opinions" of equally great men, whose theology was more defective, but whose lives were truer?—Is it not unwise and unsafe to plead the "opinions" of "distinguished laymen" to prove the value of that Book which bears to the sincere soul its own evidence, the Spirit of its glorious Author co-operating with the written word to make the reader wise unto salvation. We believe the sacred volume, not because of the testimony of Clay and Webster, but notwithstanding their "opinions."

FAITH SHEWN BY WORKS.—Henry G. Chapman, a Boston Merchant who died in 1842, at the age of 38, lived long enough upon Earth to leave an example worth more to posterity than munificent subscriptions to popular charities.—At the cost of offence to his College companions, he refrained from wine for conscience sake when such abstinence was singular. He avowed himself an anti-slavery man in the days which tried

mens' souls, at the cost of loss of fashionable friendships, and, subsequently, of persecution. When the *gentlemen's mob* was organized in 1835, a brother merchant threatened to advise his Southern customers that he, [Chapman] was foremost among the fanatics. "I thank you," said he, "for your friendly intentions, but your intimations of loss of business come too late to be of use to me. One of the first things I did when I became an Abolitionist, was to give up my trade in cotton."

"Men of clean hands" are the fitting agents of moral reformation, the appropriate advocates of the right and true. When the understanding is clear and the heart is right, causes will be followed by legitimate effects.—The early convert to the true faith would say, "I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight"—and no one questioned his logic. Henry G. Chapman was an abolitionist, and therefore he could not trade in slave grown Cotton. This moral hero has left the busy haunts in which his form was once

"A common sight to every common eye,"

but his name must not be forgotten—it should be cherished as that of one who by the faithfulness of his conduct "set to his seal that God is true."

"He is dead, but his memory still liveth—
He is gone, his example is here—
And the lustre and fragrance it giveth
Shall linger for many a year."

NON-PARTICIPANCY.—We do not remember to have heard the abstraction denied,

"That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own,"

but we often hear doubts of the force and value of the testimony against slavery borne by a non-use of its products. Had every merchant of the single city of Boston who aspired to the character of an upright man, declined, simultaneously with Chapman, to trade in slave-grown cotton, and adopted in practice the principle of our motto, Slavery would ere this day have shrunk into a diminished territory, instead of extending her area. The voice of Massachusetts would have spoken in clearer and stronger tones against oppression. Webster, the creature of the merchants, would have given his influence persistently for Freedom. The abominable falsity embodied in the Fugitive Bill would never have been uttered, nor the Nebraska-Kansas iniquity conceived.

Had all earnest Anti-Slavery people, from 1835, when Chapman made his noble stand, to this day, abstained as far as practicable from giving the motive to the Slaveholder through the cotton merchants, yankee enterprise would long ago have supplied the market abundantly with Free grown cotton, at a price not greater than that of the tainted article. Another most desirable result would have ensued, worth much more than all the quarrelling of Abolitionists

with one another. In Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, and doubtless in other States, an impetus would have been given to the culture of cotton by free hands,—and those who now raise it thus, would have greatly increased in number and in importance as regards their home influence. *The many* have great faith in Byron's assertion that "cash is a virtue," and as these persons amassed wealth they would have gained social and political influence, and perhaps by this time have outvoted in some neighborhoods the slave interest. The actual holders of slaves are very far from being the entire south. Let the Non-Slaveholders of Southern States harmonize with one another, and aim for the right, and results would soon be apparent. By the course above indicated we might have planted a testimony in the South, which in time could not fail to leaven the whole lump. It would have been a peaceable testimony. What State would close her ports against us when we went, money in hand to purchase her cotton? No planter could find fault with us, for purchasing of the producer who offered us the best inducements. Most especially we should have convinced Slaveholders of our sincerity, and by doing so we should have set thousands of them upon a train of wholesome thinking.

BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

We trust that our friends are already obtaining subscribers for this desirable Journal. The terms are—for one copy 50 cents.

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We have given some valuable extracts from Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood, that our readers may form an estimate of the quality of the mental food which the Editor will be likely to present in the new Journal, which we are anxious to see established on a permanent basis.

THE CHRISTIAN BRAVE.—We wish all our friends to peruse this instructive and interesting article which is brought to a conclusion in the present number. Although the narrative is not directly connected with the Free Produce movement, we do not see how any sincere person can read it without being made a better abolitionist, a better Philanthropist, and stimulated to be a more faithful Christian. It conveys the lesson so needed by us all to be faithful, and to walk by faith. It instills the Abrahamic example of *believing God*. It is fraught with the spirit of Saul of Tarsus, who "counted not his own life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the

grace of God." We would gladly trace the subsequent career of Roberts, and we hope that when Elihu Burritt comes he will be able to tell us more about him in the *Citizen of the World*.

WILLIAM FORSTER.—As so much space is devoted this month to the excellent address to Sovereigns, &c., of which he was the bearer, we must defer to next number the conclusion of our Editorial memoir.

COMMISSIONER INGRAHAM.—"Tread lightly on the ashes of the dead"—is good poetry and a good sentiment, which we never without sadness depart from. Of this individual we had no personal knowledge, nor are we advised of the state of mind in which he met the pale commissioner who delivered him over to the Judge of all the Earth—that Judge to whom belonged by right of ransom, every negro whom Ingraham adjudged to be the property of southern men—that Judge who, that he might proclaim liberty to the captive, himself assumed a servant's form, and suffered ignominious death for all men, bond and free. We cannot read with complacency, newspaper eulogiums upon one who willingly lent himself to the vilest service that ever an unlawful law exacted from its tools. May God pardon and save him! We judge him not.

"Mercy is for the merciful—if thou
Hast been of such, 'twill be accorded now."

And yet we should think that no man could succeed him in his office, without shuddering at the reflection that its hateful functions had been performed before by one who has been summoned to give an account to Him who regards as *done unto Himself*, every act of cruelty or of mercy.

When such a life is brought to a close, it is to the interest of mankind, that a truthful lesson should be deduced, and that every survivor should make haste to cleanse himself from iniquity, that, whether he attain to a better hope or not, he may at least leave behind him a fairer fame.

HARD-HEARTEDNESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY FOLK.—The Southern Editors might well say to the Abolitionists—"We have mourned unto you and ye have not lamented." A South Carolina paper, the *Charleston Times*, thus wails over the wild grapes of the Nebraska vine,—and lo—the Anti-Slavery Journals, instead of lamenting in concert, published it with every appearance of cheerful content.

"There never was a completer, more disastrous miscarriage than the Nebraska bill. It has not only blasted every expectation that was originally formed of it, but has proved to its authors a positive and unmitigated curse. Instead of strengthening the harmony of the country it has given rise to the intensest resentment and discord.—Instead of giving effect and confirmation to the compromise of 1850, it has blasted that compromise into nothingness. Instead of securing two additional Slave States to the Union, it has secured two additional free States. And instead of putting an end to the free soil doctrine, it has given that doctrine a power and a respectability which it

never possessed before, and which, we believe, it could never have attained through any other medium than that opened by this bill."

This is almost as cruel as the conduct of Whittier, who, when Joseph Mead of Leesburg, Loudon County, Virginia, was in sore tribulation about the loco-motive proclivities of seven chattels personal, appraised at nearly \$3,000,—coolly sent him word:—

"We are happy to have it in our power to offer some consolation to the bereaved gentleman. We saw a family which answered very well to his graphic description, a short time since, in this city. They were just preparing to make the fashionable tour of the Canadas, and they did not seem to realize, in the slightest degree, the fact that they were 'running away from happiness.' It will be gratifying to their late 'owner' to learn that they were furnished, in this city, with a good store of warm clothing for their Northern journey; and that they really seemed as happy a family as ever were gathered under a hospitable roof."

A SIGNIFICANT REBUKE.—Myron H. Clark, the Temperance champion in the last legislature of N. York, drafted the Prohibitory Bill which was passed by both houses, but vetoed by Gov. Seymour. The people took the conduct of these two persons into consideration and elected the former to fill the gubernatorial chair, of which the latter had shown himself to be unworthy. Tell Horatio Seymour that "Honesty is the best policy," but that a sensible yankee woman says, "It takes an honest man to find it out."

BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

A Magazine of 16 pages of about the size of CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL,* will be published monthly, by George W. Taylor, Philadelphia, commencing with First Month, (Jan.) 1855, under the title of the "CITIZEN OF THE WORLD," edited by ELIHU BURRITT. Terms FIFTY CENTS per annum, for one copy—\$3.00 for eight copies, and \$5.00 for fifteen copies to be paid invariably in advance.

"The *Citizen of the World*" will endeavor to merit its designation, by viewing from the elevated stand point of human brotherhood, all principles, policies, events, institutions and enterprises which affect the peace, prosperity, social intercourse and common welfare of the nations as a family, and the rights, duty and dignity of man as an individual being. Whilst it regards these with an impartial eye and records them with an impartial pen, it will glean and present all hopeful signs of progress; all honest homage to truth, right duty and Christian charity; and all the onward steps of governments and communities in the path prescribed by a righteous policy and the precepts of the Christian religion. With all this variety of topics, the "Citizen of the World," it is confidently believed, will be a welcome and useful visitor to the different members of every family that admits it to its social circle. Its pages will be filled with articles from the editor's pen, giving his personal observations and experiences in Europe, and with communications from correspondents in different parts of the world. For the young it will serve up many a little truthful story, and teaching illustration of the law of kindness and Christian love. For the Sabbath, it will have its page of religious instruction, selected by paragraphs from the most eminent Christian writers of different countries. For every occupation, and for every age, it will seek to present something interesting and useful.

All communications relating to the "Citizen of the World," should be addressed, post paid, to GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Box 777, Philadelphia.

THE

NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 12.]

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The first number of the *The Citizen of the World* has come to hand, and fully answers our expectation. It is got up with the neatness and taste which characterize the Publisher, and of the contents, it is high praise to say that they are worthy of the gifted Editor. We make the following extract.—Ed.

THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT.—If our life be spared, we intend to devote a considerable portion of our time and strength hereafter to this important department of anti-slavery effort. Perhaps many of our readers will have been made acquainted, before these lines reach them, of the plan of offering a series of premiums for the largest quantities of cotton grown by Free Labor in the United States. The more we dwell upon the operation of this stimulus, the more fully we are convinced that it will take effect

sensibly this very year, upon many a cotton grower in the Southern States. Perhaps the important problem may be solved next summer whether or not cotton can be grown profitably by hired free labor. Although, perhaps, 50,000 bales are annually produced by free, we are not sure that one is grown by hired labor; as those who thus cultivate it are generally very poor, and employ in its production only the hands which their own respective families can muster. Now it will be a very important result, if the premiums proposed induce even one person of more competent means to hire three or four white or free colored men to assist him and his family in growing, say, 25 bales the first year on his farm. If his balance sheet shall show a satisfactory profit on their labor, in producing this quantity, great gain to the cause will be won; which cannot fail to excite much interest in this system of agriculture. The second year's trial must be more successful still, if a greater number of persons should be encouraged to enter upon the cultivation of cotton in this way. Perhaps the first premium of \$500 for 50 bales will be carried off this very year by the Germans in Texas. They are flocking into that state very rapidly, and many of them are already engaged in growing cotton by free labor. If the Germans can live and labor comfortably in Texas, they may do the same in Georgia, Alabama, or Mississippi. Emigrants from different parts of Europe are finding their way into all the slave States, and who can tell how many of them may be induced to adopt cotton growing on this system by the stimulus proposed? We hope, also, that the merchants, manufacturers and philanthropists of England will adopt a similar method, and offer a series of generous premiums for the largest quantities of cotton grown in any of the British Colonies in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. We have prepared a paper upon this proposition, and have applied for permission to read it before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. We are now awaiting their answer, but if they do not adopt the plan, we intend to press it upon the consideration of other parties, and believe it may be carried into effect simultaneously with that in the United States. It would be a capital thing to raise the flag of Free Labor at once, over every acre of that cotton growing belt of territory that surrounds the globe. This will be done, if this premium system be

adopted simultaneously in Great Britain and the United States. In our next number, we hope to be able to state something definite, which shall be very encouraging to all our readers. As another instrumentality for making an interest in behalf of this cause, we have undertaken to edit "*The Slave*," a little monthly sheet, which has been hitherto conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Richardson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, with great ability. It will hereafter be issued from the Free Labor Cotton Depot, in London, and we intend to make a vigorous effort to extend its circulation, which is now about 3000 copies. "*The Bond of Brotherhood*," which we have edited for more than eight years in England, has a circulation of about 4,500, and in every number we bring the Free Labor question before a large circle of readers. With these various instrumentalities and operations, we hope much progress may be made in the cause, on both sides of the Atlantic, during the present year.—*Citizen of the World*.

A NON-PARTICIPANT SONNET.

BY SOUTHEY—A. D. 1795.

Oh, he is worn with toil! the big drops run
Down his dark cheek; hold—hold thy merciless hand,
Pale tyrant! for beneath thy hard command
O'erworn nature sinks. The scorching sun,
As pitiless as proud Prosperity,
Darts on him his full beams; gasping he lies
Arraigning with his looks the patient skies,
While that inhuman driver lifts on high
The mangling scourge. O ye who at your ease
Sip the blood-sweetened beverage, thoughts like these
Haply ye scorn: I thank thee, gracious God,
That I do feel upon my cheek the glow
Of indignation, when beneath the rod
A sable brother writhes in silent woe.

From the National Era.

TO CHARLES SUMNER.

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

If I have seemed more prompt to censure wrong
Than praise the right; if, seldom to thine ear
My voice hath mingled with th' exultant cheer,
Borne upon all our Northern winds along;
If I have failed to join the fickle throng
In wide-eyed wonder, that thou standest strong
In victory, surprised in thee to find
Brougham's scathing power with Canning's grace combined;
That he for whom the nine-fold Muses sang,
From their twined arms a giant athlete sprang,
Barbing the arrows of his native tongue
With the spent shafts Latona's archer flung,
To smite the Python of his land and time,
Fell as the monster born of Crissa's slime,
Like the blind bard who in Castilian springs
Tempered the steel that clove the crest of kings,
And on the shrine of England's freedom laid
The gifts of Cumæ and of Delphi's shade—
Small need hast thou of words of praise from me,
Thou knowest my heart, dear friend, and well canst
guess
That, even though silent, I have not the less
Rejoiced to see thy actual life agree
With the large future which I shaped for thee,
When, years ago, beside the summer sea,
White in the moon, we saw the long waves fall
Battled and broken from the rocky wall,
That, to the menace of the brawling flood,
Opposed alone its massive quietude,
Calm as a fate; with not a leaf nor vine
Nor birch spray trembling in the still moonshine,

Crowning it like God's peace. I sometimes think
That night scene by the sea prophetic—
(For nature speaks in symbols and in signs,
And through her pictures human fate divines)—
That rock wherefrom we saw the billows sink
In murmuring rout, uprising clear and tall
In the white light of heaven, the type of one
Who momentarily by Error's host assailed,
Stands strong as Truth, in graves of granite maled;
And, tranquil-fronted, listening over all
The tumult, hears the angels say, Well done?
11th month, 25th. 1854.

THINK OF THE SLAVE.

BY E. M. CHANDLER.

Think of the slave, in your hours of glee,
Ye who are treading life's flowery way;
Nought but its rankling thorns has he,
Nought but the gloom of its wintry day.

Think of the slave, in your hours of woe—
What are your sorrows, to that he bears?
Quenching the light of his bosom's glow,
With a life-long stain of gushing tears.

Think of the slave, in your hours of prayer,
When worldly thoughts in your hearts are dim,
Offer your thanks for the bliss ye share,
But pray for a brighter lot for him.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 25, 1854.

In giving to the Printer the manuscripts for the present number, we relinquish our Editorial duties, which we assumed two years ago at the request of valued friends, and which we have performed in addition to cares and engrossments which were more than sufficient to occupy our time. We relinquish them with a sense of relief, which deepens into glad satisfaction in the prospect that the great object of our Journal will still be attended to, and that by a much abler hand, and under circumstances which will admit of far greater efficiency.

"We need," says Professor Henry, "a class of men, whose lives and powers shall be exclusively given to exploring the higher spheres of knowledge, opening new sources of Truth and Beauty, increasing the amount, and extending the domain of Science. We need an order of men who may be free to leave the mists and the vapors that settle upon the low grounds of the Earth, and getting themselves up into the mountain tops, may dwell there in a serene and lofty seclusion, alike from the goading of life's cares, and from the feverish stir and strife of its coarse and beggarly elements, and in the clear air beholding with pure and tranquil heart 'the bright countenance of Truth,' may catch and reflect its divine spirit to all times."

To a man of such an order, and withal to a large hearted lover of mankind, we wish to introduce all our subscribers and all our readers, in the Editor of the *Citizen of the World*. We have no fear of the contrast between the two periodicals, which our readers will make. It is because we expect it to be greatly superior to our own paper, that we are anxious to commend it to the attention and to the patronage of all whom

we can influence. We have no personal ends whatever to serve by aiding its circulation. Yet there is no object which we have so much at heart, in preparing our final issue, as this one—to invite every one to subscribe for, to pay for, to read and to circulate, Elihu Burritt's *Citizen of the World*, the prospectus of which will be found at the beginning of this number. We invite persons to become volunteer agents for it as a labor of love—to subscribe, if they are able, for copies at club prices, and give them away—to procure the insertion in local newspapers of accredited extracts from it, and thus aid in diffusing its benefits, and in bringing it prominently into notice.

It is perhaps right to say, that we do not make this request at the instigation, or with the knowledge either of E. Burritt or of his publisher, but from our own sense of right, and that each of our readers has as large a stake in the prosperity of the *Citizen* as we have.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

(Concluded.)

We gladly interrupt the regular course of the Memoir, to give place to the following letter.

THE LATE WILLIAM FORSTER.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

Your Editorial Memoir of this distinguished person has interested me very much, and recalled to my mind my acquaintance with him in England, during the summer of 1843. In June, of that year, I was invited to accompany several anti-slavery friends, (W. F. being one of them) to Downing street, where, by previous appointment, they had an interview with Lord Aberdeen, then Secretary for the Home Department, and at present Prime Minister of England. After the delegation had despatched the business which occupied their minds, and as they were withdrawing, William Forster lingered behind. I remained with him, as we were to visit some other place together. In the most respectful and tender manner he solicited the attention of Lord A. to a few parting words. As nearly as I can recollect they were as follows:

"I cannot take leave of Lord Aberdeen without expressing the deep concern on my mind in relation to the responsible and arduous post he occupies, and the earnest desire I feel that he may so discharge its duties, and meet its responsibilities, as to retain a consciousness of having faithfully served his Sovereign and country, and meet the approving smile of that great Being before whom in the course of nature, he must soon appear, to give an account of the deeds done in the body. Lord Aberdeen needs not any assurance that it is my heart's desire and prayer to God, that his labors may be productive of great good, and that in the day of final account he may receive admission into the mansions prepared for those who love and serve the Lord."

During the delivery of these words, uttered with indelible pathos, the tears were coursing down the cheeks of William Forster, and Lord Aberdeen seemed to be deeply moved. At the conclusion, his Lordship took an affectionate leave of the good man. It was a scene I shall never forget.

LEWIS TAPPAN.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1854.

Our dear friend, William Forster, and his co-workers, after a good, but rough and stormy passage, arrived at Boston on sixth-day, the 15th of 9th month, 1853, where they were cordially received by a number of their brethren who had been appointed by the "Meetings for sufferings"

of the Yearly Meetings of New England and New York, to render this interesting delegation proper attention. Next day Josiah and William Forster went to the house of Dr. S. B. Tobey, at Providence, John Candler and Wm. Holmes proceeding with our late beloved friend Mahlon Day, to N. Y. Wm. Forster feeling religiously drawn to attend a small meeting of Friends at Smithfield, (distant from Providence five miles) remarked,—"It is an early entrance on the little field of labor which I have long believed to be opened for me in this country, and I shall be thankful if it prove a good beginning." He was accompanied thither by his host and by Robert I. Murray, the former of whom kindly writes us: "In the meeting he was instructively and sweetly engaged in the ministry. He spoke first of our condition as men—of our need of a Saviour, and of the glorious provision made for our redemption and salvation through Jesus Christ—setting forth, briefly, but very forcibly, the whole gospel plan. He then referred to those in former time, unto whom God had granted 'their request, but sent leanness into their souls'—dwelling at length on the necessity of practical righteousness. In conclusion, he expressed to the little company that he believed it was right for him to have been with them,—feeling that there was a little legacy of love due from him to them. During the ride to and from meeting, he was very social and free in conversation. We talked upon various subjects connected with the interests of our religious Society, and especially upon the vital importance of sound faith, and that it should be expressed in sound words. * * * * *

"In the afternoon of First-day he was not able to attend meeting. In the evening many Friends came in to see him, and his conversation was animated and instructive. On Second day he left for New York, and we parted to meet no more on earth."

After a brief tarryance in the City of N. York, on the ensuing Third-day they arrived at Burlington, N. J., where many Friends who sincerely loved them, rejoiced to mingle in sympathy with them, to see their faces, to partake of their society, and to bid them God speed, on a mission of such dignity and moral beauty. The four days spent here, notwithstanding William Forster suffered from indisposition, were to him days of rest and renewing, and of sweet communion of spirit, not only with his beloved hostess, whose house he called his American home, but also with other disciples, between whom and himself christian fellowship and love had been long maintained, which only deepened and strengthened as years lapsed, as kindred spirits one by one went home to their "house not made with hands," and as others who ran well for a while turned into devious ways and walked no more with them.

The next First-day, William Forster attended

Abington Meeting (Pa.) where his ministry is represented to have been most acceptable, and signally attended with the evidence of Divine anointing. On Third-day our friends reached Baltimore, and gave to the correspondents of that Yearly Meeting, a full presentation of the object of their mission, receiving from them christian unity and encouragement.

The great work was now fully entered upon, in faith, in love, in dedication, in christian meekness, yet christian boldness, and in the wisdom from above, which inspired the service, and which alone could profitably direct. Their brethren in religious profession sympathized with them, and were ready to aid them,—but, whilst they reciprocated the love which offered assistance, they rightly judged that they must go *alone* to the work which the Holy Spirit had assigned to them, and for which they had been set apart by the Church.

No men could better have discerned the line of conduct proper for them to pursue. They visited the Rulers of the land as Ambassadors for Christ, and their high sense of honor, the nice intuition which we often had occasion to admire in them, would not have permitted them to make these private interviews a matter of gossip, or even to detail them to their friends. If, in any case they were enabled to plant a good seed,—they could in faith leave it to the care of the good Husbandman who is able to give the increase. With such an example in view, it becomes not us to pry into the mode of their reception by the dignitaries whom they officially visited, nor to make any attempt to spread before our readers the substance of the conversations which ensued. Whatever detail it may be proper to publish, will, we trust, be given in due season, by those upon whose rightful province we have been careful not to encroach.

Their first visit was to President Pierce, on the 1st of 10th month. His reception of them was courteous, affable, and appreciative. He seemed at once to comprehend both their object and their motives, and so far from obstructing their way, he rather, as we believe, promoted their safe and comfortable procedure. The policy and language of Franklin Pierce on the Slavery question, as our readers are aware, meet our unqualified disapproval and condemnation. We are glad however, to acknowledge that his bearing to our beloved friends was such as became the Chief Magistrate of a great nation, and a gentleman. William Forster subsequently made a visit of religious sympathy to the President's wife, to which she afterward very feelingly alluded in conversation with our late dear friend Mahlon Day.

Leaving Washington, they entered upon a course of travel, the extent and laboriousness of which will not be readily appreciated by our transatlantic readers, even by those who trace their course upon the map. The magnitude of

the distances, the indirectness of many routes, the state of roads in new countries, and especially in the southern states, where the "peculiar institution" represses enterprise and stays improvement, must all be experienced to be understood. They visited the Governors of Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, all of whom acted towards them in a manner becoming gentlemen, and some of them with apparently Christian feeling. Our dear friends were permitted to read their address to them and to plead freely for the oppressed,—and the subject was discussed with candor and openness. At Mount Pleasant, Ohio, they attended the First-day meeting of Friends, where William Forster preached Christ most impressively, dwelling solemnly upon the shortness and uncertainty of time. Again, in the evening, to a select circle, he spoke with heavenly unction, and in a similar manner to a large company the next day, so that it was remarked with much emphasis that "he seemed too ripe for heaven to stay long here."

At Cincinnati, which was made a point of divergence, a number of days were spent. By an arduous stage route they rode 84 miles to Frankfort, Ky., and thence by railway to Lexington, returning to Cincinnati, where, at a First-day meeting, he labored faithfully as a minister of Christ, being engaged to testify against a worldly spirit, in which some become so immersed that it clings to them to the end, the ultimate consequences of which were set forth in striking language. At this place they attended Monthly meeting, where the reading of William Forster's certificates was felt to be peculiarly solemn and touching. At Richmond, and at Bloomfield they attended the public meeting of Friends, and at both places his ministry was awakening and encouraging. At Springfield, Illinois, they had a most satisfactory religious meeting with the Portuguese Protestant Refugees from Madeira, a sincere minded people, about 120 of whom were in attendance, some of whom resided in Trinidad when our benevolent friend John Candler was there, four years previous to this time. After an interview with the Governor of Illinois at Joliet, who engaged to submit their memorial to the State Legislature, they visited the Gov. of Wisconsin at his private residence 7 miles north of Madison. He informed them that he had already urged upon the Legislature of his state the duty of petitioning Congress for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. William Forster found it to be his duty to hold a public meeting for worship with the inhabitants of Madison city, for which purpose the use of the Congregational Meeting-House was kindly allowed. Reaching St. Louis about the middle of the eleventh month, they set out on a most toilsome journey, by land, of 136 miles, to Jefferson, in the centre of Missouri. The roads were bad, the stage-drivers were pro-

fane and drunken, and they met with many vicissitudes, till at length our beloved friend Wm. Forster became unable to proceed, and returned to St. Louis, accompanied by his faithful friend Wm. Holmes. Josiah Forster and John Candler went forward, had a lengthened interview with the Governor, and although their return to St. Louis was not accomplished without much fatigue, they had reason to rejoice in the retrospect, that they did not shrink from encountering difficulties in the way of duty.

From St. Louis they went down the Mississippi to BATON ROUGE, thence up the river to VICKSBURG, across the country to JACKSON, and by stage, a toilsome travel to MONTGOMERY, thence to MILLEDGEVILLE, and to COLOMBUS (S. C.) and thence a long journey, chiefly by railway, to NASHVILLE, having interviews successively with the Governors of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, S. Carolina, and Tennessee. In each case they were kindly and respectfully received, and patiently attended to. Upon the veteran Apostle who is the subject of this notice, devolved the introducing of the mission, and the conducting of it for the most part rested with him, and the task was well performed. Words of ours could not convey any adequate sense of the tenderness and force of his pleadings.

After the interview with Gov. Johnson, at Nashville, our friends pursued their way to Lowden, towards the East end of Tennessee, and the new year opened upon them among friends of Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting. On First-day, the 8th of 1st month, 1854, they attended a small and recently settled meeting at Hickory Valley, and a larger one the next day at Friendsville, at both of which William Forster preached with tenderness and Christian love, to his own relief and very acceptably to the audiences. The meeting at Friendsville (Newberry Meeting) was indeed a memorable one, both as regards the eminent value of the testimony which he bore therein, and as being the last which he ever attended. A friend has furnished us with the following note of a verbal statement made by one of his audience on this deeply interesting occasion, and taken down from memory some time afterward.

"This last public testimony was at a meeting in Friendsville, Tennessee, wherein he was largely and solemnly engaged in proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ, a theme on which he had always delighted to dwell, and especially so when the shadows of evening were gathering around him. In his vivid description of the life of a dedicated Christian, it seemed as if he might have been involuntarily drawing a picture of himself—first, beautifully setting forth the fruits of early dedication, the blest results arising from a full surrender of the whole man, body, soul, and spirit, to the tendering, sanctifying power of Divine Grace, in the very morning of the day,

before the heart is seared and hardened by the cares of the world or the love of other things;—tracing the course of such, from one degree of religious attainment to another, gradually mellowing under the bright beams of the Son of Righteousness, till finally the ripe fruit is brought forth to perfection. In describing the winding up of the earthly course of the perfect man in Christ Jesus, and the crown of glory which awaited him, it seemed as if he almost opened heaven before us, and a little glimpse was given of those blessed realities which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, but which God hath laid up in store for all those who love and serve Him. At the close of the meeting, he walked round the grave yard with a friend, spoke of its being pleasantly located, expressed his satisfaction in having been with Friends of that neighborhood, and said, that little meeting had been much upon his mind before he left England."

On the following day, the third of the week, they rode about 8 miles, to the Ferry-House of Samuel Lowe, a respectable farmer on the bank of the Holsten river, where they lodged, and next morning set off for Knoxville, on the way to Lost Creek meeting. William Forster was suffering much with pain in his side before starting, and the symptoms becoming aggravated, they returned to the house of their kind host. His disease was an attack of pleurisy from which he never recovered.

"During his illness he was remarkably calm and quiet, like one waiting for the coming of his Lord. On one occasion he observed, it would have been a comfort to him to have seen his beloved family again, 'but,' said he, 'it is better to depart and be with Christ.' A few days before the close, one of his companions proposed reading a portion of Pilgrim's Progress, to which he cheerfully assented, and repeated with touching emphasis the words of Hopeful, 'Be of good cheer, my brother; I feel the bottom, and it is good,' remarking he had often thought of that. On the ninth day, a state of unconsciousness came on, from which he never rallied, and having served his generation according to the will of God, this veteran in the army of the Lamb, sweetly and gently fell asleep in Jesus."

The funeral of our honored Friend took place on the ensuing First day, a large public meeting being held on the occasion at Friendsville, which was a time of unusual solemnity, and great sympathy was felt and evinced by the people of the vicinity.

William Forster, having expressed, some months before, a wish to have his friend Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, of Burlington, with him in case of his being ill, that Friend, on learning his critical situation hastened to join him. But although in a direct line the distance was only about 650 miles, such was the condition of the country that the speediest route of travel involved a journey of more than twice that extent, and

in hand as an anti-slavery instrumentality, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* would be also prepared to take action, and send a deputation to attend a public meeting.

L. A. C. proceeded to discuss the position of American Churches, and, after remarks from others, the subjoined resolution was adopted.

Mr. Chamerovzow having given an outline of operations contemplated by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and embracing the following points; namely, 1st. The securing of a reform in the Government of India as a means of promoting the cultivation of free-labor cotton in that country; and, 2ndly, The calling of public attention, but especially that of the various religious denominations in Great Britain, to the position of the American Churches on the question of Slavery, in order to evoke, on the part of the former, a moral testimony against the shortcomings of their co-religionists in the United States with regard to this enormous iniquity; this meeting desires to express its cordial approval of this specific course of action, and resolves to promote the success of the same by every means in its power."

SUIT FOR DAMAGES.—One Johnson has sued the owner of a western Steamer for the value of his negro boy, who, by order of the mate, was piling wood, when by a mis-step he fell overboard and was drowned. Damages laid at \$1000.

FLAX IN AMERICA.—An important, interesting and elaborate series of Essays upon this subject, is in course of publication in *FRIENDS REVIEW*. We designed attempting a condensation, but have concluded to refer the readers to the Essays in full. The subject has an important bearing upon our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests, but a still more important one upon the **FREE LABOR** question, since it opens a prospect of a supply of linen goods, more durable, and at less cost than those made from cotton.

PENNSYLVANIA A. S. SOC.—Henry Grew, at the late anniversary of this Society, introduced a resolution affirming the apathy which exists respecting the use of Slave Produce to be inconsistent with the avowed principles of abolitionists;

"and that their requisition of the slaveholder to make great sacrifices for the cause of freedom and humanity, demands that they should make the smaller sacrifice of labor and expense, in procuring the products of requisite toil, so far as is practicable."

In the ensuing discussion, some objected to the sentiment, others to the wording of the part which we have quoted. It was intimated that some make this the "all in all" of the anti-Slavery cause. (An error indeed, if there be any such.) The subject was deferred to another meeting. Our friend Grew follows up the subject in the Freeman, in an Essay in which he happily maintains his position.

DEFERRED.—A valued communication from H. Grew is in type, but crowded out of this number.

GILDERSLEEVE'S LETTER.—This person, on whose affidavit the slave catchers were arrested, has written to Robt. C. Grier a letter, the manly dignity of which he would do well to emulate. Appended is J. L. Butler's deposition taken before and certified by Justice Burrows, that Judge Grier requested said Butler "to tell Mr. Gildersleeve that if he, Gildersleeve, should ever be brought before him, he would hang him." The high character of Burrows "as a citizen, a magistrate, and a Christian," is certified by two Presbyterian ministers, the cashier of the Bank, a Justice of the Peace, a Democratic Congressman, and a Whig Ex-Congressman. Gildersleeve's letter ends thus.

"The outrage at Wilkesbarre, and the indecent and arrogant zeal of a man who fills the high and honorable station of a Judge of the Supreme Court of the U. States, will do something to increase the intense odium with which the Fugitive Slave Act is viewed by the better class of the community. May that odium continue to expand and gather force until it shall finally render it impossible to execute this execrable act. If this be treason, you are at liberty to make the most of it."

IT IS THE SYSTEM.—F. Bremer in her "Homes of the New World," noticing the apathy, the total indifference with which really amiable people in Slave States witness the brutal maltreatment of negroes of both sexes, exclaims, "It is the system! it is the system which produces all this!" From that system, Reader, withdraw thy support. Be separate from it, and bear the eloquent testimony of a blameless example not so much against Slaveholders as against Slaveholding.

OUR TENTH NUMBER.—We have run almost entirely out of number 10. Our Publisher fears that his Packer has inadvertently sent No. 10 in place of No. 11, to a portion of our subscribers. If any have *duplicates* of No. 10 please send them back, as we are much in want of them. If any have received it a second time, in place of No. 11, such will please send it back addressed to "Non-Slaveholder, Philadelphia," taking care that the name of the person returning should be on each copy, that we may send No. 11 instead.

OUR NEXT VOLUME is to appear with an enlarged page. By widening and lengthening the columns we propose to give more reading matter.

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 82)

MERCER Co, N. J., 10 Mo., 14th.—Yesterday I was at the Crystal Palace. Whilst gazing upon the vast collection, bewildering in its variety, I met with our friend T. D. W., and shall remember the warmth of our greeting when much that I saw will be forgotten. We spoke of the Anti-Slavery mission to the South,* prompted and prosecuted under deep religious feeling. In this

* That of W. Foster and others.—Ed.

connection I referred to the touching notice, in John Woolman's Life, of his visit to some of the Southern Colonies. Under a solemn conviction that he ought not to receive the gains of oppression, he distributed to the Slaves, either directly or through their masters, sums of money which he thought equivalent to the value of his entertainment. Who could have harmed this meek disciple, prostrated himself into the dust at his humiliating service, yet not daring to shrink from the divine requiring?

T. D. W. said it reminded him of a circumstance which occurred in Virginia. At the meeting of a Presbytery, its members were the invited guests of a wealthy slaveholding minister. One morning, one of the members took an early walk, and, happening by the Slaves' quarters, went in and saw their apartments and the miserable meal of which they were partaking. Returning to the house deeply oppressed in spirit, he sat down to the plentiful breakfast of his host,—but he could not eat. On his declining the various delicacies which were successively proffered him, inquiry was made as to the cause; when, overcome by his feelings, he burst into tears, and simply related the observations of the morning. So deep was the effect produced upon his auditors, that the repast was uneaten. They went into the Presbytery, where he resigned the pastorate of his congregation. He removed to a free State, and remained there till his death.

A private letter, in the midst of some valuable remarks, has the following passage.

In many of the reports issued by Free Produce Associations, complaints of apathy occupy a conspicuous place. It may be that this apathy exists;—it is equally true that such apathy being felt as a burden, is an indication of life somewhere. The impression still resting upon my mind is, that the declared friends of the Free Labor movement, including the Yearly Meeting of N. Y., of which I am a member, have not endorsed a delusive theory, in committing themselves on the side of Free Labor.

BALTIMORE.—A valued Friend referring to the favorable result of the efforts, at the late election, of the Friends of Prohibitory Law, says:

There was no compromise in the matter.—It was a clear understanding that the candidates if elected, were to labor for free-totalism. The Sheriff, who is a resolute and able man, is elected for two years. The balance of the wards swell our majority to near one thousand. With such an example from a large commercial city, surely our counties will now take up the matter.

I am much hurried but must tell thee of a case of the power of conscience. I met one of our who'sale merchants on the day of election who has heavy consignments of country produce, especially of whiskey. I asked if he had voted. He said,—"Yes, and for the Maine Law. It may seem strange," he continued, "for me to do so, as my commissions on Whiskey are \$1000 a year, but my conscience bid me do what I knew was right, even though beggary to me should be the result." Hundreds voted secretly for the law.

But beggary won't be the result! We have not seen such men, nor their seed, begging bread. That man would make "a whole team," if hitched on to the Anti-Slavery Car. And if he were once to appreciate the principle of *Non-Slaveholding* as we seek to expound it, we do not think he would long hesitate to sacrifice luxury, and the slight pecuniary interest involved, at the shrine of principle. For aught we know, he may be one, who, adopting the

views prevailing around him, would regard our Anti-Slavery yearnings and pleadings as fanatical;—be that as it may—we honor him, for he yields to manifested Duty, and such men may rise up in the judgment against many who yield their assent but not their obedience to the Right.

A PLEA FOR THE SLAVE.

For him who is not kinsman to the Slave,—
To whom some other God existence gave,—
To whom the eternal snowy-pinioned Dove
Hath never stooped on embassy of love,—
Of whom the God of Heaven is not the Sire,—
To whom the Holy Spirit hath not spoken,—
For him we speak not, nor awake our lyre,
We seek not from that soul an answering token.
But, to each soul who claims a Sire in Heaven,
To each for whom a Saviour's life was given,
In fervent love we send our voice abroad,
Beseeching, "Be thou reconciled to God."

Stupendous work! to make thy peace with Heaven!
To appease a God what offerings shall be given?
How wilt thou minister to His delight,
Or find oblation grateful in His sight?
How wilt thou reach Him in His bowers above
Save through His own blest medium?—God is Love
And love is the fulfilling of the law,
The sovereign tribute which he deigns to draw;
And love to Him, evinced through love to man,
Comprise the Gospel Law and Prophet's plan.
Pay to His almoners the tribute due!
In each down-trodden bondsman thou may'st view
Thy God rejected, outraged, and oppress,
Of thy allegiance and thy love a test.
If to his misery thou hast steeled thy heart,
If to his need thou would'st not aid impart,
Or from the fugitive hast turned away,
Nor lent him shelter on his weary way,
Thou hast denied thy Maker before men,
And holy angels marked thy treason then.

Open thine eyes, and in each brother see
The representative of Deity!
With yearning love behold the meanest child,
Whose soul was ransomed by the undefiled.
Weep if oppression thrall his soul or limb!
Weep if Sin's worse domain hath fettered him!
Two harrowing spectacles our view arrest!
The man oppressor, and the man oppress!
The plundered bondsman, when his race is run,
May hear from Heaven's high throne the words, Well done!

And he who sits thereon, may wipe his eyes,
While ambient glory thrills with glad surprise!
And he may range that living stream beside,
Whose waters from the throne like crystal glide,
Mirrored within its breast that tree revealing,
Whose verdant leaves are for the nation's healing.
"There shall be no more curse,"* to sadden him,

* Rev. xxii. 3.

and directed with our hands, copies of the Address, to each member of the House of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies, to the Counsellors of State and some of the Merchants, and left a number of them with some English friends at Lisbon, to be forwarded to Oporto, to the University of Coimbra, and other places. What is better than all, and for which we are truly thankful, we received a promise from almost all the members of the Government, that they will, in good faith, accelerate the passage, through the Cortes, of a law, declaring all children who may be born hereafter entirely free, and declaring also, that every slave from other countries who touches the soil of Portugal in any of her colonies, shall *ipso facto*, become free. I say, every slave, yet some slight exceptions, specified by law, will be permitted, but these exceptions will serve to strengthen the law itself. Portugal has, on the coasts of Africa, and in the Cape de Verd Islands, and in Asia, 270,000 slaves. The extinction of slavery in the Portuguese dominions is likely to be gradual. This is the first step, and others may follow. All slaves are to be registered, in order that the provisions of the law may be faithfully carried into effect, and no evasion permitted. Before we left Lisbon, we received hospitalities of no common kind. At the dinner table of the Minister of the State, we met the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and many persons connected with the Administration. Our conversation was in French and English. We dined also with the British Ambassador and the *attache* of the Legation, where we met with individuals whom we were glad to see, and among them, the Viscount Sa Bardevia, an early, long tried, and faithful abolitionist. Having expressed our intention, to a Portuguese merchant, to visit the town of St. Ubes, about 20 miles from Lisbon—a sea port containing 20,000 inhabitants, he said very kindly,—“You must not go to a tavern. My brother has a country house near the town, which is at your service: you must lodge there,” and this individual, to whom we were quite strangers, not only placed this house at our disposal, but sent two of his men-servants to provide for us. For three days, my friend R. W. Fox, his daughter and niece, who accompanied him and myself, were lodged and entertained at this mansion *without cost*, and allowed the privilege of walking in its magnificent orange groves, and the gathering of its golden fruit as much as we pleased! The English merchants at Lisbon, were also very kind to us. How strange it seems, that “Friends,” whose manners are so different from those of other people, should meet with such a cordial reception everywhere. But Count Lavaradio, who knew Wm. Allen, Elizabeth Fry, and perhaps Stephen Grellet, and who had met them abroad, explained the mystery. “I feel attached to your friends: I love their simplicity.” May it be our concern so to live in the divine fear, that we

may let none of our christian testimonies fall to the ground, and we need not doubt that way will be made for us in the prosecution of every duty.

I must not forget to tell thee that Portugal is a lovely country.

“It is, indeed, a goodly sight to see

What Heaven hath done for this delicious land.”

Whilst our address was in the hands of the printer, and our work had some intermission, we went to Cintra to visit that far famed region. The Cintra hills are wonderful for variety and beauty, and the prospects from them extensive. The scenery has not the rich tropical warmth of the West Indies, but is very fine. Mounted on Donkeys, we ascended the mountains and rode through the glen, and could say with devout admiration, in the language of Cowper, “My father made them all.” It was quite a refreshment to us to leave Lisbon for a day or two to breathe such an atmosphere, and to see such sights. * * * Thy affectionate friend,

JOHN CANDLER.

George W. Taylor, our publisher, has on hand and for sale a few sets of the Non-Slaveholder, Vol. 1 and 2 of the series now brought to a conclusion, at the low price of \$1.00 for the two volumes in one, neatly bound in boards. Vol. 2 contains an original Memoir (not elsewhere obtainable) of Amelia Opie—also the Biographical Sketches of William Forster and Juan Placido,—with other articles valuable for future reference.

We propose to hand over to the *Citizen* for his judgment favors from Correspondents which have reached us since this No. was in form. One important communication remained for weeks in possession of the person thro’ whom it was sent.

ACT OUT YOUR PRINCIPLES.—As a parting word to such of our readers, as have given their assent to the doctrines of the Non-Slaveholder, we wish to remind them that the value of a principle consists in its application, and that correct thinking should bear fruit in correct acting. At the Free Produce Store in Philadelphia, you can be supplied with a variety of Free Dry Goods and Groceries, and as the new Factory will in a few days be in operation, and as our friend Geo. W. Taylor has completed better arrangements in England for the manufacture of the finer fabrics, his Spring supply is likely to be attractive. Merchants and others at a distance can be supplied either by mail or by express with samples and patterns. Those who are in the vicinity, will, we trust, make it a matter of duty to patronize an establishment so important. To submit to a little inconvenience for the sake of making your purchases at this Store of all articles obtainable there, is a small sacrifice at the shrine of Principle. To do so, would exhibit a *fidelity* creditable to the individual, and highly beneficial to the Free Labor Cause.